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A
COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Interesting and Entertaining Subjects :

But chiefly such as relate to the

HISTORY and CONSTITUTION of these Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print and Manuscript*, in the ROYAL,
COTTON, SION, and other Publick, as well as Private Libraries.

Particularly that of the late Lord SOMMERS.

Revised by EMINENT HANDS.

V O L. II.

*The Bent and Genius of the Age is best known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets
and Papers that come daily out, as the Sense of Parties, and sometimes the Voice
of the Nation.*

Preface to KENNET's Register.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, unâ parte audita tantum & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum
statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.

Ld COOK & JUST. Inst.

L O N D O N :

Printed for F. COGAN, at the Middle-Temple-Gate, Fleet-street.

M.DCC.XLVIII.

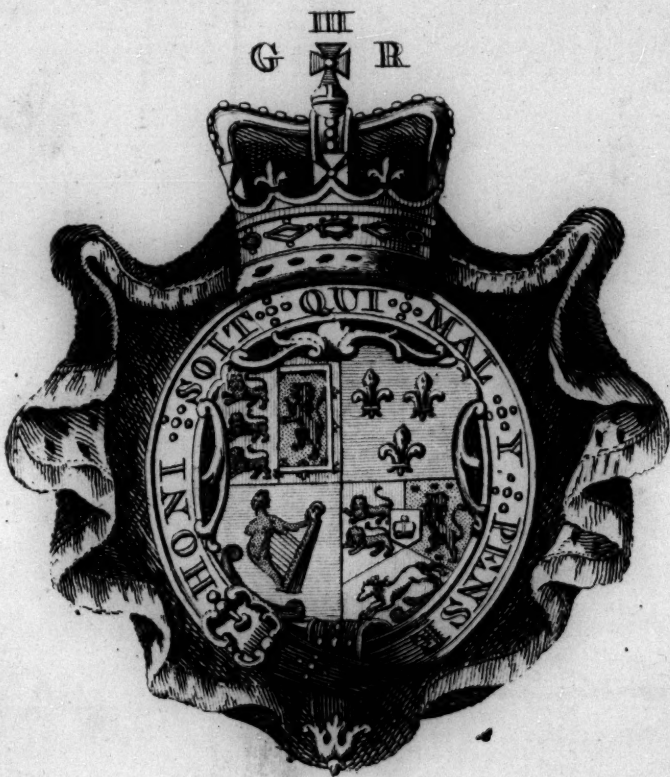
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Subjects:

Kingdoms

in the Royal
Libraries

8

Interests

History

Selected from
Cotton

Part

Review

The Best and Genuine
and Papers that come daily out, as the State of Britain, and some of the
of the Nation.
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latente hand repus fuerit.
Ed Cook & Just. 1794.



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THE CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

AN Essay upon publick Credit, being an Enquiry how the publick Credit comes to depend upon the Change of Ministry, or the Dissolutions of Parliaments; and whether it does so, or not? With an Argument proving, that publick Credit may be upheld and maintained in this Nation; and, perhaps brought to a greater Height than it ever yet arrived at, though all the Changes or Dissolutions already made, pretended to, and now discoursed of, should come to pass in the World. By *R. Harley, Esq;* 1710. Page 1

An Essay upon Loans, or an Argument proving, that substantial Funds settled by Parliaments, with the Encouragement of Interests and the Advances of prompt Payment usually allow'd, will bring in Loans of Money to the Exchequer, in spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the contrary; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the Part of the Government supports the Credit of the Nation. By *R. Harley, Esq;* 1710. 10

An Abstract of the Publick Funds granted and continued to the Crown since 1. *Will. and Mary*, and still existing, viz. 1st. The Revenue of the Civil List. 2d, Annuity-Funds, for ninety-nine Years. 3d, Lottery-Funds for thirty-two Years. 4th, Perpetual Funds redeemable by Parliament; 1st, to the Bank of England; 2d,

to the *East-India* Company; 3d, to the Bankers in *Car. II.* 4th, to the *South-Sea* Company. With an Essay for the more speedy Redemption of the perpetual Funds, and an Apology for the same; with an Appendix for Exchange of a Revenue in *Ireland*. By *Mr. Apgill*, 1715. Page 19
Short State of the War, and of the Peace.

34
The Debts of the Nation stated and considered in four Papers. 40

A Letter to a Friend concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy.

A State of the Five and thirty Millions mentioned in a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons. 53

An Estimate of the Debt of her Majesty's Navy on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on the 30th of *September* last, with what thereof has and will be satisfied by the *South-Sea* Stock. Pursuant to the late Act of Parliament in that Behalf, and what remains of the said Debt on the 30th of *September*, to be discharged with Observations thereupon. 66

A Brief Account of the Debts provided for by the *South-Sea* Act, and the Times when they were incurred, with some short Observations, 1740. 89

The present Ministry justified, or an Account of the State of the several Treaties of Peace, between her Majesty and her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*: With an

A 2 According

The CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

Account of the Obstructions of Peace and of what was done relating to the <i>Catalans</i> , 1714. Page 88	A Remonstrance and Protestation of all the good Protestants of this Kingdom, against Deposing their lawful Sovereign King <i>James</i> the Second, 1689. Page 258
A Report from the Commissions appointed to take and examine the State of the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, and to determine the Debts due to the Army, &c. with a State of the Expence of the late War, 1714. 94	The Speech of Sir <i>George Trebie</i> , Knight. to his Highness the Prince of <i>Orange</i> , 1688. 321
An Index to the Report of the Secret Committee, by which in a short View the Reader is presented with the Substance of it. 119	The Names of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council 322
The Resolutions, Memorial and Vouchers of their High Mightinesses, shewing that the States General of the United Provinces, are wrongfully charged, by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of <i>Great Britain</i> , and by the Addreses of that House, presented on the Subject to her <i>British</i> Majesty, with having failed in several respects during the Course of this present War, to furnish what they ought of their Quota or Contingent according to their Engagements, 154	A true List of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses summoned by the Letter of his Highness the Prince of <i>Orange</i> , to meet at <i>Westminster</i> the 22d of <i>January</i> , 1688-9. 323
Of the Souls of the World, and of particular Souls: In a Letter to Mr. <i>Lock</i> . Occasioned by Mr. <i>Keil's</i> Reflections, upon an Essay, lately published concerning Reason. 229	His Majesty's gracious Message to the Convocation, sent by the Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> 1689. 333
An Essay towards the History of the last Ministry and Parliament, containing seasonable Reflections on Favourites, Ministers of States, Parties, Parliaments and Publick Credit 1710. 244	The humble Address of the Bishops and Clergy of <i>Canterbury</i> , in Convocation assembled in Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Message 333
A Letter from a Foreign Minister in <i>England</i> , to Monsieur <i>Pettecum</i> : containing the true Reasons of the late Changes in the Ministry and of the calling a New Parliament; and therefore fit to be perused by all the Electors, 1710. 270	His Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of the Bishops, &c. 334
A Letter formerly sent to Dr. <i>Tillotson</i> , and for want of an Answer made publick, and now reprinted with the said Doctor's Letter to the Lord <i>Russel</i> , a little before his Execution. By <i>Charlewood Lawton</i> . 241	His Majesty's Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God <i>Henry</i> Lord Bishop of <i>London</i> , to be communicated to the two Provinces of <i>Canterbury</i> and <i>York</i> , 1689. 334
To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament; the humble Remonstrance and Petition of <i>English</i> Protestants against <i>English</i> and <i>Irish</i> Papists 248	Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of <i>Ireland</i> , humbly submitted to the most noble Assembly of Lords and Commons at the great Convention at <i>Westminster</i> . 336
An Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled at <i>Westminster</i> , in the House of Lords, <i>December</i> 22, 1688. 256	A Vindication of the Proceedings of the late Parliament of <i>England</i> , 1689. being the First in the Reign of their present Majesties King <i>William</i> and Queen <i>Mary</i> 341
	King <i>James</i> the Second's Directions to the Arch Bishop 355
	The Arch Bishop's, &c. Petition to the King 358
	The humble Address of the Presbyterians to the King: And his Majesty's Answer 360
	A short Discourse concerning the Reading his Majesty's Declaration, 1688. 361
	A Letter to a Dissenter, upon Occasion of his Majesty's Declaration. By <i>George</i> Marquis of <i>Hallifax</i> , 1687. 364
	A Copy of an Address to the King, by the Bishop of <i>Oxon</i> , to be subscrib'd by the Clergy of his Diocese &c. 373
	A Letter from a Dissenter to the Petitioning Bishops 375
	The Oath which the Kings of <i>Scotland</i> are to take, &c. 377
	His

The CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

His Majesty's Letter to the Parliament of Scotland, 1686.	378	An Enquiry into the Authority of the primitive <i>Complutensian</i> Edition of the New Testament, as principally founded on the most antient <i>Vatican</i> Manuscripts; together with some Research of that Manuscript, in order to decide the Dispute about 1 <i>John</i> v. 7.	489
The Parliament of Scotland's Answer	386	An Enquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament	507
Scotland's Grievances represented to his Majesty, 1689.	381	<i>Samuel</i> , Lord Bishop of <i>Oxon</i> , his celebrated Reasons for abrogating the Test, and Notion of Idolatry answered by <i>Samuel</i> , Arch-Deacon of <i>Canterbury</i>	517
King William's Instructions to Duke Hamilton.	382	A plain Account of the Persecution, now laid to the Charge of the Church of England	Page 525
Proceedings of the Convention of Scotland on crowning King William and Queen Mary, 1689.	387	An Apology for the Church of England, with relation to the Spirit of Persecution: for which she is accused by Bishop Burnet	532
ing James the Second's Letter to the Privy Council from St. Germain's, Jan. 1687-8.		A Letter wrote by <i>Mijn Heer Fagel</i> , Pensioner of <i>Holland</i> , to Mr. James Stewart, Advocate; giving an Account of the Prince and Princess of <i>Oranges's</i> Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Test and the Penal Laws	540
A Scheme for improving the Fishery	391	A Word to a wavering <i>Levite</i> : Or, an Answer to Dr. <i>Sherlock's</i> Reasons concerning the taking of the Oaths, with Reflections thereupon. By a <i>London</i> Apprentice of the Church of England	546
The Case of his Majesty's Sugar Plantations	394	The true Character of a Church-man	553
Reasons against Naturalizing Foreigners	396	The new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, or Whiggish Loyalty, and the Church Loyalty compared	557
A Letter to a Member on settling a Trade from Great-Britain to the South-Sea of America	397	The Divinity of Christ	571
Of Love, by <i>Algernoon Sidney</i> , Esq;	401	Obedience due to the present King, notwithstanding our Oaths to the former. Written by a Divine of the Church of England.	577
A full Enquiry into the original Authority of the Text, 1 <i>John</i> v. 7. There are three that bear Record in Heaven, &c.	410	The State of the Case between <i>Denmark</i> and <i>Sweden</i>	582
The Representative of London and Westminster in Parliament, examined and considered; wherein appears the Antiquity of most of the Boroughs in England, with the Proportions whereby every County is over or under represented, according to a Scale from the Royal Aid Assessments, by which it appears, that <i>Middlesex</i> is found to be represented but one tenth Part of its due Proportion; unto which a Remedy is proposed, and several Reasons offered, to prove the same of universal Benefit to the Kingdom, 1702.	438	A short Account of the Bank	585
Priestcraft in Perfection: Or, a Detection of the Fraud of inserting and continuing this Clause (the Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith) the twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of England	Page 460	The Proceedings upon the Debates, relating to the late Charter of the City of London, as also the Entering up of Judgment against it. Giving an Account of the most remarkable Transactions relating to that Affair.	600
The French Favourites, or the seventh Discourse of <i>Belzac's</i> Politicks	482		
The Speech of Sir Charles Sidley, 1691.	487		
The Speech of Sir Peter King, Knt. Recorder of London to the King, September 20 1714, on his Royal Entry	488		

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AN ESSAY upon PUBLICK CREDIT: Being an ENQUIRY how the PUBLICK CREDIT comes to depend upon the Change of the *Ministry* or the Dissolutions of *Parliaments*; and whether it does so or no? With an ARGUMENT, proving that the PUBLICK CREDIT may be upheld and maintained in this Nation, and perhaps brought to a greater Height than it ever yet arrived at; tho' all the Changes or Dissolutions already made, pretended to, and now discoursed of, should come to pass in the World: By *Robert Harley*, Esq; Printed, 1710.

THE World being so full of Politicians, and so many Authors having of late turned Statesmen, it behoves me to lay every thing down exceeding plain, as I go on; the Subject is nice, the Age abusive, the Town full of *Observers* and *Reviewers*, who write to please and content the Notions of Men, who, directed by their Interest and Parties, differ even with themselves; Reason, it is true, is Dictator in the Society of Mankind; from her there ought to lie no Appeal; but here we want a Pope in our Philosophy, to be the infallible Judge of what *is* or *is not* Reason.

I am to speak of what all People are busy about, but not one in forty understands: Every Man has a Concern in it, few know what it is, nor is it easy to define or describe it. If a Man goes about to explain it by Words, he

rather struggles to lose himself *in the Wood*, than bring others out of it. It is best described by itself; it is like the Wind that blows *where it lists*, we here the *Sound* thereof, but hardly know *whence it comes*, or *whither it goes*.

Like the Soul in the Body, it acts all Substance, yet it is itself immaterial; it gives Motion, yet itself cannot be said to exist; it creates *Forms*, yet has itself *no Form*; it is neither Quantity or Quality; it has *no Whereness*, or *Whenness*, *Scite*, or *Habit*. If I should say it is the essential Shadow of something that is not; should I not puzzle the thing rather than explain it, and leave you and myself more in the dark than we were before?

To come at a direct and clear Understanding of the Thing, the best Method will be to describe its *Operations*, rather than define its *Nature*; to shew *how it acts* rather than *how it exists*; and *what it does*, rather than *what it is*.

TRADE, as the Author of the *Review* has told us, and who I can better submit to learn of on that Subject, than some other he talks more about, "was derived by Convenience from the profitable exchanging of Goods from Nation to Nation, and from Place to Place, as People encreasing, found their Neighbours possessed of what they wanted, and themselves having to spare of what their Neighbouring Countries did not produce." *This we now call Barter*, and is not so much in use as it was in the Infancy of Commerce in the World.

The Britons inhabiting this Island were found to exchange their *Block Tin* with the *Phenician* Merchants for *Spices*, *Wines* and *Oils*, even long before *Julius Cæsar* set his Foot upon this Island.

But as Trade increased, two Accidents *fell in*, as Effects; being the great *Mediums* of Universal Commerce, the *Vehicle* in which Trade is preserved or administered thro' the World; these were *Money* and *Credit*.

This Thing called Commerce flourishing, and extending every Way into all the Corners of the World, the Nations falling generally into Dealing with one another; yet Trade found itself unsufferably freightned and perplexed for want of a general *Species* of a compleat intrinsic Worth, *as the Medium* to supply the Defect of exchanging, and to make good *the Balance*: where a Nation, or a Market, or a Merchant, demanded of another a greater Quantity of Goods than either the Buyer had Goods *to answer*, or the Seller had Occasion to *take back*.

This nothing could be found in the World of universal and intrinsic Worth enough to answer, but *Metals*; as being neither consuming in *Quality*, bulky in *Carriage*, or useless in *Nature*: Of these Metals several Nations adhered a long time, to such as their own Country produced; but *Gold* and *Silver*, by their meer intrinsic Worth prevailed; and they alone retain the universal Character, as it may be called, in all Payments of whatever kind in the World.

The Course of Trade being thus turned, from exchanging of Goods for Goods, or *delivering* and *taking*, to *selling* and *paying*, all the Bargains in the World are now stated upon the Foot of a *Price* in Money; and tho' it be at any Time an Exchange of *Goods for Goods*, yet ever those Goods are on either Side rated at a *Price* in Money.

Tho' this was a great Assistant to Trade, and gave a Liberty to the Increase of Commerce more than ever it had before; yet, such was the great Increase
of

of Trade, that it even over-run the Money itself, and all the Specie in the World could not answer the Demand, or be ready just at the time Trade called for it. *This occasioned*, That when *A* bought more Goods of *B*, than *A* had Money to pay for; and *B* having no Need of any Goods, that *A* had to sell; it behoved, that *A* should leave his Goods with *B* for a certain Time, in which *A* was to provide the Money for the said Goods: And this was done, both from the Occasion *B* had to sell his Goods, the Occasion *A* had to buy them, and the Opinion *B* had of *A*'s Integrity and Ability for Payment.

And this is the great Thing we call CREDIT.

CREDIT is a Consequence, not a Cause; the Effect of a Substance, not a Substance; 'tis the *Sun-shine*, not the Sun; the quickening SOMETHING, call it *what you will*, that gives Life to Trade, gives Being to the Branches, and Moisture to the Root; it is the *Oil* of the Wheel, the *Marrow* in the Bones, the *Blood* in the Veins, and the *Spirits* in the Heart of all the *Negoce*, Trade, Cash, and Commerce in the World.

It is produced, and grows insensibly, from fair and upright Dealing, punctual Compliance, honourable Performance of Contracts and Covenants; in short, 'tis the Off-spring of universal Probity.

It is apparent, even by its Nature, it is no Way dependent upon Persons, Parliaments, or any particular Men, or Set of Men, *as such*, in the World; but upon *their Conduct* and *just Behaviour*. Credit never was chained to Men's Names, but to their *Actions*; not to *Families*, Clans, or Collections of Men; no, not to Nations; it is the Honour, the Justice, the Fair-dealing, and the equal Conduct of Men, Bodies of Men, Nations, and People, that raise the Thing called Credit among them; wheresoever this is found, CREDIT will live and thrive, grow and encrease; *where this is wanting*, let all the Power and Wit of Man join together, they can neither give her Being, or preserve her Life.

Arts have been tried on various Occasions in the World, to raise CREDIT; *Art* has been found able, with more Ease, to destroy Credit, than to raise it: The Force of *Art*, assisted by the punctual, fair, and just Dealing *abovesaid*, may have done much to form a Credit upon the Face of Things; but we find still the *Honour* would have done it without the *Art*, but never the *Art* without the *Honour*. Nor will Money itself, which *Solomon* says *answers all Things*, purchase this Thing called Credit, or restore it when lost.

It is in vain to talk of Credit without this Probity: Honesty will raise Credit without Money; but all the Money in the World will not raise Credit without the Principle. *D* was a Prince of high Birth, a great Character for Wit, Gallantry, and all the Perfections of a Duke and Peer of one of the politest Nations in *Europe*; he had, besides, a noble Fortune, built great Edifices, purchased great Houses, maintained a vast Equipage, and did every thing with the Air of an exquisite and most accomplish'd Gentleman; he had a vast Fortune, great Offices at Court, nor did he ever want Money; his Stewards were never without 20,000 Pistoles in Cash; if *any Sum*, however great, was wanting to support any Point of Honour, for his Play, or to purchase what he had his Eye upon, he knew how to produce it; yet the Barber would not trust him for a Perriwig;

the Coachmaker would not let his Chariot go Home with a new Set of Wheels; *What was the Matter?* He would pay no Body generously, or honourable; he would be furrounded with Duns as he came out of his Palace, and would go *Incognito* to Court to prevent being insulted: The *Sbirri*, or *Provost's Men* at *Paris*, would stop his Coach in the Street, he has been forced to call a Chair, and leave his Coach and Horses in their Possession.

The Thing was plain, he had no *Credit*; his great Estate, his high Birth and Quality, his Equipage, his vast Quantity of gold Plate, his large Cash, they would not add one Inch to the Stature of his *Credit*; but he lived as if he was poor, and was less esteemed in the Shops of the Merchants, than a private Gentleman; nay, than one of the *Burgois*; I had almost said, than a Shoemaker in the City.

On the other Hand, S— is a Gentleman of a moderate Fortune, compared to the other, but is also a Man of Quality; he lives nobly, tho' frugally; keeps a good Equipage, a handsome Family, does not lay up much, his generous Nature will not permit it; but he pays punctually, no Man comes twice for his Money; if a Tradesman leaves his Bill, he buys no more of him till he comes for his Money; he never dines till his Wine is paid for; he wears no Cloaths that the Taylor or Mercer can reproach him for, and call *THEIRS* as he goes along the Street; instead of having his Door crowded with Duns, and his Steward bribed to pay, he is rather crowded with Shop-keepers to petition for his Custom; his Servants are teized to procure their Lord to buy here or there, and every one studies to leave his Goods for Approbation. The Tradesmen are ready to fight, who shall get in his Goods, and sell often to Loss, to under-rate one another. *What's the Matter?* *Credit* stands at his Door; Honour lives there, and *Credit* is her Handmaid. The Count deals justly, pays punctually, every Man's Demands are answer'd, *Credit* courts him, he shall have her Favour, whether he will use her or no.

It is needless to enlarge; Experience tells us the same Thing in all Cases, whether private or publick, personal or national.

Credit is the Consequence of just and honourable Dealing; fair Proposals punctually performed will bring *Credit*, let the Person or People be who they will. How do we trade among the *Turks*, and trust the *Mahometans*, one of whose Doctrines, in the *Alcoran*, is, not to keep Faith with Christians? They have obtained it by a just, punctual, and honourable Practice in Trade, and you credit them without Scruple; nay, rather than a Christian.

Upon this Foundation I build what I am in hand with, and bring it down to the present Case: I know no Persons or Parties in my Argument: This Lord Treasurer or another Lord Treasurer, or no Lord Treasurer, it is the same thing to me; a Bank or no Bank, it is all one; I will sell none of my Tallies or Annuities; I will discount no Exchequer Bills: Dissolve the Parliament or not dissolve the Parliament, it is all one to me; I neither fear, desire, or am anxious about either; nor can I see so much Cause for an Alarm among our People that have Money, as if *Credit* was pinned to the Girdle of a Man, or waited at the Door of the House of Commons; the Thing is a Mistake, *Credit* attends the honourable Management of your *Treasurers*, your *Exchequers*, your *Parliaments*, whether past, present, or to come.

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 5

I do not examine what politic Reason may induce her Majesty, to change or remove her Great Men in the Ministry; I enquire not whether her Majesty purposes to dissolve the Parliament, or to let them sit; these Things are not concerned in our Case: The late Lord Treasurer, I allow, has done honourably, has managed the Finances with great and unusual Dexterity, and has acquired thereby the Fame of the best Officer, that has for many Years acted in that Post; I could be content to spend a whole Page in his Praise; the Nation is infinitely obliged to him; and his royal Mistress, no doubt, has received infinite Satisfaction in his Conduct, as appears by rejecting all Attempts against him, and keeping him so long in a Post of so great Trust.

But after this is said, *Credit*, which has for some Years been the Nation's happy Guest, by whose Aid such mighty Things have been done, cannot be said to be the sole Property of my Lord Treasurer personally; it is not singly intail'd upon his Family, or his Name; this would be to go a Length his Lordship himself has more Modesty than to claim; nor would his Lordship be well pleased with any, that could think such coarse kind of Flattery would oblige him.

Our Credit in this Case is a publick Thing; it is rightly called by some of our Writers, NATIONAL CREDIT; the Word denominates its Original; it is produced by the Nation's Probity, the Honour and exact performing *National Engagements*. In this the great Officers of the Treasury and Exchequer are, as we may say, perfectly Passive; their Business is indeed Active; so the Wheels of a Clock, their Business is to go round; but they are subject to the Influence of *their Position*, the Operations of the Springs and Wheels that guide *their Motion*, by which they act passively, if that may be said, *that is*, of meer Necessity; and the punctual Pointing of the Hand to the Lines shewing the Hour, the Minutes and the Seconds, *are Consequences* of these Motions: These indeed tell us that the Wheels are good, perfectly made, exactly placed, and moved to a Truth; but the Honour redounds to the *Workmen*, who placed them in that exact Order, adapted them to their several Uses, and placed such Springs and Wheels about them, which, by their like Exactness, but all derived from the same Original, oblige every Part punctually to perform the End of the whole Movement.

CREDIT is not the Effect of this or that Wheel in the Government, moving regular and just to its proper Work; but of the whole Movement, acting by the Force of its true original Motion, according to the exquisite Design of the Director of the whole Frame.

Thus the *Honour*, the *Probity*, the exact punctual *Management*, which has raised our *Credit* to the Pitch it is now arrived at, has not been merely the great Wheel in *the Nation's Clockwork*, that turn'd about the Treasure, but the great Spring that turned about that Wheel, and this is the QUEEN and PARLIAMENT. *The one*, the Spring (*still keeping to the Allegory*) that gives Motion or Life to the whole; *the other*, the Balance or Pendulum, that regulates that Motion, keeps it true to, and exact in, the Performance of the general Work, (*viz.*) the equal and punctual dividing the smallest Measures of Time.

This nice Case requires me a little to descend to Particulars, and touch Matter of Fact nearer than was intended; What is it has restored and recovered the Nation's *Credit* from the Breaches made in it? The answering this necessarily requires

requires that I should also ask what made the former Breaches in *our Credit*? I should do this as modestly as I can; for it is not the present Work to open Sores, but to heal them, to prevent more from breaking out.

Some of the Reasons which sunk *our Credit*, and made the Breaches in it in the late Reign, were the settling Funds that were in themselves deficient; and making no Provision to supply those Deficiencies. Some would perhaps go farther; and say, it was settling Funds that *were not probable*, and whose Deficiencies were visible. I shall not go that Length, the Error was in the Original; it would be unjust to charge the Deficiency of these Funds upon the Commissioners of the Treasury *for the Time being*; it would be still harder to blame them for the Parliament not supplying those Deficiencies. Some may have said they were to blame in the first Act, because it was their Work to provide Funds, and the Parliament only gave what they asked; that they took them and went away satisfied, as sufficient for the Supply of the Occasion, and that they were Judges of the Probability; *I am not of that mind*, tho' it is not to my purpose here to debate it. But this is certain, the not supplying the Deficiencies upon the repeated Application of the Persons, whose Estates lay in those Deficiencies, seemed wholly to lie at the Door of the Parliament, and this brought the Tallies on those Funds to intollerable unheard of Discounts, to the Ruin of all that we *called Credit*.

What then has raised *this Credit*? I hope I do not detract from the just Character of him, whom one calls the great Guide of the Nation's Treasure, if I say, it was something else than his Lordship's Management; something prior to it, *in which* that national Honour and Justice, Resolution of punctual Payment and Concern for the Means of it, *appeared*, which put Life into the Nation, and made those People that had Money think it *as safe*, as well deposited, and the Principal in *as good Hands*, as in their own; so that they were perfectly easy in adventuring their Money, and the longer this went on, the forwarder were the People to bring in their Money: Nay, so forward, that the faster the Government lowered their Interest, the more eager were the People to bring in their Money.

Let us see where this began, and this will tell us *whose doing* it was. After the first Session of Parliament of her present Majesty, the Queen acquainted the House, That the Funds had more than answered the Sums *they were given for*; there was the capital Wound of Deficiency healed at once. That the Overplus should be applied, &c. There was an Assurance, that all Deficiencies, if any happened, should be made good. This gave the *Parliament Part* a Brightness that revived the Spirits of the People, helped open their Purfes, which had been so long closed, and caused Taxes to be raised without murmuring.

The Queen acted the next Part; Her Majesty gave constant Assurances, that every Thing given should be *rightly applied*; and to encourage her People, and shew she was willing to *bear a part* of their Burthen, the Queen generously threw in *an Hundred thousand Pound* of her own Money, *appropriated for the Civil List*, to ease the Nation of so much in that Year's Burthen. *These were Steps* no Prince ever was known to take before. *After this* you never heard of a Complaint of the heavy Burthen of the Taxes, though greater far than any

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

7

any raised in the former Reign ; on the contrary, *the more* you raised, *the easier* they were paid ; *the more* the Nation ran in Debt, *the higher* their Credit rose every Day. *After this* you never had any Commissioners of Accounts asked for, or any Question about Misapplication. *No Man* need go far for a Reason for this ; *the Credit* centered all in the Queen, whose Concern was so visible for her People's Good, that she would suffer no Misapplications ; that she would employ none, but in whom she could place entire Confidence ; whose Probity and Exactness her Majesty could answer for *to herself*, and was well assured she might be *safe in*.

It is no way lessening the Honour of the Servants her Majesty chose, to say that the Nation's Credit depends not on the Reputation of their Conduct ; but on her Majesty's Care, in chusing such Men, whose Conduct would perform all the Nation could expect ; and that if they should fail, her Majesty would not fail to remove them, and put in others. This is putting the Thing right ; the Sum and Substance of the Argument is this. In short,

Publick Credit is the Consequence of honourable, just, and punctual Management in the Matter of *Funds* and *Taxes*, or Loans upon them. Where this goes before, Credit always follows.

This Management depends not upon the well-executing their Offices, by the great Officers of the Treasury, and the Exchequer, but on the *Care, Conduct,* and *Vigilance* of her Majesty and the Parliament ; *the latter* in establishing sufficient Funds ; and *the former* in placing able Officers, and obliging them to an honourable Management.

The *Publick Credit* therefore depends upon the Queen and Parliament entirely, and not at all upon the well or ill Management of the Officers, of what kind soever.

Another Thing confirms this, (*viz.*) That while the Parliament concerns itself to prevent the Deficiency of Funds, and the Queen to place Men of Probity and Honour in the Government of her Treasury ; *there is no Question to be made*, but both would concern themselves *upon any Complaints of the Subject*, to enquire into any Mismanagement or Abuse of the People, in the greatest Officers ; and not only punish the Offender, but *prevent the Offence*, by removing such Officer, and supplying his Place with others, who should better discharge so weighty a Trust. This resolves the Point, that Credit centers where the Government centers ; for if the Sovereign displaces those that misapply, the Wound to Credit heals of itself ; and while the Sovereign carefully prefers Men of Honour and Probity in the Nation's Trust, Credit rises by a natural Consequence.

But still it is the NATION'S CREDIT ; *that is*, it is built on the Honour of the Queen and Parliament, as above ; and this has been the Case of the late Lord Treasurer ; the Credit of whose Management must return to the Queen, as to the Center ; otherwise this must be called, *My Lord Treasurer's Credit*, not the *Nation's* ; and, to our great Loss, must die with his Lordship ; which would be very unhappy *for us* ; and would imply, that we ought to be more concerned for his Lordship's long Life than the Queen's ; a Thing would very ill please even his Lordship to suggest.

Having laid down this as a Foundation, I build this short Fabrick upon it, (*viz.*) That as the publick Credit is *National*, not *Personal*, so it depends upon

upon *No thing or Person, No Man or Body of Men*, but upon the Government, *that is*, The Queen and Parliament; displacing or removing any Minister of State, or great Officer, whose Management under the Sovereign affects our Treasure, can no way influence our *National Credit*; while the just, honourable and punctual Conduct of the Sovereign and Parliament remains the same. Neither does our Credit depend upon the Person of the Queen, *as Queen*, or the individual House of Commons, *identically*; as if *no Queen* but her present Majesty, and *no Parliament* but the present Parliament, could support and uphold the Credit of the Nation: *But* it will remain a Truth, that *every Queen*, or *every King*, and *every Parliament*, succeeding the present, that shall discover the *same Justice* in Government, the *same Care* in giving sufficient Funds, the *same Honesty* in supplying the Deficiencies if they happen, *the same* Concern for the Burthen of the Subject, and *the same* Care to put the Treasure into the Hands of faithful and experienced Officers, shall keep up *the same* Character, have the *same* Credit, and restore all these Declinings to the *same* Vigour and Magnitude as ever.

From hence it appears, That our present Loss of *Credit* does not arise from any Doubt, whether the like Conduct can produce this Effect or no; but from a strange Suggestion, That a new Parliament, or a new Ministry, shall either *not design* or *not pursue* the same vigorous and wise Resolutions, or manage with *the same* Integrity, as the last have done. If her Majesty saw room for this Suggestion, I make no doubt, (her Concern for the publick Good *is such*) that no such Change had been made, or would lodge an Hour longer among her Thoughts; but if her Majesty is of the Opinion, that such a Change will not lessen the Concern *for*, or just Measures *in* the Publick Service, then the Difficulty ends. Her Majesty has now put new Officers into her Treasury: No doubt her Majesty *is satisfied* it shall be in their Power to preserve the *Publick Credit*, and restore it to as great a Height as ever it was before. And I will presume to add, That if her Majesty should find it otherwise, it would be an effectual Motive to *farther Changes* till such Hands should be found, in whose Conduct the *National Credit* could not miscarry.

It seems that the present Discontents are grounded upon a *Supposition*, That a new Ministry shall be less zealous for the Publick Interest, than the Present; or, at least, the Objectors argue, that her Majesty has sufficient Experience of the Zeal of the present Ministry, *for her Service*, and for the Publick Good; and therefore it cannot seem rational to run that Risque; and the like, of a New Parliament.

To this may be answered; Why should it be suggested, that a New Parliament shall not be equally zealous for the Liberties of *Britain* with the Present? They are to be chosen by the Freeholders; they are to be *Englishmen*; they are to be *Protestants*; they are to abjure the Pretender; they are to be joined with *the same* House of Lords; to be blessed with *the same* Queen; and the Queen, I doubt not, filled with *the same* Principles as before; *the same* by which her Majesty, for I must place it there, *restored the Nation's Credit before*, and raised it to what we have now seen it.

Shall we say, The Parliament will not raise Money to carry on the War? This would be to say, We shall chuse such a Parliament as will *declare the Pretender*,
for sake

forsake the Confederacy, *join* with the common Enemy, and *depose* the Queen. These are Fears no thinking Man can suppose to be rational; and are spread about by none *but those* that desire it should be so; and who, crying out loudest of the Fall of *Public Credit*, procure the Thing they complain of; and indeed we have no Breach of *our Credit*, but what rises from these Men.

To back their Fears, and make others think them reasonable, they give long Accounts of the Progress of Dr. *Sacheverell*, as if the Folly and impolitick Vanity of that Gentleman could influence the People of *England*, to send up Men as *mad* and *foolish* as himself: I must profess to think, if Dr. *Sacheverell* thinks he serves the Interest he pretends to appear for, by his mobbing and riotous Progress, he is as much mistaken *as they were*, who made him popular by a hasty Prosecution, instead of committing his Sermon to the Hang-man, and kicking him from the Bar for a Lunatic; which if they had done, the Nation had been more in Debt to *their Prudence*, than I think they are now for *their Justice*.

I am against Furies on both Sides; nor do I see any such coming in: If her Majesty does let in any such, *I dare presume to say*, it must be for want of having their due Character; and the Term of their Services may probably end when they discover themselves.

But if Men of Moderation, and Men of Integrity come in, I see no room to fear, but *our Credit* shall revive as well under a New Ministry as an Old.

I know, that some talk of a Stagnation of the Fountain; that there is a Famine of Funds; that the Nation is exhausted, and we are at a full stop: This I take to be an *Amusement*, that comes over from *France*, and is calculated very much for the Service of the Enemy. But there are ways to get over the Difficulty, and the best way is Demonstration and Experience; I believe the *French King* does not raise half so much Hopes from our not being able to find any Funds at all, as from our being at a Loss for Credit to borrow upon those Funds when they are raised; and he may live to be deceived in both.

But to obviate these Things, *I take the Liberty to say*, and that not without-book, when the Parliament meets, be it the present Parliament, or a new Parliament; be it the present Ministry, or a new Ministry; as I hope there will not want Zeal in the Members, to supply her Majesty's Occasions for the War; so were this War to hold seven Years longer, it is easy to propose sufficient Funds for the carrying it on, without that horrid Proposal of mortgaging our *Land-Tax*, or without any *such Taxes*, as shall either be burthensome to the Poor, or scandalous to the Nation.

As to Credit, while the Parliament and the Queen continue to preserve those Funds from Deficiencies, to make good such as happen, and to support the Vigour and Honour of the Publick Management; I see no room to doubt, but *Credit* shall revive, and as we have not yet found any Fund the Parliament has raised, unsupplied with Loans and Advances upon it, even faster than could be desired; so I can see no room to fear the contrary: Yet if such a Thing should happen, a mean Head may find out some Expedient that may not be ineffectual; for a Supply of which, if there should be Occasion, a Proposal shall not be wanting.

[From the late Earl of Oxford's Collection]

AN ESSAY upon LOANS ; or an ARGUMENT, proving, That Substantial FUNDS, settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of *Interests*, and the Advances of *Prompt Payment* usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the *Exchequer*, in spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the contrary ; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the Part of the Government, supports the Credit of the Nation. By the Author of the *Essay upon Credit*.

HAVING treated in brief upon the difficult Subject of *Credit*, and that (if the Town is not a Deceiver) with some Success ; it seems necessary to speak a Word or two upon the great Object, upon which that Credit operates, *viz. Loans of Money* upon the Publick Demands.

The Author, *an Enemy to long Prefaces*, presents his Thoughts to the World upon this Head, without any other Apology than this, That he thinks it a Service at this time, to remove the Mistakes which some make, and others improve to our Disadvantage, while they think it is to the Disadvantage of some body else : While they aim at an Object they would hurt, they wound themselves ; and in prosecuting private or party Prejudices, injure, weaken, and assault the publick Good ; which every Man has a Property in, and therefore is in Duty bound to defend.

A Discourse upon *Credit*, is naturally an Introduction to a discourse upon *Loan* ; *Credit* without *Loan* is a beautiful Flower, fair to the Eye, fragrant to the Smell, ornamental to the Plot of Ground it grows in ; but yielding neither Fruit nor Seed, neither Profit to the Possessor of it, by making due Advantage of its Produce, nor Benefit to Posterity, by Propagation of its Species. On the other Hand, *Loans* without *Credit* are like the labouring Plowman upon a barren Soil, who works, cultivates, sweats, and toils, but to no purpose, all the Fruit of his Labour ends in Sterility and Abortion.

Loans are the Consequences of *Credit*, and the Evidence of that particular Quality, which in the preceding Discourse of *Credit*, I laid down as its Foundation ; I mean general Probity, punctual, just, and honourable Management.

To explain Things as I go ; tho' this needs but little : By *Loans*, I am now to be understood to mean, *Lending Money to the present Government* : The Thing will extend to private Affairs, and I might take up a great deal of your Time, in speaking of the Effects of *Credit* in Trade, such as delivering Goods by Tradesmen to one another ; Paper-Credit in Affairs of Cash ; Pledging, Pawning,

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. II

Pawning, and all the Articles of Security for Money, practised in general Commerce; but these Things are not to the present Purpose.

The Author of this confines his Discourse to the Government borrowing Money of the Subject, whether upon Securities established by Parliament equivalent in Value delivered, publick Faith, general Credit, or otherwise.

The Nature of these Securities, the Reason, the Usefulness, and the Foundation they stand on, are no part of the present Subject; they are reserved by the Author to a Head by themselves, if Leisure and the publick Service make it proper to present you a Discourse upon *Funds*.

The present War, which, with a small Interval of an unsettled and impolitick Peace, is now in its twenty-second Year, has been remarkable in several Circumstances above all the Wars that ever this Nation has been engaged in, since the *Romans* possessed it.

It has been,

The longest in its Duration;

The fiercest and most expensive in Blood;

The most famous in Successes, and unheard of Victories;

It has been carried on against the most powerful Enemies;

It has produced the most firm, and the greatest Confederacy;

And it has in View, the most glorious Conclusion.

Together with these Things, it has this also peculiar to it; that it has been carried on at an Expence, which has surmounted not all that ever went before it only, but all that it could be imagined was possible for any Nation of our Dimensions in the World to support.

Not the *French* King only has been deceived in the Efforts made by this Nation in the Process of the War; which, as penetrating as he is, he never thought possible; but it is most certain, had the wisest and best Calculator in the Island been told what the Undertaking would have called for, he would have determined it to be forty Millions Sterling beyond what the Nation was able to do, and that without selling the very Nation, it could not be done.

As the View of the Expence would have made us wisely avoid the War, and either not have begun it, or long since ended it, upon the best Terms we could obtain from the Enemy; so had the Enemy believed *England* capable of supporting the War, at such a Prodigy of Expence, he would never have begun it; which the King of *France* himself has been heard, in Terms very plain, to acknowledge.

When upon the Revolution the Parliament fell most willingly into the War, as a Thing the Enemy, by espousing King *James's* Interest, made absolutely necessary: The first Branch of our Expence was carried on in the common Road of levying Taxes, and the Money required for every Year's Expence was raised and paid within the Year.

The Nation was rich, Trade prodigiously great, Paper-Credit run high, and the Goldsmiths in *Lombard-street*, &c. commanded immense Sums; Anticipations were indeed in Practice, they had been so of old, and borrowing Clauses were added to the Bills of Aid; but these lasted but a few Months, the Money

came in of course, and they were paid off in their Turn: Land-Tax, Polls, additional Duties of Customs, Excises, and the like, were the Ways and Means by which these Things were done; the Year generally supported its own Demands; all the Loans were supposed to be temporary, and to end with the Collection.

As the War every Year grew heavier upon us, and the Expence increased, new Ways and Means were necessary to supply the growing Demand, till all the Taxes that could be raised by the ordinary Way, were found little enough to bring the Annual Expence about.

This put the Commissioners of the Treasury upon listening to new Taxes, and entertaining all the Projects for raising Money, that the working Heads of the Age would supply them with.

These, backed with Parliamentary Authority, were too unadvisedly supposed to raise such certain Sums as the publick Occasions then called for, and borrowing Clauses were added to them, limiting the said Sums; which passed as a giving the Treasury Credit upon the Acts of Parliament for such Sums as they were granted for; but the Collections falling intirely short of the Sums proposed, left the Publick in Arrear to the Lenders, and from hence came the great Load of Deficiencies, which the Nation feels the Weight of to this Hour.

As the Sums given fell short, so the War called every Year for still greater Sums; which, added to the Deficiencies of the old Taxes, grew so heavy, that our Managers found it was in vain to struggle with the Difficulty any longer, upon the Foot of Annual Taxes; and that it was next to impossible to raise every Year what the publick Occasions called for.

This led them of course to a new Method to supply the great Demands of the War, *viz.* by establishing annual Receipts of limited or perpetual Interests for such Sums, as might be borrowed upon the Credit of the Nation, the Principal to sink in the Hands of the Publick. These were called F U N D S.

To encourage the People to lend upon these Funds, Premiums for advancing the Money, large Interests, and other Advantages were annexed; such as *14 per Cent. per Annum* upon Annuities, with Survivorship, Chance of Prizes by Way of Lottery, *7 per Cent.* upon Exchequer Bills, *and the like.*

Here, together with the innumerable Tallies, which upon the Deficiency of former Taxes as aforesaid, went about the Town upon Discount, and the great Obstruction of running Cash, by calling in the old Coin, was the first rise given to the Art and Mystery of Stock-Jobbing; a Practice, whether good or evil in its Consequences to the publick Affairs, is not to the present Purpose to enquire.

By this Method has the greatest Part of our yearly Taxes, since that Time, been raised; the Parliament establishing Funds for Payment of Interest, and the People advancing Money, by Way of Loan, on those Interests.

It may not be improper here for some People to reflect, That in the Advantages granted by the Government upon these Loans, and the great Discounts upon Tallies on the deficient Aids, mentioned above, were founded the great Stocks of Money, Banks, and powerful Credit; with which some People are grown to such a Height, especially in their own Opinion, as to talk of influencing the publick Affairs, and as it were menacing the Government with Apprehensions of their lending or not lending, as they are, or are not pleased with the Management

ment of, or Managers in the publick Oeconomy ; and this is the Subject I am a little to speak to.

LOANS to the Government, by the Gradations aforesaid, having been found essentially necessary, the first Steps to that new Method were found fatally incumbering ; the high *Premio's* given, the great Advantages proposed, and the large Interests paid to the Lender. The Government appeared like a distressed Debtor, who was every Day squeezed to Death by the exorbitant Greediness of the Lender ; the Citizens began to decline Trade and turn Usurers ; Foreign Commerce, attended with the Hazards of War, had infinite Discouragements, and the People in general drew home their Effects, to embrace the Advantage of lending their Money to the Government. Then grew up the B A N K, whose second Subscription being founded upon a Parliamentary Security, for making good the deficient Tallies, was formed by receiving in those Tallies at *Par*, which cost the Subscribers but 55 to 65 *per Cent.* by which the greatest Estates were raised in the least Time, and the most of them, that has been known in any Age, or in any Part of the World.

This, I say, turned the whole City into a Corporation of Usury, and they appeared not as a *Bank*, but rather one general Society of Bankers ; all Men that could draw any Money out of their Trades, run with it to *Exchange-Alley*, to buy Stocks and Tallies, subscribe to Banks or Companies ; or to the Exchequer with it to put into Loans, and lend it upon the advantageous FUNDS settled by Parliament.

It is meet to mention these Things, for the Sake of the People who have gotten such great Estates by the Government, to let them know from whence the Advantages they have made, did proceed ; and also for some other Reasons which will appear in the Sequel of this Discourse.

The Government, to preserve to themselves the Advantages of the Loans, and yet to avoid being imposed upon and oppressed by those exorbitant Interests and Encouragements, about the Year 1698, entered into Measures to secure the Loan of Money, and yet lower the Advantages given to the Lenders.

The first was done by the Parliament, applying themselves to restore *Credit*, by a Vote to make good all Deficiencies, and erecting a punctual, just, and fair Management of the Payments ; by which every several Engagement being honourably complied with, the Credit of the publick Affairs revived, and the Exorbitances the former Years were exposed to, wore off of course.

This tedious Recapitulation of Things will appear less trouble to the Reader, when he sees the use I shall make of it.

Here may be seen several Things, which, if well considered, tend to the lowering the high and extravagant Imaginations of some People, with respect to *Loans*, *Credit*, *Borrowing* and *Lending* of Money to the Government ; such as these ;

- I. Large Interests, Advantages, *Premio's* for Advance of Money, and the like, will bring in *Loans* in spite of Parties, in spite of Deficiencies, in spite of all the Conspiracies in the World to the contrary ; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the Part of the Government, does but maintain the Credit of the Nation.

14 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

II. As the Affairs of the Government have made *Loans* necessary, and they can not go on without borrowing; so the Stream of Trade and Cash is so universally turned into publick Funds, the whole Nation feels so much of Gains, so much by, and depends so much upon the publick Credit, that they can no more do without the Funds, than the Funds can do without the Loan.

III. These Borrowings and Lendings are become so much a Trade, so many Families have their Employment from, and get so great Estates by the negotiating these Things, that it is impossible for any particular Set of Men to put a Stop to it; or to get any such Power into their Hands, as to give the Government just Grounds of Apprehension, that this or that Party of Men can put a Check to the publick Affairs, be they *Whigs, Tories, City, Court, Banks, Company*, or what they please to call themselves.

I shall not tie myself to speak to these apart, *the Liberty of this Tract will not admit of it*, but in a summary Way you will find the Fact demonstrated, and the Consequence evident.

Men in Trade, more especially than the rest of Mankind, are bound by their Interest; Gain is the End of Commerce, where that Gain visibly attends the Adventurer, as no Hazard can discourage, so no other Obligation can prevent the Application.

Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos.

To pretend after this, that Parties shall govern Mankind against their Gain, is to philosophize wisely upon what *may be*, and what would be politick to bring to pass; but what no Man can say was ever put in practice to any Perfection; or can be so by the common Principles that govern Mankind in the World.

There have been Combinations in Trade, and People have seemed to act counter to their present Interests; nay, have gone on in apparent Loss, in pursuance of such Combinations; but they have always been made in order to secure a Return of greater Gain; and therefore, the Laws made against such Combinations, are not made to prevent Peoples going on to their Loss, but to prevent the end of that appearing Loss, *viz.* The Ingrossment or monopolizing of Trade, to come at some Advantage over others, and thereby make an exorbitant Gain.

But it was never yet heard, that the Zeal of any Party got the better so much of their Interest, as to put a general Stop to the current and natural Stream of their Interest; that a People should reject the fair and just Advantages which have raised so many Estates, and are the due Supplies to the Breaches made by the War upon general Commerce. To talk that we would not lend Money to the Government, while the Parliament settles Funds, allows Interests, gives *Premio's* and Advantages, is to say, Nature will cease, Men of Money will abstain from being Men loving to get Money. That Tradesmen should cease to seek Gain, and Usurers to love large Interests; that Men that have gained Money should leave off desiring to get more; and that Zeal to a Party should prevail over Zeal to their Families; that Men should forfeit their Interest for their Humour, and serve their Politicks at the Price of their Interest.

Let

Let those that promise themselves these Things, enquire among the Merchants, and see if Parties govern any thing in Trade; if there is either *Whig* or *Tory* in a good Bargain; Churchman or Dissenter in a good Freight; High Church or Low Church in a good Adventure; if a Shop-keeper sees a good Pennyworth, a Scrivener a good Mortgage, a monied Man a good Purchase, do they ever ask what Party he is of that parts with it? Nay, rather in spite of Party-Aversions, do we not buy, sell, lend, borrow, enter into Companies, Partnerships, and the closest Engagements with one another, nay, marry with one another, without any Questions of the Matter?

Let us come to the general Body of People as Fate has unhappily divided us; where are the Men, supposing a Party Conspiracy against the Government in this matter of Loan; Where are the Men who would hold together, and refuse making 7 *per Cent.* of their Money to preserve the Engagement? Where are the Men who would stay their Hands, and lose the Probability of gaining a Thousand Pounds a Year by Lottery? *No, no*, it is not to be done; the Stream of Desire after Gain runs too strong in Mankind, to bring any thing of that kind to Perfection in this Age. The Thing is so impracticable in its Nature, that it seems a Token of great Ignorance in the Humour of the Age to suggest it; and a Man would be tempted to think those People that do suggest it, do not themselves believe what they say about it.

In the matter of Loan it next comes in our way to enquire, how does the Cash of the Nation, which is the Thing we are upon, stand divided, and how is the Government in Hazard of any Combination of this kind? If it be impossible to make this Enquiry without any Party-Biass, and so as to give Offence to neither Side, it shall be done. I do not say who is in, or who out; who has the Management, who had it, or who would have it; let that stand as it does, or may; but how do the Parties stand, with respect to one another; supposing any one Party would endeavour to stagnate the general Circulation of Credit, in Prejudice of the other: As for the purpose;

Suppose a Whig Administration, and all the High-Church-Men and their Appendices in hopes to reduce them to Exigences in the Management, should conspire together to run down the Publick Credit, and lend no Money on any of the Funds. *Vice Versa*; suppose a Reverse, and the Whigs in general should do the same Thing. Let us enquire; Are either of these Parties so rich in Cash, so powerful in lending, that all the Loans must depend upon their Money; or are either of these Parties so inconsiderable in this Case, that their Support should signify nothing without the Concurrence of the other? If the last were true, that weak Party could make no manner of Figure in this Government, or be significant enough for the Sovereign without visible Distraction to engage with. To descend to Particulars.

The Notion is general, at least among themselves, that the Gros of the Cash is with the Whigs; and the *Review* speaks of it as a Thing capable of some Demonstrations; though with his good liking, it may be said, he may be mistaken. Some have gone a Length beyond the Author of the *Review*, and will have it, that the Money lies in the Hands of the Dissenters; and will allow the Church-men, especially the High-Church-Men, to have little enough for themselves, and by Consequence less to spare to the publick Loans.

Others will tell you, the High-Church-Party have a large Share of the Nation's Cash in their Hands ; that they have generally a Proportion of Money, and beyond Comparison more Land than the other. They add, That as they have more Land, they can when they please have more Money ; and that therefore, though they should grant that the Low-Church and Dissenters put together have the most ready Money, yet allowing them the Superiority in the Lands, they can fetch the Money into their own Hands when they please.

It is not for me to determine who has most Land, or who most Money ; it is my Opinion, neither have so much or so little, as to render them formidable or contemptible to one another in the Matter of Loan. Both Sides have enough to be useful to, and both Sides have little enough to stand in need of one another ; and in this Division the Ballance of Parties (which at this time is the only Felicity that we can find in having any Parties at all) does consist.

I make no Difficulty to acknowledge, That where the Land is, there is the Foundation of all the real Wealth in the Nation : I do not say, it is in this or that Party exclusive ; That the Gentlemen, who call themselves of the High-Party, have a great Share of the Land, is most certain, but that they have so much more than the Whigs and Dissenters joined, as some will alledge, I cannot determine. No doubt where the Land is, there can be no want of Money ; because Land will at any time raise Money : whereas Money, without the Assistance of Trade, Land-men, or Governments, can operate no way, but like the Viper, preying upon itself.

This leads me to examine the Difference between *Loan* and *Fraud* in this Case. Examining which, something may perhaps come to light for our Instruction, which has not been much thought of before.

Solomon tell us, *The Borrower is Servant to the Lender* ; but with the Wise Man's Leave, in this Case it is not so. *Solomon* is there to be understood speaking of the poor borrowing Wretch, who borrowed upon the Foot of Charity and Compassion, and therefore he just before says, *The Poor uses many Entreaties, but the Rich answer roughly*. The poor Man that borrows on his single Promise to supply his urgent Necessity, *uses Entreaties*, as we may say, *He begs to borrow* ; but the *rich Lender* is surly, hardly consents, *answers roughly*, and is with Difficulty brought to lend.

But we are to distinguish here between *Solomon's* Borrower described as above, and he that borrows on a sufficient current Security : He is no more Servant to the Lender, than the Lender is Servant to him ; having an unquestioned Security to give, he scorns to ask you twice ; but if you do not think fit to lend your Money, he goes to another.

This is apparent in the *Publick Securities*, as well as in private ; and will make it out, if ever put to the Test, That the People of *England* stand in as much need of *the Funds* to lend their Money upon, as the Government stands in need of their Money upon *those Funds*. I prove this matter of Fact, fresh in your Memories, and undeniable in all its Circumstances. In the Beginning of the War, when the Money lay abroad in Trade, the Knowledge of Affairs young, and the People not apprized of the Thing ; the Anticipations upon Taxes and Loans came heavy, and were small, *What drew them on?* Large Premios, high Interests, Chances of Prizes, Survivorship, and the like,

Thus when the Necessities of the Government were great and their Credit young to borrow, the Lenders made their Market: But when the Government found themselves *rich in Funds*, their Demands, *though great*, yet not pressing; Credit established, the Parliament, *the great Fund of Funds*, and Centre of Credit, ready to make good Deficiencies, and leaving no room for Jealousies in the Minds of the People, *What was the Case?* You took off your Premios, you drew no more Lotteries for sixteen Years, you lowered your Interest, you brought your Annuities from 14 to 7 *per Cent.* and your Interest on Tallies from 7 to 6 *per Cent. per Ann.* From 7 *per Cent.* upon Exchequer Bills, you came down to 4 *per Cent.* And what was the Consequence? The Necessity of the Lenders being more to lodge their Money for Improvement, than the Necessity of the Borrowers was to ask, they came always down to your Price; and had you brought the general Interest of Loans to 4 *per Cent.* they must have come down, for Money is no longer Money than it can be improved. *Nay, it is to be observed*, the Eagerness of the People to bring in their Money encreased, as the Advantages of lending decreased: Having no way to improve it better, they were under an absolute Necessity of bringing it in, for the Sake of the Improvement.

Are these any of the People, who can be supposed to say to the Parliament, They will not lend their Money? It would almost provoke a Man to laugh at them. You will not lend your Money! Why, what will you do with it?

Perhaps you will not lend it to the Government; *well*, you will *then* lend it upon private Security, upon Land, and the like; why then those you lend it to, will lend it to the Government, and so the Malice of the Affair will be lost, and the Advantage too. Will you run it into Trade? *Do so by all means.* Some of those Hands it will circulate through, will lend it to the Government. Your very *Export and Import* is a Loan to the Government. In short, the Government shall have your Money *first or last*, do what you will with it.

Suppose it were possible to divide this Nation into two Parts, the Landed-men and the Monied-men, and the Government were to be put into the Hands of the *first* against the Consent of the *last*; and the Monied-men knowing the Landed-men could not carry on the War without Money, resolved to lend them none, I mean as a Government, What course should the Landed-men take?

In my Opinion, they should pass an Act, That none of those People should be admitted to lend any Money to the Government at all; What then would be the Consequence? They would be immediately distressed with the Weight of Money without Improvement; they would eagerly lend it to the Landed-men at 4 *per Cent.* upon their Land; and they again lending it to the Government at 6 and 7 *per Cent.* the Government would be supplied, and the Landed-men would get 3 *per Cent.* by the other Men's Money.

I am not making Application; but let any of the present Parties, who boast of their having the Gros of the Money, reflect what they would say, if any Act were to pass, That no *Whig's* Money, or no *Dissenter's* Money, or no High-Church-Man's Money should be accepted upon Loan; That they should not be allowed a Transfer upon any Stock, or to buy any Annuity; the Complaint would be very loud of their being excluded the common Advantages of their Fellow-Subjects; and that paying their Share of Taxes, they ought to have room for equal Improvements, and ought not to be excluded; *and this is true too*, it

would be hard. Then they would run about to their Friends among the contrary Party, shelter their Money under their Names, and perhaps give one half *per Cent.* or one *per Cent.* Commission to others to lend, buy, and transfer for them. And what would the Government feel in all this?

The Case is this: No Party can be so foolish to think they can be able to stop the Loan of Money to the Government; nor need the Government think of putting the Laws in Execution against such Combination (*though if any such appeared, no doubt they might be prosecuted.*) Keep up but the Credit of Parliament, and let that Parliament find Funds, it is not in the Power of any Party of Men to stop the Current of Loans, any more than they can stop the Tide at *London-Bridge*, in its constant Course of Flux and Reflux from and to the Sea.

There is no doubt but the *French* have Agents among us, who would be glad to weaken our Hands in the War, and prevent our Supplies for that Purpose: From them it must be that these Notions creep into People's Heads; *Englishmen* cannot in their common Senses be so weak; telling us that we shall have no *Loans*, is much at one to telling us we shall have no Recruits to our Army; as, while you can pay Armies, you shall never want Men; so while you can pay Interest, you shall never want *Loans*.

The Estates that some Men boast of, by which they are enabled to lend, and made bold enough to threaten a Stop of it, were gained by lending. Those that have them are too eager to encrease them, those that want them are too eager to gain them, by the same Method, and all too covetous and too selfish not to come into any good Proposal.

The worst these Men can do, is, by making Things appear backward, to raise the Rate of Interests, and move the Parliament to add something to the usual Encouragements for lending; and if the Nation pays this, who have they to blame for it? Yet neither will they be able to do this, the present Credit of the *British* Parliament putting it out of their Power; for as the Necessity of Lending will prompt on one Hand, the undoubted Security of Parliamentary Credit removes all the Jealousies our Party-Men would raise on the other.

The Zeal some Men shew for their Country, as well as Justice to the Government, is nevertheless very conspicuous in this; who, first, to glorify their Party-Prejudices would have the War miscarry, rather than Money should be lent, while such Men manage as they pretend not to like; secondly, Reproach some People with Designs to make Peace with *France*, and yet endeavour by discouraging *Loans*, to render it impossible for them to carry on the War.

But both these will be disappointed: While the Parliament supports Credit, and good Funds support the Parliament, Money will come in as naturally, as Fire will ascend, or Water flow; nor will it be in the Power of our worst Enemies to prevent it.

If the Author of this appears again in Publick, it may be upon the Subject of FUNDS.

An A B S T R A C T of the P U B L I C K F U N D S, granted and continued to the Crown since 1 *Wm. & M.* and still existing, *viz.* I. The Revenue of the C I V I L L I S T. II. A N N U I T Y - F U N D S for Ninety-nine Years. III. L O T T E R Y - F U N D S for Thirty-two Years. IV. P E R P E T U A L F U N D S, redeemable by Parliament, *viz.* 1. To the Bank of *Eng-land*. 2. To the *East India* Company. 3. To the Bankers in *Car.* II. 4. To the *South-Sea* Company. With an E S S A Y for the more speedy Redemption of the *Perpetual Funds*; an Apology for the same; and an Appendix, for Exchange of a Revenue in *Ireland*. Written by Mr. *As-gill*. 1715.

The Revenue of the CIVIL LIST (by Act 1 Anne settled on Her Majesty for Life) according to a Computation thereof made in order to the Union in 1706. Taken from a Medium of Three Years then last past.

The Great Branches of the Revenue, viz.

1. T H E Temporary and Hereditary Excise on Beer, Ale, and other Liquids, granted to the Crown, 12 <i>Car.</i> II. (excluding 3700 <i>l.</i> a Week, since taken out, by subsequent Acts, for Publick Use) and including the Charges of Management paid by the Cashier	<i>l. per Ann.</i>
2. The Additional Customs of Tunnage and Poundage on Wines and other Goods, granted to King <i>William</i> for Life; exclusive of Drawbacks and Allowances for damaged Goods	
3. The Revenue of the Post-Office, including Charges paid by the Receiver	
	286,178
	256,841
	101,101

The Small Branches of the Revenue.

1. Fines on Alienations, including Charges	4,804
2. Post-Fines by a Rent reserved thereout	2,276
3. Wine-Licences (including Charges)	6,314
4. Sheriffs-Profers, about	1,040
5. Compositions in the Exchequer	13
6. Seizures of unaccustomed and prohibited Goods	

Carried over

20 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

	Brought over	<i>l. per Ann.</i>
7. The Revenue of the Dutchy of <i>Cornwal</i>	—	9,869
8. The Revenue of the Principality of <i>Wales</i>	—	6,857
9. Other Revenues, by Rents of Lands, and Fines on Leases	—	2,906

Total — 691,204

The First-Fruits and Tenths, since remitted to the Clergy, was about 18000 *l. per Ann.* charged with several Pensions.

By an Act 1 Georgii, the same Revenue is settled on His Majesty for Life.

Subject to	<i>l. per Ann.</i>
1. 700 <i>l.</i> a Week taken out of the Post-Office, by 9 <i>Anne</i> , to make up one of the Lottery-Funds	36,400
2. 35000 <i>l. per Ann.</i> charged on the Temporary and Hereditary Excise for 32 Years from <i>Michaelmas</i> 1713, for the Queen's Debts	35,000
3. The Revenues in <i>Wales</i> and <i>Cornwal</i> , now belonging to his Royal Highness, as Prince of <i>Wales</i> and Duke of <i>Cornwal</i>	16,726
Deductions	88,126
Remaining to the Crown	603,078
	691,204

ANNUITY-FUNDS, granted for 99 Years.

	<i>l. per Ann.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4 <i>W. & M.</i> On the first 9 <i>d.</i> per Barrel, &c. additional Excise; for which the Fund, after <i>June</i> 1700, was to be 70,000 <i>l. per Ann.</i>	70,000	00	0
5 <i>W. & M.</i> On two Sevenths of another 9 <i>d.</i> per Barrel additional Excise	40,000	00	
2 <i>Anne.</i> On part of 3,700 <i>l.</i> a Week out of the Temporary and Hereditary Excise	105,945	10	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 <i>Anne.</i> On Surplus of the said 3,700 <i>l.</i> a Week	46,000	00	0
4 <i>Anne.</i> On one Third additional Tunnage and Poundage, and another 9 <i>d.</i> per Barrel Excise	184,242	14	0
5 <i>Anne.</i> On Low-Wines, Hawkers and Pedlars, part of Stamp-Duties, and 1 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> a Barrel additional Duties on Sweets	72,187	10	0
6 <i>Anne.</i> On the Annual Surplus of three former Annuity-Funds, viz. 3 <i>d.</i> Tunnage, 4 <i>Anne</i> ; Annuity-Fund, 5 <i>Anne</i> ; Annuity-Fund, 4 <i>W. & M.</i>	40,000	00	0
6 <i>Anne.</i> On one Half of Tunnage and Poundage granted <i>Car. II.</i> for Life, and by 5 <i>Anne</i> continued to 1712	80,000	00	0

Total per Annum — 638,375 14 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
 LOT-

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 21

LOTTERY-FUNDS, granted for 32 Years.

		<i>l. per Ann.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
8 Anne.	On Duties continued on Coals, &c. and additional Duties on Houses	135,000	00	0
8 Anne.	3 d. per Barrel new Excise, Customs on Pepper, &c.	81,000	00	0
9 Anne.	12 d. per Pound granted Car. II. on Goods imported, Duties on Water-borne Coals, additional Duties on Candles	135,000	00	0
9 Anne.	Duties on Hides, &c. Licensing Hackney-Coaches, &c. 700 l. a Week out of the Post-Office	186,670	00	0
10 Anne.	Duties on Soap, Paper imported and made, Printed Linens, Silks and Stuffs; new Stamp-Duties	168,003	00	0
10 Anne.	Additional Duties on Hides, Vellum and Parchment; new Duties on Starch, Coffee, Tea, Drugs, Wire, Policies of Insurance	168,003	00	0
12 Anne & 1 Georg.	Additional Duties on Soap, Paper, &c.	116,573	12	0
Total per Ann.		990,249	12	0

PERPETUAL FUNDS.

*Redeemable on
Payment of,*

To the Bank of England.

	<i>l. per Ann. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
5 W. & M. & 7 Anne.	On five Sevenths of 9 d. Additional Excise	100,000 00 0
5 & 7 Anne.	On Duties on Houses, called the Window-Tax	106,501 13 5
7 Anne.	On two Thirds Additional Tunnage and Poundage, first granted 3 Anne, for four Years.	1,600,000 00 00
8 Anne.	Duties on Coffee, &c. granted 6 Anne.	1,775,027 17 10
9 Anne.	Half Subsidy of Tunnage and Poundage, by 6 Anne continued to 1714.	
12 Anne.	The Surplus above 80,000 l. per Ann. of the other Halves of Tunnage and Poundage, by 6 Anne continued for 96 Years—	
		Exchequer-Bills.
	327,818 00 0	4,580,312 10 00

Totals ————— 534,319 13 5 7,955,340 07 10
PER-

PERPETUAL FUNDS.

		<i>l. per Ann. s. d.</i>		<i>Redeemable on Payment of, l. s. d.</i>	
Brought over the several Funds to the	Bank	534,319	13 5	7,955,340	7 10
<i>To the East-India Company.</i>					
9 W. & 6 Anne.	Additional 6d. on Stamps. Additional Duties of 7d. per Gallon on Salt.				
	<i>East-India Silks</i>	160,000	00 0	3,200,000	0 00
<i>The Bankers Debt, Car. II.</i>					
12 W.	Part of 3,700 l. a Week out of Hereditary Excise	39,855	16 0	664,263	0 00
<i>To the South-Sea Company.</i>					
9 Anne.	Duties on Wine and Vinegar, Tobacco, <i>East-India</i> Goods, Wrought Silks, Whale-Fins. Surplus of Salt, &c.	568,279	10 0	9,471,325	0 00
Totals of Perpetual Funds Redeemable		1,302,454	10 5	21,290,928	0 00

Totals of the Annual Issues out of the PUBLICK REVENUE, payable to the several Funds aforesaid; besides the Civil List.

		<i>l. per Ann. s. d.</i>			
To the Annuity Funds		638,375	14 6½		
To the Lottery Funds		990,249	12 0		
To Perpetual Funds, Redeemable		1,302,454	10 5		
Total of Annual Issues				2,931,079	16 11½
<i>The Annual Incomes of the Publick Revenue, by the Computation made for the Union in 1706. (excluding the Land-Tax, Malt-Tax, and Civil List) were</i>					
		2,352,836	00 0		
<i>The new Duties granted since the Union, being mixed with former Funds, cannot be exactly accounted; but are computed at (per Ann.) about</i>					
		852,804	12 0		
Total of Annual Income				3,205,640	00 0

Income more than Issues 274,560 00 0

But Surplusses or Deficiencies in several of the Funds, may alter this Computation.

An

An ESSAY for the more speedy Redemption of all the Perpetual Funds (except the Original Fund of 100000 l. per Ann. annexed to the Bank of England upon their first Creation) viz.

BY raising another Perpetual Fund of 120,000 l. per Ann. as an Interest of 6 per Cent. for borrowing two Millions thereon in Specie, and paying the same into the Bank of England, for circulating and maintaining the Credit of Exchequer Bills, to be issued with an Interest of 3 per Cent.

That thereupon the Parliament (according to their Power of Redemption) may please to give Notice for redeeming such of the former Perpetual Funds as they shall think fit first to redeem.

And that thereupon the Exchequer issue out to the Bank as many Exchequer Bills as will pay off the Funds so to be redeemed.

That these Bills be current in all Receipts of the Publick Revenue, from the time of the issuing, and payable by the Bank at Demand, till they are all sunk and cancelled.

And then the two Millions lodged in the Bank, shall be repaid out by them, in Discharge of the Tallies of Loan, upon the said new Fund of 120,000 l. per Ann. which Fund shall from thenceforth cease.

A Computation of the Gain to the Publick by the Success of this ESSAY.

The Total of the Principal to be paid for Redemption of all the Perpetual Funds in the Abstract (deducting 1,600,000 l. secured upon the Original Fund to the Bank) is	l. s. d.
_____	19,690,928 00 0

Taking this to be twenty Millions:

The Annual Interest at 3 per Cent. on 20 Millions in Exchequer Bills, is	l. s. d.
_____	600,000 00 0

To which add the Interest of 6 per Cent. for two Millions on the new Fund	l. s. d.
_____	120,000 00 0

Both	720,000 00 0
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The Annual Interest now payable for all the Perpetual Funds in the Abstract (except the 100,000 l. Original Fund to the Bank) is	l. s. d.
_____	1,182,454 10 5

From whence deducting the 720,000 l. the Residue annually gained by the Publick towards Discharge of the Principal, will be	l. s. d.
_____	462,454 10 5

Add to this the Annual Surplus of the last Fund to the Bank, which by the Act is to be annually applied towards Discharge of the Principal of Exchequer-Bills (in case there be such Surplus)	l. s. d.
_____	270,999 00 0

Remaining to be annually applied towards Discharge of Principal	l. s. d.
_____	733,453 10 5

And

And thus by the Use of two Millions for about thirty Years, twenty Millions on the Perpetual Funds will be discharged near about the Time of the Expiration of the last Lottery Funds.

An APOLOGY for this Publication.

HAVING a little more Leisure than I would have, I spent Part of last Summer in making an Abstract, from the Acts of Parliament, of all Aids granted and continued to the Crown since 1 *Wm. & Mary*.

And from that Abstract, I again abstracted what I now publish; as the Long Funds still continuing: for there are some other Temporary Loans yet unsatisfied; but the Funds granted for them being near expired, and by which they are like to be satisfied, I have omitted them in this Abstract.

And I make my first Apology for the Abstract itself.

For that by reason of several Contingencies happened since passing the Acts abstracted (to which I could not be privy, without being conversant in the Exchequer) there are several Variances in this Abstract from the Account of the same publick Debts delivered in by Mr. *Lownds* to the former Parliament.

The chief of which is the first Article of the Annuity-Funds; which in the Abstract is 70,000 *l. per Ann.* that being the Sum allowed by the first Proposal in the Act, to be paid from 1700, for raising a Million on Lives, with Advantage of Survivorship, at 7 *per Cent.* But that Proposal failing, and the Million being chiefly raised on the second Proposal, at 14 *l. per Cent.* for one Life only; the Annual Fund, by Mr. *Lownds's* Account, is 62,041 *l.* more than the 70,000 *l.*

In the subsequent Annuity-Funds there are some lesser Variances, which being easily reconcilable, I omit to mention them.

In all the Lottery-Funds, the Abstract agrees with the Account, except the transposing the Fund of 81,000 *l.* which in Mr. *Lownds's* Account is joined to the Annuities for 99 Years, as being first proposed in the Act for an Annual Fund of 9 *l. per Cent.* absolute. But on Failure of that, the Money was raised (on the last Proposal in the Act) by a Lottery; and is therefore inserted in the Abstract amongst the other Lottery-Funds.

In the Funds to the *East-India* Company, the Abstract and the Account agree.

And so they do in the Bankers Debt, *Car. II.* except that in the Account that Fund is ranked with the Annuities for 99 Years, and in the Abstract amongst the Perpetual Funds redeemable, as being so in fact.

In the two first Funds to the Bank of *England*, the Abstract and Account agree.

In the last Fund (which was for the present Exchequer-Bills) the Principal Sum in the Account is 63,120 *l.* 14 *s.* 6 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ more than in the Abstract; which seems to be for so many more Bills issued for quarterly Interest, not ascertained in the Act.

In the Fund for the *South-Sea* Company, the Abstract makes the Principal to be 293,357 *l.* 4 *s.* 8 *d.* more than in the Account: which seems to arise from hence,

hence, That of the Sum of 1,296,552 *l.* 9 *s.* 11 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. one of the Articles of Deficiencies provided for by that Act, there was but 1,001,426 *l.* 11 *s.* $\frac{1}{2}$ subscribed into the Company; and the Residue being 295,125 *l.* 18 *l.* 10 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. is charged in the Account among other temporary Loans. And then the Difference remaining between the Abstract and the Account, is only 1768 *l.* 14 *s.* 10 *d.* .

And as for the Computation in the Abstract, of the Total of the publick Issues and Incomes, I took the Issues before the Union from the Computation then made thereof, in order to the Union. But for the Issues granted since the Union (having seen no other Computation of them) I made a Computation of them by Guess, which is the Computation in the Abstract; and therefore I do not offer it as authentick.

Having thus made my Apology for the Abstract, I will apologize (as well as I can) for the Essay made upon it.

For that the Essay seems to take for granted two Things, when perhaps neither of them will be admitted.

First, *It seems to take for granted, that all the Perpetual Funds (except the Original Fund to the Bank) were redeemable at any time; whereas the time for Redemption of the rest, is not yet come.*

To this, the Answer shall be historical.

5 *W. & M.* The original Fund of 100,000 *l.* *per Ann.* annexed to the Bank on their first Creation, is by that Act made redeemable at any time, on twelve Months Notice, after *Aug.* 1, 1695.

8 *W. & M.* Upon enlarging their capital Stock, the time for Redemption is enlarged till after the 1st of *August* 1712, on the Payment of the 1,200,000 *l.* advanced on their Original Funds, and all other Monies due on any Tallies then in their Hands; which Tallies being then on temporary Loans, are supposed to be since satisfied.

And by that Act, no other Bank is to be established during the Continuance of this.

5 *Anne.* The first Duties on Houses (called the Window-Tax) first granted 7 *W.* are made perpetual, for paying to the Bank an Interest at 4 *l.* 10 *s.* *per Cent.* for circulating 1,500,000 *l.* &c. in Exchequer Bills.

But this Fund is by the same Act made redeemable at any time, without Redemption of their former Funds or Tallies.

7 *Anne.* Upon their advancing 400,000 *l.* more on their original Fund, the time for Redemption thereof is enlarged till after *August* 1, 1732. on Payment of 1,600,000 *l.*

12 *Anne.* On their last Agreement for circulating the present Exchequer-Bills, the Fund granted for those Bills is made redeemable at any time, without Redemption of their former Funds (as the Window-Tax was by the former Act.) But the time for Redemption of their original Fund is thereby enlarged till after *August* 1, 1742. and thereupon their Corporation to cease.

12 *W.* The Redemption of the Bankers Debt is left indefinite, and so is redeemable at any time.

9 *W.* The Fund for the *East-India* Company was at first made redeemable at any time, on three Years notice, after *Septemb. 11, 1718.*

6 *Anne.* Upon their advancing 1,200,000*l.* more upon the same Fund, their Redemption is enlarged till after *March 25, 1726.* on Payment of 3,200,000*l.* And thereupon their Fund and Corporation to cease.

10 *Anne.* This Redemption is again discharged, and the Fund made again redeemable on three Years notice, after *March 25, 1733.* Without determining their Corporation.

9 *Anne.* The Fund for the *South-Sea* Company is made to commence from *Decemb. 25, 1716.* and redeemable at any time, upon one Year's notice, after the said *Decemb. 25, 1716.*

10 *Anne.* Their Corporation and sole Trade is to continue for ever, notwithstanding the Redemption of the Fund.

Now as to the *East-India* and *South-Sea* Companies, it is easily guessed that what they chiefly aimed at, was not the Continuance of their Funds, but of their Corporations and sole Trades.

And the Fund to the *East-India* Company being now reduced to 5 per Cent. it cannot be esteemed but they will esteem it a Favour, rather than an Injury, to have that redeemed; leaving them their Corporation and sole Trade.

And if the *South-Sea* Company were so apprehensive of the Value of their Trade, that they have obtained an Act to perpetuate it before they will adventure to begin it; would not they also esteem it a Favour to have their Fund redeemed, and their sole Trade left them into the Bargain; and if they should not, the time given for their Redemption draweth nigh.

Taking it therefore, That all the perpetual Funds (except the original Fund of the Bank of *England*) are or may be immediately redeemable by the Parliament, I shall make no farther Apology in that Point.

The Part remaining for farther Apology, is, *That the Essay seems to take for granted that two Millions of Money in Specie will be sufficient for Circulation or maintaining the Credit of twenty Millions in Bills issued at 3 per Cent.*

Now as I do confess that I have no Affidavits for Proof of this in the Affirmative: So I take myself to be secure against any honest Man's Affidavits for disproving it in the Negative.

And though the Computation of Gain is made upon the whole: Yet the Essay itself is not made absolutely, but on such Funds as the Parliament shall think fit to redeem.

The Drift of the Essay being levelled rather to find out the Nature, than to adjust the Quantity of the thing essayed.

In Arithmetick we know that each Figure stands for more or less, according to the Position or placing it to the Right or Left.

If it stands in the Extreme to the Right, it is but a Unit, signifying its own single Value or first Denomination.

But by every Remove or Degree from thence to the Left, it gains an additional Value of ten times more than it did before.

And in the Use and Productions of Nature, this Remark is left us by the Author of it:

Except

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 27

Except a Corn of Wheat fall into the Ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much Fruit.

And he hath also left us a Parable, as the Duty of all Men (Bodies Personal or Politick) to use and improve all their Talents of Life to the best Advantage, so as to encrease and make them prolifick.

And hath set a Doom upon our keeping or hoarding them in their own single Value only, as dreadful as that for losing or squandering them.

To bring this to the Point in hand :

The Annuity and Lottery-Funds being temporary only, will discharge themselves by Efflux of Time (if not otherwise provided for.)

But besides those, here is an annual Issue of about Thirteen Hundred Thousand Pounds granted in Perpetuity, and which will never spend or be diminished by Efflux of Time.

And so must remain a perpetual Rent-Charge upon the Kingdom ;

(Of which, the Proprietors of the Funds are Landlords,

The Subjects Tenants,

And the Crown Collector)

Unless some other Provision be made for redeeming the same.

And this Provision must be,

Either by raising twenty Millions more upon new Funds, and paying away the whole in its own single Value only, for discharging the like Value upon the former Funds :

(Which would be but a bare Exchange of Taxes, without any Gain to the Publick, or Ease to the Subjects.)

Or else these present Funds must be redeemed from their own Produce, if such Redemption be feasible.

To manifest which, is the Drift of the Essay.

That Money (by a due Position and proper Application of it) is capable of an Addition beyond its first single Value, and of being prolifick in multiplying its own Species (or somewhat equivalent to it) hath been made so evident by Use and Practice, that I need no other Arguments but the Facts.

And therefore I will be a little historical in this also.

In which though I may vent some Things that may not be true, yet my Conscience so shall guide my Pen, that none of them shall be Lyes.

He that relates a Truth which he himself doth not believe, telleth a Lye: *Surely when they say the Lord liveth, they swear falsely.*

Therefore he that vents an Error which he thinks to be true, doth not lye.

5 *W. & M.* The first Bills issued by the Bank, were 1,200,000 (under their Common Seal) at 3 *per Cent.* which they paid at the Exchequer for their Original Fund of 100,000*l.* Which Bills had no Currency in the Revenue by that Act, and were issued in the Recency of the Notions of Publick Credit, and in Opposition to the private Bankers, who had most of the Cash then in their Hands; and in the Recency of the Revolution, and Heat of a War, which annually drained the Kingdom.

To circulate and maintain the Credit of these 1,200,000*l.* in Bills, the Bank called in from their Members 300,000*l.* only, being 25 *per Cent* of the 1,200,000*l.*

28 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

On the Foot whereof, they gained for the 300,000*l.* twenty *per Cent.* clear of the 3 *per Cent.* on their Bills, (besides 4000*l.* a Year, intended for their Charges.)

Of this 300,000*l.* it was said, they did not find Occasion to use 40,000*l.* in lating the 1,200,000*l.* Bills so issued.

But launching out afterwards into a larger Credit on their Cashiers Notes (issued without Interest) they called in more Payments from their Members.

And by these Cash-Notes without Interest, they (by Degrees) drew in their 1,200,000*l.* Bills at Interest, and did not re-issue them.

5 *Anne.* Upon their Agreement for circulating 1,500,000*l.* &c. Exchequer-Bills on the Window-Tax, at 4*l.* 10*s.* *per Cent.* the Exchequer were to issue the Bills either with or without Interest, as the Bank should desire.

And the Bank, by giving out their own Bills without Interest, kept the Exchequer-Bills to themselves, and thereby gained the Interest on them.

7 *Anne.* The Bank agreed to cancel these Bills, and to accept an Interest on the same Funds of 6 *per Cent.* instead of the 4*l.* 10*s.*

And by the same Act agreed to circulate 2,500,000*l.* more Exchequer-Bills, to be issued with Interest at 3*d.* *per Cent. per Diem*, (being 3*l.* 10*d.* *per Ann.*) Besides which, the Bank were to have (for Circulation) a further Interest of 3*l.* *per Cent.* Which Bills were issued accordingly upon their last Funds.

But in the Middle of this Act there is inserted a short Proviso, That the Bank should not be obliged to pay these Bills, till they had passed through the Publick Revenue; after which they were called *Specie-Bills*.

8 *Anne.* The Bank agreed to circulate 400,000*l.* more of the like Bills on the same Fund, and at the same Interest; making together 2,900,000*l.* with further Bills for Interest till the Commencement of the Fund.

9 *Anne.* Reciting the Proviso, 7 *Anne*, That the Bills should not be payable by the Bank, till they had passed through the Revenue: It is enacted, that for paying them as well before as after, the Bank should have 45,000*l.* *per Ann.* more, till a Million of the Bills should be cancelled.

12 *Anne.* Reciting that the Bills issued for the Interest to Lady-Day 1713. amounted to 480,312*l.* 10*s.* It is enacted, That 1,200,000*l.* more of like Bills, on the same Fund and Interest, should be circulated by the Bank (as the former) for which they had 8000*l.* *per Ann.* more added to the 45,000*l.* making 53,000*l.* *per Ann.* for Circulation, over and above the 3*l.* *per Cent.* and 3*d.* *per Diem*.

All which makes the Interest payable by the Publick to be 7*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* *per Cent.* on the present Exchequer Bills; the Total whereof, by Mr. Lownd's Account, is 4,643,433*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

These Bills thus issued by the Exchequer to the Bank, and remaining in their Power, either to keep them in the Bank, and thereby gain the whole Interest upon them for the Company, or to issue them out for Payment of their own Bills: it doth appear in Fact, that they elect to pay their own Bills in Specie, rather than part with Exchequer-Bills for them. Nor will they give out any Exchequer-Bills for less Sums than 100*l.*

If therefore the Bank do thus maintain the Credit of their own Bills without any Interest upon them, and that their Creditors do rather keep those Bills without Interest, than receive their Money in Specie; how much rather would the Creditors

Creditors accept Bills with Interest, and keep and transfer them from one to another for Lucre of the Interest, than bring them to the Bank for Payment?

From whence I hope it is already evident, That the Nature of the Essay for Payment of Debts by Bills at Interest is not notional or chimecal, but rational and practicable, and warranted by Usage and Custom.

But as to the Quantity essayed, it is not in me to give an Inventory, for the Bank, of all the Receipts and Payments (publick and private) that pass through their Hands; and consequently what is the Amount of their Credit, by all Bills standing out against them, or what Sums they have in Cash to answer them.

And much of this being occasional and uncertain, there is no certain Account to be given of it.

But from Consideration of the Publick Funds granted to themselves, and their Manner of purchasing the same with Bills, and their maintaining the Credit of the same Bills; there may be a Guess taken, and a Comparison made, how, and in what Quantities the same, or other Funds, may be repurchased or redeemed with like Bills.

And if the Bank in their first Creation (under a Juncture of Difficulties) did esteem 300,000*l.* in Specie sufficient for maintaining the Credit of 1,200,000*l.* of their own Bills issued at 3 *per Cent.*

It is no false Arithmetick to compute thereupon, that two Million in Specie will now maintain the Credit of eight Millions in Exchequer-Bills issued at the same Interest, with an addition of a Currency in the Revenue, which their Bills then had not.

And should the Essay be advanced no farther than for eight Millions, even that in Length of time would redeem the whole twenty Millions; *viz.*

Taking the Medium of Interest on the present perpetual Funds to be 6 *per Cent.*

The Interest on eight Millions is ———— 480,000

The farther Sum annually paid for Circulation of Exchequer-Bills — 53,000

Present annual Payments ———— 533,000

Interest of this eight Millions at 3*l.* ———— 240,000

Interest of two Millions on new Funds ———— 120,000

360,000

Annually gained ———— 173,000

Add to this the Surplus of the last Fund to the Bank ———— 270,999

Remaining for annual Discharge of Principal ———— 443,999

This being the Calculation of Gain by Redemption of eight Millions only, it may be farther considered whether it is not probable that the whole twenty Millions may be thus redeemed.

And remembering that from the first Success of the Bank One Hundred Thousand Pounds (or less) had been sufficient to have maintained the Credit of their

their 1,200,000*l.* in Bills at 3 *per Cent.* in Case they had continued them at that Interest.

And that the Bank have since advanced their Credit for vast Sums on their own Bills without Interest, and hereby also drawn in their Bills at Interest; it doth not seem any false Computation in Arithmetick, to suppose that two Millions in Specie will maintain the Credit of twenty Millions in Bills, carrying an Interest of 3 *per Cent.* nor that it can be any Hazard (upon calling in the two Millions on the new Fund) forthwith to issue out eight Millions in Bills at 3 *per Cent.* for discharging so much of the present Funds: The Success whereof would give the Parliament a Specimen for all the rest.

But am not I, all this while, reckoning without my Host?

For though the Essay itself should seem feasible, if the Bank should think themselves *Felones de se*, in executing it, by redeeming their own Funds (on which they now receive so large an Interest) can any one expect that they should serve the Publick at their own Expence?

I do not expect they either should or ought; nor am I prophesying *what the Bank will do*, but essaying to shew *what they may do*.

The Bank of *England* are a thinking Body, and do not want me to think for them.

And if they think that the Use of two Millions in their Bank, and so much of the 3 *per Cent.* on the Bills, (given out for Redemption of other Funds) as will fall to the Share of the Bank in circulating them, will more than answer any Loss by Redemption of their own Funds; then their own Interest would seem to lead them into the Thing.

But if they should be of Opinion in the Negative, then I desire to be *called and nonsuited*. For they being (in this Cause) both Judge and Jury, I would not stand a Verdict against their Opinion.

But though I must not *think for them*, I hope it is no Offence to *think of them*. (A Cat may look on a King.)

And this is one of my Thoughts of them, That if they would exert their Credit for the Redemption of these Funds, in like manner as they have done for the Purchase of their own, they would thereby render themselves *really* (what they are now *nominally*) *the Bank of England*.

And would well intitle themselves to a Perpetuity of their Bank and original Fund, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*; and no honest Man desires to hold his Office by any better Title.

And being thus united to the Landed Interest, these Bills would be as current in the Rents of the Subjects, as the present Bills are in the Revenues of the Crown.

And this would do them no hurt; for though none but monied Men can pay Bills, landed Men may receive them.

But for Fear of the Wits falling upon me as a *Land-Bank Man* (*from whence, Libera nos Domine*) I will touch no farther upon that String.

But if the Bank would do their Part in this, where is the two Millions?

I wish it were come to that. And if there were no other Fund to be found, but a perpetual Land-Tax of Three-pence in the Pound redeemable, the Landlords would be no Losers by it, in Case they and their Tenants might thereupon be immediately

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 31

immediately discharged of the *Window-Tax* now payable to the Bank. Which the Parliament might do, by directing that Fund to be first redeemed.

This Tax hath galled and disgusted the Subjects more than one other; and especially since they esteem it a Re-Imposition (by a new Name) of the *Hearth-Money*: from which (*as a Badge of Slavery*) they were released by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in their first Parliament.

Nor doth the Change of the Name seem to better the Case, but rather makes the Tax more unnatural.

The former being a Tax upon *Lights kindled by Man*, but the present a Tax upon the *Lights of Heaven*.

A *Simon Magus Tax*, farming out the Gifts of God for Money.

Whereas *Diogenes* in his Tub demanded it as a natural Right from the Conqueror of the World, *To stand out of the Sun*, and not take that from him which he could not give to him.

And though the Excises on Food and Raiment may be at bottom as extensive and universal as this Window-Tax; yet they being not so visible, are paid more insensibly, and with a less Eye-sore to the People: (*for what the Eye cannot see, the Heart doth not rue*.) I can walk all Day long with a Hole in my Stocking (very well contented) if I myself do not know it, nor any one else tells me of it. *Non videmus id manticae quod a tergo est.*

And having an entire Confidence in his Majesty's sincere Intentions, of gaining the Affection of all his Subjects, and in the Resolutions of the Legislature to execute those Intentions: I have presumed to quote the Commencement of this Tax, and to mention a Release of it in the first Annal of his Reign, as what would leave a grateful Impression of him, upon the Minds of all his Subjects, and give them Occasion to make a pleasing Recognition (within themselves) of the Choice of their Representatives in his first Parliament.

To whom I make my last Apology, as seeming to dictate (if I do seem.)

But far be that from me!

I am but a Passenger, telling a Tale I have met with in my Travels.

In which I am the Reverse of other Quacks, for *I profess a publick Way of Practice to be my Way*.

Nor have I said any thing, but what any one else did or might know before.

However, perhaps it is no hurt to know it over again.

Running to and fro, seems to be the posture of Children and Madmen, rather than of Students or Philosophers.

And yet there is a saying, that Knowledge shall increase by it; *Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased*.

For that, by traversing the same Ground over and over again, we may chance to find something we had not before observed.

Knowledge is easy to him that understandeth.

When the Fact is truly stated by one, the Conclusions upon it are the easier to be made by others.

Nor do I esteem myself (for starting these Facts) above the Degree of an Almanack Maker; venting some Memorandums of common Things, to help the Memories of Men of more *superior Genius*, whose greater Affairs do not admit them to keep those Accounts themselves: *Non vacant exiguis.*

Therefore though nothing that I have said should be received, if something of it be but remembered, it is as much as one of my Trade can expect.

And then though the Essay be rejected, the Abstract may stand for an old Almanack.

But if any of my Readers should be so angry, as to strike them both out, because I made them:

I humbly desire the Favour of them (on Behalf of the Printer) to let the Apology stand; being what (I fancy) he chiefly depends on.

An APPENDIX for Exchange of a Revenue in Ireland.

SINCE I am playing the Fool, I will have my Game out, by traversing from *Great-Britain* to *Ireland*.

In 1650. Upon the Restoration of King *Charles II.* he gratified the Subjects in what they had so long desired, by giving his royal Assent to an Act for exchanging the Tenures *in Capite* of Lands in *England* held of the Crown, for an hereditary Excise then granted to the Crown in lieu thereof, and which is still continuing.

In 1663. A Court of Claims was erected in *Ireland*, for all Lands seized and sequestered on account of the Rebellion there in 1641.

And it is said, that all the Lands that passed that Court were 6,883,846 Acres.

In <i>Leinster</i> —————	4d. $\frac{1}{2}$	} per Acre.
In <i>Munster</i> —————	3d. $\frac{1}{2}$	
In <i>Connaught</i> —————	} 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$	
In <i>Ulster</i> —————		

These Quit-Rents lying hard upon the Whole, and on many of the barren Lands, exceeding the yearly Values thereof; King *Charles II.* by several Letters Patents reduced the same so far, that the whole now remaining (by the Accounts I have had) is about 60,000*l.* per Ann.

And these Quit-Rents being first charged on each Estate in gross, and several Parts of those Estates being since sold, the same hath occasioned Difficulties in the Appertionment, and frequent Distresses and Oppressions on the Tenants; from whence the Proprietors of the Lands have long desired to have their Lands discharged of this Rent.

And though I never heard any mention made by others of an Exchange for them.

By the Act of Settlement (or Explanation) afterwards passed in *Ireland*, there was imposed a Quit-Rent (out of those Lands) to the Crown by way of Acridge, viz.

Yet

Yet I have heard that mention made of them, that induced me to believe, That if his Majesty, with his Parliament of *Great Britain* (for he cannot without them) will be pleased to accept of an Equivalent for that Revenue, the Parliament in *Ireland* would grant an hereditary Excise or Custom to the Crown in lieu thereof.

And that such an Exchange would be very grateful and acceptable to the Subjects of that Kingdom.

And therefore I have vented my own Thought of it. In which I speak feelingly (as a Party concerned.)

But yet I speak foolishly, without Commission.

However, having broached it, I will leave it to *run to and fro itself*; by which perhaps it may fall into better Hands.

And having thus hinted this, I will hint one Thing more with it.

22 Feb. 1688. King *William* sent a Declaration to *Ireland*, That the forfeited Estates there should be distributed to them that should be aiding in the Reduction of that Kingdom.

In this Reduction, the Garrisons of *Londonderry* and *Enniskilling* were the most signal, and have ever since had repeated Assurances of Recompence from the Crown.

But the forfeited Estates in *Ireland* being afterwards divested out of the Crown by the Parliament of *England*, and sold for the Satisfaction of other Debts;

The Demands of those Garrisons have ever since been applied for to the Parliament of *Great Britain*.

And the Commissioners appointed by her late Majesty, for stating the Debts in King *William's* Reign, reported their Arrears of Pay to be 195,091*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*

In 1711. From which Return the Chairman of a Committee of the House of Commons made a Report of the same to the House.

But by reason of the Continuance of the War, no farther Application was made for Payment during the last Reign.

Now if his Majesty and his Parliament of *Great-Britain* will be pleased to accept of such an Exchange for the Quit-Rents in *Ireland*, and will admit of a small collateral Thing, (rather a Kindness than a Prejudice to the Subjects of *Great Britain*) perhaps the Subjects of *Ireland* would submit to ease the Subjects of *Great Britain* from the Demand of those Garrisons, by making some Provision for the same in *Ireland*.

But I also speak this foolishly, without Commission, and therefore will not farther explain it, unless I meet with better Authority than my own.

However, be that as it will, the Demands of these Garrisons cannot now remain much longer unsatisfied (one way or other) without treating them as Malignants, for being the first that stood to their Arms in Defence of the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*; and thereby facilitated that Revolution, which introduced the *Hanover* Succession to the Crown.

A Short STATE of the WAR and the PEACE.

THE Grand Alliance was concluded on the First of September, 1701, and the main Design of it appears from the Words of the Second Article, viz.

His Sacred Imperial Majesty, His Sacred Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and the States-General, desiring nothing more earnestly than the Peace and general Quiet of all Europe, have judged, That nothing can be more effectual for the Establishment thereof, than the procuring an Equitable and Reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty for his Pretension to the Spanish Succession; and, That the King of Great Britain and the States-General, may obtain a particular and sufficient Security for their Kingdoms, Provinces, and Dominions, and for the Navigation and Commerce of their Subjects.

In pursuance of this Agreement the War was proclaimed, and with these Views was carried on to the Year 1706. The annual Charge of this Nation, and the Progress of the Increase of that Charge may be seen in the following Account.

The Expence of the War come to in the Year,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1702—	3,706,494	02	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1703—	3,898,066	13	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
1704—	4,444,947	04	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
1705—	5,087,783	07	01
1706—	5,693,529	08	10 $\frac{3}{4}$

It pleased God to bless the Arms of her late Majesty, and of her Allies, with so many signal Victories, during these five Years, especially in the last of them, viz. 1706, that the great End of undertaking this War, so clearly expressed in the above-mentioned Article, seemed to have been fully answered, and the Power of the Enemy reduced to a just Balance.

On the 21st of October 1706, the Elector of *Bavaria*, in the Name of the *French* King, proposed to open a Treaty of Peace, but this Offer was rejected.

The Estimate of the War amounted to, in the Year,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1707—	6,180,413	18	02 $\frac{1}{2}$
1708—	6,381,926	06	01 $\frac{2}{3}$
1709—	6,713,645	05	04 $\frac{1}{4}$
1710—	6,734,043	09	11
1711—	6,851,468	16	07 $\frac{3}{4}$

The Reader will observe, That the Charge of the Year 1702, was a great deal short of Four Millions, and that in the Year 1711, it amounted to near double that Sum; and there was likewise a Debt incurred of near Eight Millions; yet

yet the Revenues of *England* were under such Anticipations, that she was not able to raise, within the Compass of one Year, above 2,500,000 *l.* over and above such Funds as were given for paying Interest.

The Proportion of Forces to be furnished by *England* and *Holland* for the War of *Flanders*, was thus adjusted, *viz.* *England* to furnish two Parts of five by Land, and *Holland* the other three; by Sea *England* was to furnish five Parts of eight, and *Holland* the other three. The Quota's were thus settled by the late King *William*, as Mr. Secretary *Vernon* acquainted the House of Commons, by his Order.

From the Year 1702 to 1711*, both inclusive, such were the Deficiencies of the Allies, that *England* was obliged to furnish above this Quota, the Sum of Twenty Millions.

The Princes of the Empire being required to pay their Quota, according to the Constitution of the Empire, they alledged their Inability, by pleading, that their Men were already engaged in the Service of *England*; so that all this while we actually paid those Men, who were otherwise, by previous Contract, obliged to serve in the common Cause: On the other side, the *Dutch* alledged, That they were under no other Obligation than to exert their Strength *totis viribus*, and by Consequence, that they alone were the Judges how far it was proper or convenient for them to exert that Strength.

It is to be observed, That *Great Britain* thus exceeded her Proportion, though she neither did, nor was it possible for her to gain any thing by a Land-War: At the same time the House of *Austria*, which had made such a prodigious Acquisition as that of the Electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, and several other Territories in the Empire; of the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchies of *Milan*, *Mirandola*, &c. in *Italy*; which Countries were thought sufficiently able to maintain 90,000 Men; and the *Dutch*, who had possessed themselves of *Flanders*, and received all Contributions to their own Use, were still defective.

Great Britain then being burthened above her natural Strength, and having Two hundred forty four thousand and twenty Men in Pay, was fallen under an immense Debt, the annual Interest whereof amounted to three Millions, for Payment of which Interest the Nation laboured under a general Excise, excepting Bread and Flesh; the Duties applied in former times to the Support of the Government, and many more since laid, in the course of two long Wars, were alienated for the Payment of the abovesaid Interest; so that the Taxes on Land and Malt, which every Body understood to be for extraordinary Uses only, were now to be applied to the Maintenance of such Ships and Guards as should be necessary, even in time of Peace, and are therefore, in effect, perpetual: (What would be our Resource in case of new Wars, is dreadful to imagine;) whereas, if Peace had been made in 1706, at which time the End proposed by the Declaration of War was fully answered, and good Conditions offered, the Nation would have saved above thirty two Millions.

Between the Years 1706 and 1712, we made some Conquests in *Flanders* and *Italy*: On the other hand we lost two great Battles in *Spain*, the last of which was decisive; for by the taking of our Troops at *Brihuega*, which caused the Rout

* Vide Representation of the House of Commons 1712.]

of *Villa Viciosa*, the War was in a manner extinguished on that Side, so that the Affairs of the Confederacy in general, were in a worse Situation in 1712, than they were in 1706.

Monsieur *Mesnager* was in *Holland* most part of the Years 1707 and 1708, and conversed with several of the *Dutch* Ministers, upon the Proposals he brought with him from *France*, by the Connivance and with the Privy of the States-General; as Monsieur *Callieres* had formerly done in the Years 1695 and 1696. It is likewise notorious to the World, that when Articles of Peace were concerted at *Gertruydenberg*, those Conferences were held by the *French* and *Dutch*, without the Intervention of the rest of the Allies; for when the Imperial Plenipotentiary insisted, that he had a right to be present, the *Dutch* refused to admit him; and when he complained to Prince *Eugene* of this Treatment, he received an Order from his Highness, to follow the Example of the *British* Minister, whose Mistress, he said, tho' she contributed more to the War than any of the Allies, did, however, resign herself so entirely to the Wisdom of the States-General, that she trusted them alone with that Preliminary Negotiation.

At this Time the *French* laboured under great Difficulties, by reason of the Famine in their Country, and the Disorder of their Finances, and therefore made considerable Offers; among others, to give up the Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies*, as may be seen by the printed Accounts of the Proceedings there. It is further to be observed, that whilst this Treaty was on Foot, all Action in *Flanders* was suspended.

In 1711, the *French* were recovered from the Effects of the Famine; and the extraordinary Demand made by the Allies, that the *French* King should himself make War upon his Grandson, raised such a Spirit of Resentment and Indignation in his People, that they cheerfully submitted to the *Dixme Royal*, which alone could retrieve the ill-Condition of his Finances; and which the *French* Court, until that Time, did not think safe to impose on them; a general Belief did then prevail in the *French* Nation, that the Allies had no other View in insisting that the King should act so unnatural a Part, but in order to break off the Treaty, and perpetuate the War.

The breaking off this Treaty was indeed fatal, for it was soon followed by the Misfortunes in *Spain*, which left King *Philip* entirely Master of that Monarchy.

In the same Year, viz. 1711, the Emperor *Joseph* died; the Hereditary Countries devolved on King *Charles*, the only surviving Prince of the Male Line of *Austria*, who was likewise chosen Emperor; upon which the King of *Prussia*, and other Princes of the Empire, the King of *Portugal*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, declared they would never consent that the same Person should be Emperor and King of *Spain*; the *Dutch* were likewise of this Sentiment, for when an Article was proposed by *England* to be inserted in the *Barrier Treaty*, that no Peace should be made, till the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was reduced to the Obedience of the *Austrian* Family; the States-General struck it out of the counter Project, tho' agreed to by the Queen in Council, and strongly recommended to my Lord *Townsend* by Mr. Secretary *Boyle*: And that they have proceeded always upon this Maxim, appears from the following Clause of the second Partition Treaty, entered into by King *William* and the States, on the third of *March*, 1700, viz.

That

That the Kingdom of Spain, and the Indies, shall never be united, nor belong to the Person of him who shall be Emperor or King of the Romans.

In Conformity to the Sense of this Article, and to the universal Consent of the Allies, who would not, nor ever have yielded, that a King of Spain should be Emperor of Germany, her late Majesty wrote to the several Electors in favour of King Charles, in so strong Terms, that he has since owned her Goodness in his Behalf, as what was most essential towards raising him to the Imperial Dignity.

The Campaign of 1711 passed without any considerable Action, and the Dutch refused to contribute towards the Expence of Barracks and Forage; by which the Projects for quartering the whole Confederate Horse under the Cannon of the Frontier Towns, and making Incursions from thence, into the Heart of France, during the Winter, as well as opening the Campaign early in 1712, were entirely frustrated.

Things being in this Situation, that is to say, all Treaties for Peace being broke off, and the Measures that would most probably have reduced the Enemy meeting with Opposition from our Allies, her Majesty thought it proper not to refuse a Passport, which the French King desired for a Person whom he intended to send with Proposals of Peace. The Passport was accordingly dispatched, and Monsieur Mesnager came hither invested with the Character of Plenipotentiary, and with a Letter from the French King, acknowledging her late Majesty Queen of Great-Britain; having, at the same Time, acquainted the States-General, that he did intend to address himself to the Queen on that Subject. Her Majesty received that Person favourably, and ordered her Ministers to hear his Proposals. In Obedience to her Orders, they conferred with him, and in some Time, general Articles were agreed to, by which the French King was obliged to give Satisfaction to all the Allies; the Points relating to England, were likewise adjusted, and were to take Effect in case that Satisfaction was given, and a general Peace concluded, not otherwise; for the late Queen was free from any Obligation whatsoever to the French King.

Pursuant to these Articles, which had been communicated to the Confederates, conformable to the Grand Alliance, a Treaty was opened at Uirecht, by their unanimous Consent and Approbation, in January 1712: And notwithstanding the great Obstructions given to it, was happily concluded March 31, 1713; all Care having been taken to prevent the Union of the Crowns of France and Spain, that the Nature of the Case would admit of, since there was but one Prince of the Male-Line of the House of Austria now alive; and that the Powers above-mentioned had determined, that the Spanish Crown should never be united to the Imperial; speedy Measures were therefore taken for passing the Acts of Renunciation, which would not have so easily been obtained, if King Philip had been in actual Possession of the Dignity of Dauphin of France; and the great Mortality among the Princes of that House gave just Reason to apprehend that such a Thing might happen.

Whilst this Treaty was depending, a Cessation of Arms was proclaimed for two Months, as had been usually practised in the like Cases, lest any Event of War might interrupt the Course of the Negotiation; but that even those two Months might not be fruitless, the Queen insisted, and it was granted, that Dunkirk should be immediately delivered into her Hands, the Demolition whereof
being

being of great Importance to *England*. She had formerly proposed it might be made an Article of the *Barrier-Treaty*, but the Dutch rejected it. Her Majesty had all the Reason in the World to secure this Point of *Dunkirk*, by a Treaty, since it was not to be obtained by Action; for in the Compass of Fifteen Campaigns in the two last Wars, the States could never be prevailed with to assist in any way towards the Siege of that Town, alledging it would be the Work of two Years.

The Peace of *Utrecht* may be said to have been as general as any that was ever made, for all the Parties in the War signed their Peace with *France* on the same Day, excepting the Emperor and the Empire.

Here it is to be observed, That the Emperors of Germany have not made Peace at *Ryswick*, *Nimeguen*, or any other Congress, at the same Time with the rest of their Allies; lest the Princes and States of the Empire, who, as Sovereigns, have a Right to assist at such Conferences, should by that means have an Opportunity to justify their particular Claims: It has therefore been an established Maxim of the Imperial Family, to put off the signing of their Treaties of Peace for some Time, that the Members of the Empire may be under the Necessity of submitting their Pretensions to the *Imperial Diet*, where the Emperor has more immediate Influence and Authority.

That this Peace was beneficial to *Great-Britain*, will appear from the following Considerations.

First, That several Advantages were obtained for this Nation above what had been ever asked before in our Behalf, either at the *Hague*, or at *Gertruydenburg*, viz. * *Hudson's-Bay*, Part of the Island of *St. Christophers*, all *Nova Scotia*, or *Arcadia*, with the City of *Port-Royal*, now called *Annapolis-Royal*, the Island of *Minorca*, the Town and Castle of *Gibraltar*, and the *Assiento Trade*. Add to this, that more ample Provision hath been made for the Freedom, Rights, and Immunities of the *British* Subjects, than will be found in any former Treaty whatsoever.

Secondly, From the Encrease of our Shipping, and the Improvements of our Trade, which will appear from the following Abstract, faithfully collected out of the Publick Registers.

Ships Outward-Bound, and Cleared from the several Ports of England.

For the Years.	1710.	1711.	1712.	1713.	1714.
Encrease of Shipping.	N ^o .	N ^o .	N ^o .	N ^o .	N ^o .
	3,550	3,759	4,267	5,807	6,614
Encrease of Shipping a Lond.	806	907	1,055	1,446	1,550

* Note, *Treaty of Breda*, 1667, Art. 10. Lord Hollis and Mr. Coventry, yielded up *Nova Scotia* to France. *Treaty between England and France*, for settling Peace in Ameri-

ca, 1686, signed by the Lords Sunderland and Godolphin, yielded up *Newfoundland* and *Nova Scotia*, Art. 4th and 5th.

Exportation of Woollen Manufactures.

Species of Goods.	Flannels, Perpets, Serges and Stuffs Exported from <i>Christmas</i> 1708 to <i>Christmas</i> 1709.	Flannels, Perpets, Serges and Stuffs Exported from <i>Christmas</i> 1713 to <i>Christmas</i> 1714.	Increase of the Year 1714 more than the Year 1709.
Total of Flannels,	668,726 Yds.	993,166 Yds.	324,539 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yds.
Perpets and Serges,	492,295	1,531,272	1,038,977
Stuffs.	795,199	2,076,779	1,281,580

Lead Exported.

From <i>Christmas</i> 1709, to <i>Christmas</i> 1710.			From <i>Christmas</i> 1713, to <i>Christmas</i> 1714.		
Exported in <i>English</i> .		Foreign	Exported in <i>English</i> .		Foreign
Tun	C. qrs.	l.	Tun	C. qrs.	l.
10633	9	2 : 25	2290	11	30
15,525	11	0 : 18	2088	7	3 : 14

F I S H.

The Amount of the Exportation of Fish for the Years 1709, 1710, and 1711.	For the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714.	The Increase of the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714, more than the Years 1709, 1710, and 1711.
Total 149,514 Barrels.	319,296 Barrels.	169,782 Barrels.

Memorandum. To this may be added, the great Importation of Bullion into these Kingdoms, as well as the Rise of Exchange in our Favour, since the last Peace.

By what has been already said, it is believed the Reader is convinced it was absolutely necessary for the *British* Nation to have Peace, and that the Terms of the Peace she had were advantageous to herself and her Allies; who are so far convinced that the Ends of the Grand Alliance are answered, and the Power of their former Enemy brought within due Bounds, that they have no farther Apprehensions from him, but think themselves at Liberty to contest with each other for Dominion.

The Satisfaction her late Majesty had in this Negotiation, has been signified in Speeches from the Throne to two Parliaments successively; that those two Parliaments approved all the Steps taken in it, will be seen by their Votes; and that the Opinion of their Representatives was confirmed and approved by the whole Nation, is evident from their several Addresses.

Here it is not improper to take Notice, that the Parliament declined entering into any Disquisition of the Treaties of *Ryswick* and *Limerick*, tho' *Hudson's-Bay* was given up by the former; the *Papish* Religion re-established, with all its Privileges and Immunities, and the *French* Armies supplied with their best Troops by the latter.

By

By the Laws of this Kingdom, the Power of making Peace and War is vested in the Sovereign; if then the Command of the Sovereign, after mature Deliberation in Council, and I may add, by the previous Consent of her Allies, followed by the Approbation of two Parliaments, be not sufficient Justification to Ministers employed in a Treaty, acting against no known Law, nor charged with any Corruption, whose Life, whose Property is safe in *Great-Britain*? And where are the Liberties of those People, who upon any Change of Administration, may be made a Sacrifice to private Resentments?

The Queen, attended by both Houses of Parliament, by all her Great Officers, by the City, and attended by the universal Acclamations of her Subjects, made a solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God, in the Name of herself, and her People, for the Blessing of a Peace, happy and beneficial to them, and to her Allies.

The DEBTS of the Nation stated and considered in Four Papers, *viz.* I. A LETTER to a Friend concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy. II. A State of the Five and Thirty Millions mentioned in a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons. III. An ESTIMATE of the Debt of Her Majesty's Navy, on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on the 30th of *September* last, with what thereof has and will be satisfied by the *South-Sea* Stock, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament in that Behalf, and what remains of the said Debt on the said 30th of *September* to be discharged: With Observations thereupon. IV. A brief Account of the Debts provided for by the *South-Sea* Act, and the Times when they were incurred: With some short Observations. 1712.

A LETTER to a Friend, concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy.

THE Reports of *Mismanagement*, *Misapplication* and *Embezzlement* of the Publick Money, have so generally prevailed in the Nation, that I do not wonder you should desire to be informed of the several Facts from which these Charges are drawn against the late Ministers. Nor was I more surprized to find that the Debts of the Kingdom, with the Causes and Methods of contracting them, were made the chief Subject of Complaint and Censure; since

no greater Crime can be imputed to any Ministry than a corrupt Management, or Profusion of the Publick Treasure. In order therefore to answer your Enquiry, and to set this Matter in a true Light, I will examine the several Articles that make up this great *Debt*; setting forth, at the same time, the extraordinary Expences which have been made, and the particular Services which have been performed. By this View of the whole, you will be able to judge how far those Expences and Services were occasioned by *absolute Necessity, and the Good of the Publick*; or required by the *Authority of Parliament*: and, consequently, how far the late Administration can be justified.

You know, *Sir*, the Debt of the Nation consists of several Parts: But because *that of the Navy* amounts to the greatest Sum, and is supposed to have chiefly affected the Credit, I will first present you with a State of that Article, and submit it to your impartial Consideration. And I promise you that nothing shall be mentioned in this plain Account, that is not grounded upon Matters of Fact, or upon authentick Certificates, called for by the House of Commons for their Information, and laid before them by the proper Officers.

But before I enter upon the particular Examination of this Debt, as it now stands, I beg leave to offer some general Considerations for the better explaining this Affair: And these shall relate chiefly to the *Manner* in which the Parliament grants Money for that Service, and to the several Heads of *Expence* that have occasioned the Increase of this Debt.

First, It is very well known that, in the Committee of Supply, the Method of giving Money for the Use of the Navy is different from the manner of providing for the Land-Service. In the latter Case exact Estimates of the whole Expence are given in to the Parliament; according to those Estimates the respective Sums are granted; and pursuant to them Establishments are made, regulating the whole Expence of the Army, and subject to no Alteration or Enlargement. But the annual Provision of the Navy is made by granting a general Sum, not adjusted or limited by any particular Estimate, but by Computation. For instance, It is supposed that Four Pounds a Month for every Man will answer all the Expences upon the several Heads, except what is called the *Ordinary of the Navy*: And the Money given is more properly to be understood in the nature of a Sum granted upon Account, than as a Sum fixed and limited, which is not in any Instance to be exceeded. For tho' what is annually given should be the Rule and Measure of that Year's Expence, as far as it can possibly be complied with; yet it will appear, upon Consideration, utterly impracticable to make the Expence exactly answer to the Provision made by Parliament.

The Sums granted for the Navy, during this War, have not been every Year the same, tho' the Difference has not been great: But in order to state the Method of computing the Annual Charge, it will be necessary to fix upon one certain Sum: And what has most frequently been granted, is, *Two Millions Two Hundred Thousand Pounds*, for maintaining Forty Thousand Men employed in the Sea-Service, including Eight Thousand Marines. This Provision is made at the rate of Four Pounds a Month for every Man: And the Proportions supposed to be allotted to each particular Head of Expence, are by Computation these:

42 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

<i>l. s. d.</i>			<i>l. s. d.</i>
1 07 0	a Man <i>per</i> <i>Mensem</i> ,	For Wear and Tear,	702,000 00 0
1 10 0		For Wages,	780,000 00 0
0 19 0		For Victuals,	494,000 00 0
0 04 0		For Ordnance,	104,000 00 0
		And for the Ordinary	120,000 00 0
			<hr/> 2,200,000 00 0 <hr/>

By the nature of these Services it appears impossible, at first sight, to fix and ascertain the exact Expence upon any Head except that of Wages: For how can it be foreseen, that the Loss or Damage of Ships by Storms, or by the Enemy, shall be just so much in one Year, and no more, and that to rebuild or repair them shall not exceed the Sum given? This last Article of Expence can never be fixed, unless it were in the Power of the Parliament to set the Price upon all Naval Stores, and even to lower it as the Demand should be greater. And the same thing is to be observed upon all kinds of Victualling, and Necessaries for the Ordnance. For this reason the Provision is made in Parliament by Computation, and not by Estimate; because the Charge and Expence is supposed to be uncertain: But it is still to be regulated by a good and frugal Management, and to be kept within bounds as much as is possible. And therefore it must be agreed on all hands, that if no more than Forty Thousand Men had been employed on board the Fleet during the whole Course of this War: And if no extraordinary Services had been performed, which were not included in the Estimates of the Navy, and for which no other Provisions were made; the Persons, who have had the Care of the Navy, had been guilty of great Mismanagement, in suffering the Debt to run to so great a height, and they had justly deserved the severest Censure.

And this brings me to consider, in the Second Place, the several *Heads of Expence* that have occasioned the Increase of this Debt.

First, it must be confessed that more than Forty Thousand Men have been annually employed on board the Fleet for nine Years last past. The Persons most conversant in these Affairs are of Opinion, that we have maintained in that Service near Three Thousand Men a Year above the Forty Thousand; computing at a Medium of all the Years: And the Charge of those Three Thousand Men extraordinary must needs have amounted in nine Years to a very great Sum.

Secondly, We ought to consider the Nature and Extensiveness of this War: The great Fleets that have been sent into the *Mediterranean*, and kept abroad the whole Year: The Wear and Tear that a Winter-Campaign must occasion, beyond what is suffered in the Summer-Season only: The Expence of all Naval Stores for refitting and victualling our Ships in the foreign Ports of *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy*. These and many more Reasons might be given, to shew that the Computation of Four Pounds a Month for every Man, which was taken and settled from the Practice and Experience of former Wars, is by no means a full and adequate Provision for the Services performed in this. Especially if we reflect that it was impossible to prosecute the War in *Spain* with so much Vigour as the

the Nation, and the Parliament required, without keeping a constant Superiority in the *Mediterranean*.

These general Observations being made, I will now proceed to lay the Facts before you.

The Debt of the Navy now to be accounted for, is the Debt as it stood at *Michaelmas* Seventeen Hundred and Ten: Which by the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to state and examine the Publick Debts, was reported to be *Five Millions One Hundred and Thirty Thousand Five Hundred Thirty Nine Pounds, Five Shillings, and Five Pence*, exclusive of the Register-Office. But since your Inquiry has respect only to the *late Ministers*, and you desire chiefly to be informed how far they are answerable or blameable for this Debt, it will be reasonable to deduct from this great Sum, what was due and incurred before their Administration. It is well known that the Debt of the Navy is made up and stated but once in every Year, which is always done at *Michaelmas*; and that the greatest Part of the Money, granted for the Service of each Year, is generally issued and expended about the middle of it. For this reason, since the late Lord Treasurer, who is blamed for this great Debt, entered upon his Office, about the middle of the Year Seventeen Hundred and Two, by which time most of the Money given for that Year's Service had been issued; we must, in Justice to his Lordship, begin this Account from *Michaelmas* Seventeen Hundred and Two, which was the first time that the Debt was stated after he had the Care and Management of the Revenue.

The Debt then of the Navy at *Michaelmas* Seventeen Hundred and Two, as it was given in to the House of Commons by the Commissioners of the Navy, was *One Million Eight Hundred Forty Nine Thousand Four Hundred and Six Pounds, Five Shillings and Eight Pence*: But then we should deduct the Debt of the Register-Office as it then stood, which was *One Hundred Twenty Six Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty Seven Pounds*; and that brings the former Sum to *One Million Seven Hundred Twenty Two Thousand Six Hundred Seventy Nine Pounds, Five Shillings and Eight Pence*: which being incurred before he was employed, ought justly to be deducted from the gross Debt.

In the next place we should consider, how much has been issued short to the Navy of the *Two Millions, Two Hundred Thousand Pounds*, which I have said was near the Sum annually voted for that Service: And we should also examine how such Deficiencies did arise, and how far it was necessary or prudent to let them fall upon the Navy.

First, It must be observed, that whatever is voted more in the Committee of Supply, than it afterwards raised in the Committee of Ways and Means, or whatever is received less in the Exchequer than the Sum at which the Grants are estimated in Parliament, proves a Deficiency, that must fall upon some part of the Publick Services intended thereby to be provided for. And I must inform you, that an authentick *Account of the Sums that have been voted, addressed for, or enacted, since her Majesty's Reign, with the Grants for answering the same, and the Deficiencies thereupon*, has been delivered in to the House of Commons: By which Account it appears, that after the Deductions of such Sums, as were made good by subsequent Parliaments, the real Deficiency of the Funds in nine Years did amount to *One Million Eight Hundred and Sixty Nine Thousand, One Hun-*

dred Eighty One Pounds: And that One Million Four Hundred and Eleven Thousand and One Pounds, Nine Shillings, and Nine Pence Halfpenny, did fall upon the Navy. And it must be allowed by all Persons that this Sum is to be deducted out of the Debt of the Navy, because if it had been duly supplied, the Debt would have been really so much less.

Secondly, It must be considered how far it was prudent or necessary to let so great a Proportion of the whole Deficiencies to be placed upon a single Head of the Navy. And here I cannot but enter so far into the Justification of the late Ministry, to confess to you freely, that, in my humble Opinion, those Deficiencies could have fallen no where else so well. You need not be told, that far the greatest Part of the other Publick Services admit of no Credit at all: Nor could any other Credit of any kind have been had at so easy Terms as in the Navy, or have so little effected the Publick. It is needless to say, that the Army can give no Credit; and after the happy Effects we have seen of an Army duly paid, every body must approve that Part of the Management, who does not repine at the constant Successes, which we must all allow were obtained under the late Ministry. The Seamen, who have Victuals and all things necessary supplied for them on board, can bear to wait some time for their Wages, but the Soldiers can never want their Subsistence. The Pay also of the Foreign Troops in her Majesty's Service must be punctually answered, and the Subsidies to Confederate Princes must be duly remitted, or the whole Alliance had been dissolved. Bills of Exchange must be exactly complied with, or there would have been an End of Foreign Credit. And even at Home the Guards and Garrisons must have their Pay, or the Country would soon have felt the Effects of Free Quarter. It was therefore impossible that these necessary, immediate and unavoidable Services could bear any part of the Deficiencies: And if deficient Talleys had been struck and issued for them, the Discount upon those Talleys, and consequently the Loss to the Publick, would have been much greater than was known in the first nine Years of this War. At the same time it must be admitted further, in justification of the late Ministers, that the placing these Deficiencies chiefly upon the Navy, affected very little the Credit for many Years: Large Sums were constantly advanced, and almost forced upon the Government at Five or Six *per Cent.* at the highest: The Navy Bills carried but Six *per Cent.* Interest: and as long as the Course of the Navy was held to be sacred, and no new Distinctions were started between National and Parliamentary Credit, the Discount upon those Bills was only in proportion to the Remoteness and Distance of their Course of Payment. And I must here observe one thing more, in Justice to the late Ministry, That if any Man will take the Pains to trace the Discount upon Navy-Bills, from the Beginning of this War to November One Thousand Seven Hundred and Nine, the time when that *infamous Sermon* was preached in *St. Paul's*, he will find that the Discount upon Navy-Bills was never till then so high by *Ten per Cent.* as it is now, when we are told that the Credit is restored, and that effectual Provision is made for paying the Debts of the Nation.

I must needs therefore own to you my Opinion upon this Head, That since there was a real Deficiency in the Parliamentary Grants, which must fall somewhere, the late Ministers shewed good Management in placing it upon the Navy, where it least affected the Publick Credit, as I have already proved. This makes

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the Deduction above-mentioned, of *One Million Four Hundred and Eleven Thousand and One Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Nine Pence Halfpenny*, to be just and reasonable.

This, with the Sum before deducted, reduces the Debt to *One Million Nine Hundred Ninety Six Thousand Eight Hundred Fifty Seven Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Eleven Pence Halfpenny*.

The Sum last mentioned is properly the Debt that was incurred by the late Ministry: And I will now go on to shew you how much of that Debt was occasioned by extraordinary Expences or Services for which no Provision was made; but which were understood by every House of Commons to be absolutely necessary; and most of them were directed by some Address, or Act of Parliament.

The first Instance that I shall give you of a certain and known Expence for which no Provision was granted, is *the Interest* that has been paid upon Navy Bills. And tho' this was very low for some time, as I observed before, yet it has in nine Years amounted to the Sum of *Two Hundred and Forty Two Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty Five Pounds, and Twelve Shillings*: The like Interest has been paid upon Victualling-Bills for the same time, amounting in the whole to the Sum of *Two Hundred and Nine Thousand Two Hundred and Thirty Nine Pounds, Twelve Shillings and Six Pence*. These Interests have been constantly paid together with the Bills, and were known all the while to be paid out of the Money granted annually for the current Service of the Navy: But no Provision was ever made to answer this additional and growing Charge.

Some Expences have been made by the Authority of Acts of Parliament, tho' no particular Provision was given for them: And of these we must dispute the Necessity, tho' they happen to be the Exceedings of Parliamentary Grants. Of this kind are first the Rewards and Premiums mentioned in an Act, 3 & 4 *Annæ*, for encouraging the Importation of Naval Stores from *America*, and directed to be paid by the Commissioners of the Navy in particular Bills made out, and to be paid in Course. This has cost the Publick *Eighteen Thousand Pounds, Sixteen Shillings and Six Pence*.

Secondly, A Bounty to the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet, of *Five Pounds* a Head for all *French* Prisoners, given by an Act, 6 *Annæ*.

This was likewise charged on the Course of the Navy, and has amounted to the Sum of *Thirty Four Thousand One Hundred Fifty Five Pounds*.

Thirdly, An Encouragement for raising Seamen for the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Six, granted by an Act, 4 & 5 *Annæ*.

Pursuant to which there has been expended the Sum of *Four Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty Nine Pounds, Ten Shillings and Five Pence*.

Other Expences have been occasioned by Addresses of the House of Commons; and it must also be allowed that these were necessary and unavoidable.

On the First of *December*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three, the House of Commons addressed her Majesty, that she would please to give Orders for recruiting the Ships lost in the Great Storm: And on the Third of *November* following, an Account of the extraordinary Expence upon that Head was presented to the House, amounting to the Sum of *One Hundred Thirty Four Thousand Two Hundred Thirty Two Pounds*.

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On the same Day another Address was made, That her Majesty would be graciously pleased to bestow some Charity upon the Widows and Relations of the Officers and Seamen who perished in the Storm: Which was accordingly directed, and amounted to the Sum of *Fifteen Thousand One Hundred Fifty Eight Pounds, and Eleven Pence.*

On the Second of *November*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Four, an Address was made to the Queen, that she would be pleased to give some particular Bounty and Rewards to the Officers and Seamen of the Fleet under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*, for their good Services against the *French* in the *Mediterranean*: And that Bounty cost the Nation the Sum of *Thirty Thousand Seven Hundred Seventy Seven Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Five Pence.* Tho' these Expences were made in pursuance of the Addresses of Parliament, yet no Provision was ever granted for them.

There were some other Expences, for which no Money was given by Parliament: And yet they must be confessed to be necessary Consequences of the other Parts of the Service.

The *One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds*, granted annually for the Ordinary of the Navy, has never answered the standing Charge upon this Head, which has exceeded that Sum by at least *Twenty*, and sometimes *Thirty Thousand Pounds* a Year; as appears by Accounts that have been every Year laid before the Parliament. And here it is observable, that tho' this be the only Estimate that is given in of any part of the Navy-Expence, yet the Parliament never made a full Provision for it; which is a new Instance that the Navy-Money is to be understood, as I said before, only in the nature of a Sum given upon Account. And this is still evident, when we consider that in the Year One Thousand seven Hundred and Four, no Sum at all was given for the Ordinary of the Navy: yet it could not be supposed that nothing was to be expended upon that Head, unless the Admiralty and Navy-Offices, with every Branch of them, were to stand still for one Year, or the Officers were all to serve without Salaries. Upon this Head therefore, it must be confessed most reasonable to make the usual Allowance of one Year, which is *One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds.* And tho' the other Exceedings have been annually so high as I just now mentioned, yet because I will in every Article keep within due Compass, I will compute them but at the rate of *Fourteen Thousand Pounds per Annum*, which in nine Years amounts to the Sum of *One Hundred and Twenty Six Thousand Pounds.*

In the Years One Thousand Seven Hundred and Two, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three, and One Thousand Seven Hundred and Four, no Provision was made for the Transport Service; but when such large Sums had been granted for the Forces serving abroad, it was doubtless a *necessary Consequence* that the Men, Arms, and Horses, should be transported, tho' the Parliament had given no Money to that Use. For this Service therefore, in those three Years, there was issued out of the Navy-Money, *Eighty Four Thousand Five Hundred and Fifteen Pounds, Twelve Shillings and Eight Pence.*

The extraordinary Charge of the Marine Regiments serving on Board the Fleet, is likewise an Expence of the same nature. Every body knows, that those Eight Thousand Men are included in the Forty Thousand for which the annual Provision is made in Parliament; and consequently their Pay is supposed but equal

to the Wages of so many ordinary Seamen. But it is as well known, that the Marines are officered and formed into Companies, and are upon the same foot of Expence as all other Regiments. And there has been issued out of the Navy-Money, since this Reign, the Sum of *Nine Hundred and Twelve Thousand Two Hundred and Eight Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Eleven Pence*, for the paying these Regiments. But their Wages as ordinary Seamen, supposing they had been Eight Thousand Men complete, for eight Years past, which is about the time they were first raised, would have amounted to but *Seven Hundred and Ninety Two Thousand Five Hundred Thirty Three Pounds, six Shillings, and Eight Pence*. So that the extraordinary Expence in this Particular has been, *One Hundred and Nineteen Thousand Six Hundred Seventy Five Pounds, Eight Shillings, and Three Pence*. This is another Proof of what I have so often mentioned, That Parliamentary Provision is by no means supposed to be equal to the Expence upon each Head.

The Charge of the Office of Sick and Wounded Seamen, and for maintaining Prisoners of War, may be also reckoned very justly a *Necessary* Expence of the same kind. This Charge has been all along borne by the Navy three Fifths out of Wages, and two Fifths out of Victualling-Money. But when it is considered, that more than Forty Thousand Men have been employed in this Service, and that all the Species of Victualling have been at high Rates, with an Interest and Discount upon the Bills, I must leave you to judge, whether these Heads could possibly bear this extraordinary Expence, for which no other Provision was made. And there has been issued for this Service the Sum of *One Hundred Thousand Two Hundred Twenty Eight Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Six Pence*.

There has been another extraordinary Charge upon the Victualling of absolute Necessity, and peculiar to this War, which is, the Hire of Merchant Ships to carry out Victuals and all other Necessaries for the Supply of Men of War in the *Mediterranean*, in *Portugal*, and in the *West-Indies*. It was impossible for many of the Ships to receive or stow Provisions sufficient for the time that they have been kept abroad: Nor could several Species of the Victualling be preserved so long good and wholesome. This Article of Freights and Demurrages to Merchant-Ships, has amounted in this War to the Sum of *One Hundred and Forty Five Thousand Five Hundred and Ninety Eight Pounds, Seventeen Shillings, and Three Pence Farthing*.

I will trouble you but with one Article more, I mean that of furnishing Provisions for Land-Forces sent to *Spain* and *Portugal*, and for the Garrison of *Gibraltar*. And since so much stress has been laid upon it, I beg leave to give it a particular Consideration.

Every body allows, that all Victuals necessary for Land-Forces sent abroad, must be furnished at the Expence of the Government; and that no Money is granted by Parliament for this Use. But then it is objected, that no part of this Charge has been *reassigned to the Victualling*, nor any *Deductions made* from the Pay of those Forces, to reimburse the Publick. Now I confess, Sir, it does not appear to me out of what Money those Reassignments should have been made, when none was granted for that Use, without a greater Misapplication than that which is complained of. It remains therefore only to be considered, how far it was *adviseable* to have made those Deductions from the Soldiers; and how far all the

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the Money that could have been deducted from them, would have made good the Expence of the Publick.

For the First, I have been frequently informed, that it was a Matter duly weighed by the proper Officers; and that they always thought it expedient to continue to the Men their Pay, which became due whilst they were on Board. And to deal plainly with you, Sir, I cannot help being of the same opinion myself. For, it had been too great a Discouragement to those Regiments, whose hard Fate had allotted to them the Service of *Spain* and *Portugal*, if, upon their Embarkation, a Stoppage had been put to their Pay, which was their only Comfort and Relief under the Apprehension of a severe and hazardous Expedition. The great and endless Desertions which have still been the Consequence of all Orders of Embarkation for those Countries, were sufficient Warnings to the Government, not to add any new Hardships to that Service. For the Men, especially those who were new raised, were in such fear of the long and dangerous Voyage, of the unavoidable Sicknefs occasioned by close Stowage on Board, of the lamentable Mortality which they had reason to dread upon their first landing in a new Climate, and being exposed to the sharpest Colds of a Camp, from the intolerable Heats of crowded Transports, that I have often heard it was difficult for the Officers, with their utmost Care, to get on Board two Thirds of a Regiment. What then must have been the Consequence, if they had known at the same time, that they were to receive no Pay all the while they underwent these Hardships and Dangers at Sea? Especially considering that the Marines on Board the same Fleets, and ordered for the same Service, had not only the same Allowance of Victuals, whilst the Land-Forces were kept at short Allowance, which is six Men to four Mens Meat, but were entitled likewise to receive their full Pay and Subsistence. Such different Usage in the same Body of Men would have created so much Disorder, Mutiny and Desertion, that it would have been impossible to carry on the War in *Spain*. So that, upon the whole matter, I should rather have thought it reasonable, to have given some further Encouragement to these poor Men, than to have made *those Deductions* from them; which arising to a small Sum, whilst they were on Board, gave them new Life and Spirit upon their Landing, and enabled them to buy fresh Provisions, and other necessary Supports.

In the next place, it must be owned, that these Deductions would have availed very little towards making good the Expence of the Publick. The usual Stoppages were first to be made; Tents, Kettles, and all the Field and Camp Equipage, were to be provided; and these the Men were now obliged to buy for themselves out of their Sea-Pay: Whereas, in the practice of the Army, a Fund is raised for answering these Expences, by what is usually called the *Winter-Stoppages*; that is, by stopping so much out of every Man's Pay, whilst the Regiments are in Winter-Quarters, or in Garrison, as is sufficient for this Purpose. And whenever it has happened, that any Regiment ordered to *Flanders* has been obliged to take the Field, without going into Garrison, the Charge of the Camp-Necessaries has been always borne by the Publick, and made good to the Regiment by Contingent-Warrants. But this has been constantly saved to the Publick in the Regiments sent to *Spain*: And if an exact Account could be had of the whole Charge upon this Head there, where no Winter-Stoppage could be made, it

it would be found that all the Deductions that could have been taken from the Men during their Passage, would have exceeded very little the Charge of buying their Field-Equipages.

But if, notwithstanding what has been said, it be admitted, that Deductions should have been made, let us then consider, what would have been the Amount of the whole, and how much would have been saved to the Publick. The Sum of *Six Hundred and Six Thousand Eight Hundred and Six Pounds, Seven Shillings, and Seven Pence*, which is the whole of this extraordinary Charge, is not an Account of the certain Expence that has been made, but a Computation of the Charge, as the Commissioners of the Victualling have stated it; reckoning at the Rate of *Ten Pence* or *Twelve Pence* a Day for every Man; and taking in the whole Loss by Discount of the Bills, the high Price of all Provisions, the Freight for carrying them out, and all other incident Charges. Let us now see how much the Soldiers could have paid towards this *Ten Pence* or *Twelve Pence* a Day. The Subsistence of a private Man is but *five Pence* a Day, after the Deduction of Off-Reckonings, and the weekly Stoppage for small Accoutrements, authorized by Act of Parliament: So that if the whole had been stopped, it had not answered half the Expence. But it is very well known, that the Land-Forces were always kept at *Short Allowance*, whilst they were on Board; and, by the same Rule, that the Seamen, when at *Short Allowance*, receive what is called *Short-Allowance Money*, instead of the whole Victualing, the Land-Forces always received, whilst they were on Board, *two Pence* a Day for every Man out of their Subsistence, to buy Brandy and Tobacco, and such other Refreshments as were necessary to support them at *Short Allowance*. This reduces the Subsistence of a Man to *three Pence* a Day; which, computing the Charge at a Medium, between *ten Pence* and *twelve Pence* a Day, would have answered little more than a *Fourth*, not near a *Third* of the Expence. And therefore if all had been done that is pretended to have been necessary, near *Four hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds* had remained as a Part of the Debt unavoidably incurred, and for which there had been no Reason to blame the late Administration. And when the other Part is thoroughly weighed, I believe you will think, as I do, that it would have been extreme hard to pinch so many brave Men, who every Day ventured their Lives for their Country, to save only *Twenty* or *Thirty Thousand Pounds* a Year.

The same Reasoning will in a great measure hold, for the Provisions furnished to the Garrison of *Gibraltar*, where the Men are likewise kept at *Short Allowance*. Nothing can there be got for Money from the Country; and all such Provisions and Refreshments as are brought into the Town by small Boats, are twice as dear as in other Places. The Price also of Shoes, Stockings, and all small Accoutrements, is so very high, that *Twelve-Pence* a Week there, will not go so far as the usual Stoppage of *Six-Pence* a Week does here. And as this Particular has almost every Year been enquired into, it has still been found expedient and necessary to continue to the Men their Pay. And a distinct Account has been kept of what has been furnished by the *Dutch*: which is a just Demand upon them, and must certainly be allowed among other Accounts, that are depending between the two Nations.

I have now gone through the several Particulars, which I will conclude with an Abstract of the whole Account, and some few Observations upon it.

An Abstract of the foregoing Account.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Debt of the Navy, exclusive of the Register-Office, as stated by the Committee of the House of Commons, was at <i>Michaemas</i> , 1710. ———	5,130,539	05	08
But deducting the Debt of the Navy, as it stood at <i>Michaemas</i> , 1702. exclusive also of the Register-Office ———	1,722,679	05	08
And deducting what has been received short by the Navy in this War ———	1,411,001	19	09 $\frac{1}{2}$
Which together make the Sum of ———	3,133,681	05	05 $\frac{1}{2}$
There remains neat Debt incurred during the late Administration, to be accounted for by Extra-Services. ———	1,996,857	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

Extra-Services.

Interest paid and due on Navy-Bills ———	242,265	12	00
Interest paid and due on Victualling-Bills ———	209,939	12	06
Paid for Naval Stores imported from <i>America</i> , by an Act of the 3d and 4th of the Queen ———	018,000	16	06
Paid the Bounty-Money of 5 <i>l.</i> per Head, for <i>French</i> Prisoners, by an Act 6 ^o <i>Annæ</i> ———	034,155	00	00
For raising Men, by an Act 4 ^o and 5 ^o <i>Annæ</i> ———	004,729	10	05
Rebuilding Ships lost in the great Storm ———	134,232	00	00
Bounty to Widows and Relations of Officers and Seamen lost in the great Storm ———	015,158	00	11
Bounty to Officers serving under Sir <i>George Rook</i> in the <i>Mediterranean</i> ———	030,777	13	05
To the Ordinary of the Navy for the Year 1704. ———	120,000	00	00
And upon the Account of the Extraordinary Expence, at 14000 <i>l.</i> per <i>Ann.</i> for nine Years ———	126,000	00	00
Issued to the Commissioners of Transports in the Years 1702, 1703, 1704. ———	084,515	12	08
The Extra-Expence upon Account of Marines ———	119,675	08	03
Issued to the Office of the Sick and Wounded ———	100,228	14	06
The Hire of Ships to carry out Victuals and Provisions to the Men of War ———	145,598	17	03 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Victualling Land-Forces sent to <i>Spain</i> and <i>Portugal</i> ———	606,806	07	07
Total of Extra-Services ———	1,991,383	06	00 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ballance ———	0,005,474	13	11 $\frac{1}{4}$

The Ballance of *Five Thousand Four Hundred Seventy Four Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Eleven Pence Farthing*, that appears at the Foot of this Account, is

is so very inconsiderable, that I am persuaded you will be much surprized to see the extraordinary Services and Expences come so near to the Debt that has been incurred: Especially, if you consider, that in this Account no Allowance is craved for the high Rates upon all Kinds of Naval Stores and Victuals, which have been occasioned by the Discount upon the Bills, nor for the Number of Men that have exceeded Forty Thousand; because I was resolved not to insert any thing that depended so intirely upon Calculation, as to admit any Doubt or Uncertainty. If by a moderate Computation there had been an Allowance made upon those Heads, the Extraordinary Expences would have exceeded the Debt to be accounted for. But then it must have been remembered, that at the Beginning of the War the Fleet was in a much better Condition than it can possibly be in at this time: And the Magazines were full of all manner of Stores, which are now exhausted. And how much it will cost to put the Fleet into the same Condition again, and to replenish the Magazines, cannot be computed till the War is ended, and their Condition can be known: But it must be admitted, that this has been an Ease to the Service, and has prevented the further Increase of the Debt.

I must likewise observe, that there have been no Appropriations in this War of any particular Sums to any particular Services; but one general Clause only, appropriating the Sums granted each Year to the Service of that Year; in which a Latitude was always given of applying the Money granted for the Navy, as well to Services *already performed*, as *to be performed*; which is a sufficient Authority for the Methods practised there. And though a great deal of Industry has been used to persuade the World, that an undue Preference and Partiality has been shewn to the Service in *Flanders*, and that all other Services were postponed, cramped, and starved, in order to supply that Army; you cannot but observe, that there is not any one Article in which the Navy-Money was applied to that Use. Nor have the Enemies of the late Ministers pretended to give an Instance where that Service ever received out of the Publick Money, more than its due Proportion, granted by Parliament.

I must make one Observation more to you, That as the Debt of the Navy has annually increased, an annual Account of it has been laid before the House of Commons, who were constantly informed how far the Provision made for the preceding Year had fallen short of answering the Expence. But being sensible that the more pressing Supplies were as much as could well be raised within the Year, they still thought it more adviseable to leave the extraordinary Charges as a growing Debt, than to increase the present Burden upon the People, by enlarging the usual Provision for the Navy. And in the Parliament before the last, a particular State and Account of the Navy-Debt being called for, the late Ministers were so far from being blamed upon this Subject, that after a full Consideration and long Debate about the Causes and Methods of contracting that Debt, the House came to a Resolution in their Favour, and went as far in approving their Conduct and Management, as any subsequent Parliament has gone in censuring of them. And when the Justice of two differing Parliaments comes to be the Question, I will not take upon me to determine between them; but will only make this short Remark, That from such time, at least, as the Sense of the House was known upon this Occasion, the late Ministry cannot be thought blameable

meable for proceeding in their usual Method, when they were supported by the Authority and Approbation of Parliament.

Upon the whole Matter, I have now shewn you so many Instances of *Extraordinary Services* performed, that were either of absolute Necessity for the Good of the *Public*, or were *directed* or *approved* by *Parliament*; that I cannot but think you will agree with me in acquitting the *late Ministry* from all Imputation of Mismanagement, Misapplication, or Embezzlement of the Navy-Money. And I must do them the Justice to say one thing more in their Behalf, That I have not found, upon the strictest Enquiry, that they were guilty of Neglect or Remissness in their Duty; or that they wanted Ability or Zeal to carry on the Service of the Nation. And therefore I am afraid the great Noise and Clamours that have been raised against them, proceeded rather from Interest, private Ends, and Party-Strife, than from any true Care or Concern for the Public. But the present Turn is now served: And when the People shall come to reflect calmly upon the *late Administration*, which they have heard so industriously blackened and villified, I believe they will find the Services of that Ministry not inferior to those of any that went before it; and an Example to be imitated, rather than to have been so hardly censured, by that which has lately succeeded it.

But I have troubled you enough, Sir, for one time: Some Account of other Parts of the Debt, you may expect hereafter.

I am, &c.

P O S T S C R I P T.

TIS now almost a Twelvemonth since the foregoing Account was published, which has stood hitherto unimpeached, and the Publick has not seen any Answer or the least Objection made to any Part of it; but the Author upon further Perusal of it, has observed, That in the Deduction of what has been received short by the Navy in this War, there is included what was received short by the Navy in the Year 1702; but the whole Debt of the Navy at Michaelmas, 1702, having been before deducted, what was received short by the Navy before Michaelmas, 1702, ought not to have been included in the general Deduction; as this was no wilful Mistake, the first Opportunity is taken to rectify it, and for the further Satisfaction of such, as shall have the Curiosity to examine in this Particular, I desire they will observe, That the whole Year's Deficiency of the Year 1702, is not at all concerned in this Question, but what was issued short to the Navy only in that Year; and to ballance this, a very moderate Allowance for the extraordinary Rates that have been paid for all Kinds of Naval Stores and Victuals, and for the Number of Men exceeding the Forty Thousand will sufficiently recompense what is gained in the Account by this Mistake.

A State of the Five and Thirty Millions mentioned in the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons.

I Was long since informed, that in many Parts of the Country, our People were taught to think they had been *plundered of Thirty Five Millions*. I believed, for some Time, it was needless to disprove this Report, which I thought was unlikely to last: But being still assured that the same Rumour continues, I have at length resolved to enquire into the Grounds and Reasons of it. Yet, before I enter upon this Examination, I cannot help declaring how much I am surprized, that such wild Reports should find Credit in the Kingdom. I am sensible, the *printing the Votes* has been now so long in Use, that the People do not only claim as their Right and Privilege, to have a daily Account of the Proceedings of the House of Commons; but they think they are competent Judges of whatever is transacted by their Representatives. And they conceive themselves sufficiently entitled to debate and reason, to censure or approve all Things and Persons that at any Time come before the Parliament. I am also sensible, that he who has but read the Votes, takes upon him to determine as peremptorily as if he were fully informed not only of the Facts, but of all the Reasons and Motives that induced the House to come to such Resolutions. Nor am I ignorant what strange Conclusions are often drawn from hence, and what gross Mistakes pass upon the World. This must needs be evident to every Man that hears the common Notions and Opinions which we find are generally received; and which would appear to us most unaccountable, if we were not determined wilfully or ignorantly to espouse and maintain whatever is thought necessary for the Support of a Party.

But so notorious an Instance of this I never met with, as in the present Case; since I am told, that in every Coffee-house and Ale-house, in some Countries, I may hear it with Confidence asserted, and find it too generally believed, that *Thirty Five Millions were lost to the Publick during the late Administration*. And if I should argue the Matter with these People, and endeavour to shew the Falshood or Absurdity of such an Opinion, their Refuge would be to a Vote of the House of Commons. That at best, *there are Thirty-five Millions not accounted for*: And for this they would be very positive they have the Authority of Parliament.

This being the Fact, as it is represented, I can no longer forbear to explain the whole Matter with the utmost Care and Impartiality. For to wrest the Meaning of a *Vote* beyond what the Words do naturally import, or to put Constructions upon them, which it is impossible to suppose the House of Commons could intend; seems to me to be the highest Presumption. And therefore in Justice to the present Parliament, as well as to those concerned in this *Resolution*, I will endeavour to set it in a true Light, and to clear it from the Mistakes and Misrepresentations which have been made concerning it, thro' the Ignorance of some, and I wish I could not add, thro' the Malice and Industry of others.

In order to this, it will be necessary to state and explain the *Vote* upon which these Suggestions are grounded, and the *Report from the Committee to whom it was referred to enquire, How far the several Imprest Accountants had passed their*

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34 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Accounts: And afterwards I will give an Abstract of the several Particulars, with some Observations upon the Whole.

The Vote of the House of Commons was, "That it appears to this House, that of the Monies granted by Parliament, and issued for the Publick Service to *Christmas* 1710, there are *Thirty-five Millions, Three Hundred and Two Thousand One Hundred and Seven Pounds, Eighteen Shillings and Nine Pence*, for a great Part whereof no Accounts have been laid before the Auditors, and the rest not prosecuted by the Accountants and finished."

First then, it is observable, that a Time is expressed when the Accounts in question did determine, which was at *Christmas* 1710. And tho' no Accountant is obliged by the Course of the Exchequer to render his Account under fifteen Months, nor some under eighteen, yet this Vote takes in all Accounts to the first Meeting of the Committee. But there is no mention made from what Period of Time they did commence; which the House of Commons would not have omitted, if they could have supposed that so unreasonable a Construction would have been made of their Vote, as to charge the whole upon the late Ministry. To have been particular in every respect, was too much for the compass of a Vote: We must therefore, upon this Occasion, have Recourse to the *Report* abovementioned; and there we shall find, that Lord *Falkland's* Account begins in *December* 1682, and ends in *March* 1688-9. Lord *Ranelagh*, 'tis very well known, was Paymaster of the Forces during the whole late Reign, Sir *Thomas Littleton* Treasurer of the Navy for about three Years before the Queen's Accession to the Crown; and the Accounts of Captain *Atkinson*, and others, Commissioners of Transportation, during the late War only, amount to near a Million of Money. So that here are Accounts from King *Charles's*, King *James's*, and King *William's* Reign in the principal Branches of Expence in all the Revenue, brought in to make up and swell this general Account: And this, I am told, is by many thousands of People *without Doors* imputed to the late Ministry, tho' the *House of Commons* was so just and careful to print the *Report*, that all Men, if they pleased, might be clearly and fully informed of the true State of this Question.

In the next Place, 'tis to be observed, that the Vote asserts no more, than that for a great part of *Thirty-five Millions, Three Hundred and Two Thousand, One Hundred and Seven Pounds, Eighteen Shillings and Nine-pence*, no Accounts has been laid before the Auditors, without distinguishing what that great Part was; which makes it necessary to enquire how much that great Part amounts to.

But I must first take Notice of a material Distinction, which it will be necessary to carry along with me thro' this whole Enquiry, between *Rendering* and *Passing Accounts*. An Accountant should be always ready to render an Account of all Publick Money by him received, and to shew to what Uses it has been expended; that those who have the Care and Inspection of such Matters, may be satisfied that the Money has been duly applied to the proper Services. And it is in the Power of every Accountant, so far to render an Account of what Money has been issued to him, as to prepare and lay his Account before the Auditors in a reasonable Time; though from the Nature of some Services, 'tis utterly impossible to do it within the Time limited and required by the Course of the Exchequer. And when Accounts are thus rendered, and Vouchers for every particu-

lar

lar Sum delivered to the Auditor, without which Accounts cannot properly be said to be laid before him; the Publick is in a great measure secured, by seeing and knowing the Distribution and Expence of every particular Sum, though the Accounts are not *actually passed*: Which then seems chiefly necessary for the Interest and Security of the Accountant. But though he be sensible of this, and desirous to *pass* his Accounts, yet it is not always in his Power to get over the Difficulties and Delays which he meets with for want of *Form only*; the common Course and Practice of Payments in several Offices being inconsistent with the Rules and Methods established in the Exchequer for *passing* Accounts. Several Instances of this I shall give you before I conclude, but what I have said, is at present sufficient to make good the Distinction between *passing* and *rendering* Accounts. And this Distinction the House of Commons had very clearly in their View, when they said, *For a great Part whereof no Accounts had been laid before the Auditors*: By which they manifestly fix the Blame upon Accounts not being *rendered*, or which is the same Thing, *not laid before the Auditors*.

I come therefore now to consider how much of the *Thirty-five Millions* has not, in this sense, *been accounted for*. And though 'tis said in the Country, that the *Whole is unaccounted for*; 'tis almost ridiculous to endeavour to disprove that, unless one could suppose that a *great Part* can be by any body understood to mean the *Whole*. But how much this *great Part*, for which no Account has been *rendered*, amounts to, may easily be found by any Person that will give himself the Trouble to look into *the Report*; where he will see, that the Committee, from Certificates of the Auditors of the Imprests, have stated the Accounts of the several Accountants therein mentioned, under the Heads of *Charge*, *Discharge*, and *remains to be accounted for*. The Charge contains the whole Charge of all Monies received by the Accountants out of the Exchequer, or otherwise: The Discharge, as well *Accounts that lay before the Auditors, as Accounts actually passed*; and a Ballance is then stated at the Foot of each Account; which Ballances being added altogether, amount to but *Seven Millions, Five Hundred Fifty Seven Thousand, Five Hundred and Thirteen Pounds, Two Shillings and Eight Pence*.

What then can be more unaccountable, than the common Error which People have entertained of this Matter? The House of Commons has been careful to set it in a true Light, by publishing the particular State of the whole, and setting down in express Words, how much under each Head *remains to be accounted for*; which wanted no Skill but common Addition for any Man to be informed of: And yet the Country is amused and imposed upon by a groundless Noise of *Thirty-five Millions not accounted for*, in direct Contradiction to a Report published by Order and Authority of the House of Commons.

By what I have now shewn, it appears, that of the *Thirty-five Millions, &c.* there ought no less to be struck off, than *Twenty-seven Millions, Seven Hundred Forty-four Thousand, Five Hundred Ninety-four Pounds, Sixteen Shillings and a Penny*; which already reduces that immense Sum, to *Seven Millions and a half, &c.* as is beforementioned. This last Sum is all that remains to be accounted for, I mean, all for which no Account had been rendered at *Christmas, 1710*. But then it must be admitted, that all the Accounts are not *actually passed* for the other Part, though they have been duly rendered. It will therefore now be necessary

cessary to enquire into the Reasons and Allegations that have hindered or delayed the *passing* several of them, and how far those Reasons can be justified.

I will not take upon me to affirm, that all the Accountants have been as *expeditious* as they possibly might have been, in *passing their Accounts*: And it may well be thought strange, that twenty Years, or indeed half that Time, has not been found sufficient to finish diverse of them. But as the chief End and View of those who have been most industrious to insinuate this wrong Construction through the Kingdom, has been to blacken and load the late Ministry, it does not seem necessary to my present Purpose, to enquire how far the Officers employed in former Reigns have discharged their Duties. If any Irregularities in Payments, or improper Distributions of the Publick Money, have prevented or delayed the passing those Accounts, there can be no Reason that this should be charged upon the late Administration. The Accounts of former Reigns are no farther to be considered, than as a Burden transmitted down to succeeding Ministers, who are obliged from Time to Time, to give such Orders towards the passing of them as become necessary: And they are no farther blameable, than as those Orders shall upon Examination be found to be ill grounded or unwarrantable.

Many Instances might be given, in which the passing of Accounts is only obstructed by some Irregularities or unnecessary Delays: And that the House of Commons was sensible of this, appears from the Order of Reference, when a Committee was first appointed to enquire, *How far the several Imprest Accountants had passed their respective Accounts*; wherein it was directed, that the Committee should not only *consider of Methods for the more effectual and speedy compelling Accountants to pass their Accounts*, but likewise, *to obviate all Irregularities and unnecessary Delays in the same*. The House of Commons therefore was convinced, that several Difficulties and Obstructions, which attend the *passing of Accounts*, are not in the Power of the Accountants to remove, but want to be corrected and obviated by the Authority of Parliament. And this is sufficient to prove in general, that it is not always in the Power of an Accountant to *pass* his Accounts within the Time required; therefore the not finishing or *not actually passing* Accounts, is not to be imputed as a Crime, when they only are delayed by the Forms and Niceties of Offices; or for necessary Reasons arising from the Nature and Remoteness of the Service; or from an Impossibility of complying with the regular Course of the Exchequer.

This being premised, I will now consider the Reasons and Allegations of the several Accountants, and how far they may be justified. The Report indeed sets forth, That though the principal Accountants, and all that were summoned by the Committee, did offer Reasons in their own Vindication, the Committee did not think fit to examine them; *for that they were not empowered by the House so to do*. The Reasons therefore having never been before the House, they could not enter into them; nor could do more than barely state the Facts. But yet, whoever will look into the said Report, will find, that the chief Delays have arisen either *from the want of Privy-seals*, or *from the Nature of the Services performed*, or *from the Remoteness of the Places where the Payments were made*, or *from the Method and Practice of Paying and Accounting, which is peculiar to the Navy-Office*.

The *passing Accounts by Privy Seals* has formerly made a great Noise in Parliament; and had once a Censure in such strong and general Terms, that I believe it has very much obstructed the obtaining *Privy Seals*; and has occasioned such a Nicety in granting them, as, if always insisted on, will make the *passing* several Accounts utterly impracticable, and furnish the Accountants with an Excuse, that may cover any wilful Delay or Neglect. It is as needless, as it is difficult, to mention all the Instances where *Privy Seals* are not warrantable, and ought not to be granted: But it is certain that in some Cases they are not only requisite, but that they ought not in Justice to be refused. Several Disallowances may be made to an Account in the Exchequer, for want of *regular Vouchers*, when it is evident by Receipts and such other Proofs, as the Service was capable of supplying, that the Money was expended to the proper Uses for which it was granted. And nothing but a *Privy Seal* can supply this Defect, which indeed is only a Defect in Form.

The Rules of the Exchequer are very antient, and were certainly in their Original well contrived for the Service and Security of the Publick; but it is not to be supposed that Rules and Orders of so long a Date, when the Receipts and Issues were very much less, and the Money generally expended within the Kingdom, can be strictly adapted to the Services and Occasions of the present Times. The Annual Grants and Expences do so far exceed any thing known in those Days, and are of such infinite Variety, that Cases must every Day arise which were unforeseen, and consequently could not be provided for. And this makes it necessary either to alter or new-model the Course of the Exchequer, that it may suit better with the Incidents of the present Times; or, if the antient Course is to be preserved sacred and inviolable, to have a discretionary Power lodged somewhere, that it may dispense with the strict Rules for the Accommodation of the Publick Service. This Power is now in the *Privy Seal*, and ought in Justice to be exercised; but with that Care, and under such Checks and Limitations, as may best secure the Revenue, and prevent any Fraud or Loss to the Publick. A few Instances that concern the present Question will, I think, fully clear this Matter.

The Payments to foreign Princes for *Subsidies*, and to their Troops in Her Majesty's Service for *their Pay and Extraordinaries*, are always made pursuant to *Treaties and Establishments*. Those being the Conditions upon which the foreign Forces are stipulated for, and taken into the Service, the Payments can be made upon no other: And this is likewise agreeable to the *Grants* of Parliament, which are always founded upon the *Treaties*. But the Course of the Exchequer requires likewise Muster-Rolls, and Signs Manual, for all Payments made by the Pay-Master of the Forces, which in this Case cannot be had: And therefore the Accounts for such Payments always have passed, and must always pass by *Privy Seals*. And this happens even in the Service of *Flanders*, where, it is very well known, the Payments have been made with all possible Strictness and Regularity.

But he that expects the same Method and Exactness in *Spain* or *Portugal*, must be very little acquainted with the Nature of that Service: For there, a Moiety almost of the Money granted annually, has been expended for the Pay of Foreign Troops, and their Embarkations from *Italy*; for the Pay of the

King of Spain's own Troops; for the Support of his Household and Civil List, which every body knows cannot be regularly allowed in an Army-Account; for Regiments of *Spaniards*, that have been formed, reduced, and perhaps raised again in the Compass of a Year, as the Face of Affairs has altered; and for infinite *Contingencies and Extraordinaries* of the War, for which no Provision could be made but upon Account. And whoever considers the Nature of these Services, the long Marches backwards and forwards of those Armies, the alternate good and bad Success of that War, and the Remoteness and Distance of that Country, which made it impossible to send Orders from hence upon any Emergency, or every new Occasion, will, I believe, not much wonder that Accounts of that War are not easily passed. For how is it possible, that the Payments made in such remote Parts under the Care and Direction of different Persons, and liable to so many Accidents and Disorders, should be adjusted with so much Regularity and Dispatch, as Affairs of the like Nature here at home? Or how can it be supposed, that a great many of those Payments, which could not be allowed without the Authority of a *Privy Seal*, should ever be *passed without one*? Yet an Account of the Receipts and Payments for that Service may be so made up, as may plainly shew, that the Money was applied to the proper Uses, though the Vouchers may not be so regular and perfect, to enable the Auditor to pass the Account.

Another great Instance of the Necessity of *Privy Seals*, is, The Method of *passing* the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Navy: upon which the Committee, observes, "That though this is an Account of the greatest Sums of Money, and
" of the greatest Consequence to the Kingdom; yet it passed in a Method quite
" different from any other Account, the same being brought to the Auditor
" in Volumes, signed by three Commissioners of the Navy, without any
" Vouchers, which the Auditor is empowered thus to pass by the Authority of
" a *Privy Seal*."

By this time I question not but both the Justice and Necessity of *Privy Seals* appear evident in some Cases; and I shall only add, That I would not be thought to contend here for *Privy Seals*, to supply the Want of Vouchers or Receipts for Money, but only to make good any Defect in Form or Regularity, occasioned by the Necessity of the Service, and which by the strict Course of the Exchequer could not be allowed.

But farther, to demonstrate the Security of the Publick, I must observe, that *Privy Seals* are never granted till the Account, and all the Vouchers produced to support it, have undergone the strictest Examination, and the *Privy Seals* themselves have been referred to the Auditors: Whereby the same Persons, in whom by the Law and Rules of the Exchequer, the Power of examining and judging of all Vouchers is lodged, have the Re-examination of all such Vouchers as appear irregular and deficient; and if they shall be found reasonable to be allowed upon the Report and Opinion of the Auditors, the Warrant goes for directing the *Privy Seal* to pass the Account.

And this furnishes me with another Argument to shew, That the *rendering or laying an Account before the Auditors*, is, in a great measure, the chief Satisfaction that is given to the Publick: Or at least, That when the Account with all the Vouchers is *laid before the Auditors*, the Accountant has done all that for
some

some time is in his Power to perform. The first Examination of the Account, the Re-considering it upon the Disallowances, and all the Forms and Steps thro' the several Offices that are necessary to *perfect Accounts* of such large Sums, as are now chiefly under Consideration, are Works of Time; and most certainly make an Accountant very excusable, that has rendered his Account, and delivered in his proper Receipts and Vouchers, although his Account *be not actually passed*.

To bring then this Matter to a Conclusion, it is plain, That as Accounts have been *rendered for all the Thirty-five Millions, &c. except for Seven, &c.* So we find *by the Report*, that the principal Accountants alledge and chiefly insist on the Want of *Privy Seals* for their Justification, which became necessary by the nature of the Services, and which only could enable them to comply with the pressing Occasions of the War.

It is not my Business to consider the particular Defences of each Accountant, any farther than is necessary to my present Purpose; but some few Observations may not improperly be made upon them.

In the Earl of Ranelagh's Account, as stated by the Committee, we find, *That all his Accounts, even to his final Account, lay before the Auditors, with a Ballance only to be accounted for, of One Thousand Seven Hundred Seventy One Pounds Eight Shillings and Sixpence: But that upwards of Six Millions was depending for Want of a Privy Seal, which is reckoned into the Thirty-five Millions: That of the Disallowances which had been made to his Account for Want of regular Vouchers, a Privy Seal after a strict Examination had been directed to discharge him of near Four Millions; and that he was applying to be discharged of the Remainder in the same Manner; and that his final Account was delayed only for Want of these Privy Seals.* Upon which I shall only observe, That till it is once positively determined for what Disallowances it is reasonable to grant him *Privy Seals*, and for what not; and till such as are found reasonable are dispatched, it will be impossible to know what Ballance is really due, and ought justly to be charged upon him at the Foot of his Account. And as long as the *Privy Seals* are stopped for such Allowances as have been judged reasonable, as well as for those which have not yet passed Examination; it furnishes him with a very plausible Excuse for not passing his final Account, which must wait the Fate and Issue of the preceding.

In Mr. Brydges's Account, as stated by the Committee, we find, *That his Accounts were so far delivered in, as to leave at the time of the first Meeting of the Committee, a Ballance to be accounted for, of above Six Millions, but that above Eight Millions were reckoned into the Thirty-five; for which the Accounts were either then fully adjusted, or lay before the Auditors: And that his Accounts delivered in at that time, contained his whole Account for the Service of Flanders to December, 1709. and for the Service in Spain and Portugal to December, 1707.* But I am very credibly informed, That when the Report came from the Committee, and this Matter was debated in the House, Mr. Brydges informed them, and very much to their Satisfaction, That he had farther delivered in his Accounts to the Auditors, for the Service in Spain and Portugal, for the Years 1708, and 1709. By which he has rendered an Account of *Three Millions Two Hundred and Twenty Seven Thousand, Three Hundred Seventy Eight Pounds, Two*

Shillings and Six-pence. Which being deducted from the former Sum of *Six Millions, Three Hundred and Twenty Thousand and Seven Pounds, Six Shillings and Eleven Pence*, reduces the Sum to be accounted for to *Three Millions, Ninety Two Thousand Six Hundred Twenty Nine Pounds, Four Shillings and Five Pence*; which is no more than one Year's Account only. And if it is enquired how it comes to pass, that in six Years that Gentleman has actually passed but one Account, it will be found by the Report, *That the Privy Seal, which after due Examination was directed by Her Majesty's Warrant for his Account, ending at Christmas, 1706. was kept back; and that put a full Stop, not only to that, but to his subsequent Accounts. Part of which have been some time adjusted and ready for Declaration, and the rest delivered into the Auditors; but none of them can be declared before the preceding Accounts are passed.* And that *Privy Seals* are just and necessary for Moneys issued to the Services of *Flanders, Spain and Portugal*, I think is already proved. Or if a Precedent were wanting for it, we find in the Report, That Mr. *Fox* his Predecessor did pass his Accounts by the Help of such *Privy Seals*. But if it be objected, That Mr. *Brydges's* delivering in his Accounts since the Meeting of the Committee, may reasonably be supposed to be occasioned by this very Enquiry; I beg any Man to consider how it was possible for him to prepare Accounts of that nature for above *Three Millions*; or even to transcribe them, if they had not before been in the greatest Forwardness imaginable.

It would be too tedious to enter into all the Particulars, and would swell this Paper beyond my present Design; I will therefore mention no more but Sir *Thomas Littleton's* Account, as it was stated by the Committee: where we shall find, *That (including what was paid over to his Successor) above Ten Millions and an Half are reckoned into the Thirty Five; for which his Accounts either lie before the Auditors, or are under the Examination of the Navy Board.* But the Method of accounting by the Treasurer of the Navy, is known to be so very voluminous and tedious; and at the same time, his whole Account is under such Checks and Regulations, that as it is impossible for him to do more than render his Accounts within the time limited, and the Publick in the mean while is effectually secured; so it would be very unjust to blame him for unavoidable Delays. But I think it needless to say any more upon this Head, and shall only insert a Paragraph out of the Observations of the *Commissioners of the Navy*, which I find in the Report very full to my present Purpose, in these Words:

“ And sure no Man can think it reasonable that any Treasurer of the Navy
 “ should have any Trouble given him for not passing his Accounts, whilst they
 “ are kept open only for the Accommodation of the Service; or can there (in
 “ our humble Opinion) be any Colour for it whilst such exact Accounts are kept
 “ in this Office, as that at any time it may be known to a Penny what Moneys
 “ remain in his Hands, which is never considerable? the Necessities of the Ser-
 “ vice, and the Care of this Office, drawing it away as fast as he receives it, ex-
 “ cepting remote Tallies sometimes lodged in his Hands by Orders from the
 “ Treasury, until they can be made useful for one Head or other; of which the
 “ like Account is kept, and can at any time be given.”

These

These Instances in the great and principal Branches of the publick Revenue, I hope are sufficient to give any Man so clear a View into the Nature of publick Accounts, that I need not descend to any more Particulars.

But I must add one Thing more in Justice to the late Ministry, that they took Care, thro' the whole Course of this War, not only to issue the Money for the proper Services, but likewise to see that it was duly applied to them. This appears by the Certificates, which were constantly required, and every Week, or Fortnight, delivered by the *Chief Paymasters*, of their respective Remainders in their Hands: So that by this means, *the Lord Treasurer* was always informed what Money had been actually expended, and what still was left to be applied to such Uses, as the Occasions of the Government required. And if it is not to be doubted, but those that had the Care of the Revenue were fully informed of the Nature and Necessity of all these Services, and had so far seen and known the Distribution of the Money, as to be satisfied in general of the due Application of it, I would be glad to know with what Reason or Justice they could permit the Rigour of the Law to be executed against Accountants, who they had Reason to believe had not defrauded the Publick, but had done all they could to pass their Accounts. Besides, I must further observe, that the *Treasury* is not concerned in the Process of the Exchequer, more than to grant Warrants for *stopping such Process*, when, upon Application of the Accountant, they shall be found just and reasonable. It is the proper Business and Duty of the *Exchequer* to compel Accountants to pass their Accounts, and there that sole Power by Law is lodged; and it is so effectually provided for, that the Auditors are obliged every Half-Year to return Certificates to the Remembrancer of all Accountants that are in Arrear, and Process is issued in Course against them. And if any Accountant, by Memorial or Petition to the Treasury, sets forth his Reasons why his Accounts are not passed, and humbly prays a Warrant to stop the Process, this Memorial is always referred to the Auditors, and a Warrant is never granted but upon their Report and Opinion of the Case; nor is the Process usually stopped but till the next Term only, and then it issues again in Course, without further Order. But I know not any Method of making this Matter so plain, as by inserting here a Copy of a Treasury-Warrant for stopping Process; by which not only the Form, but the Purport and Effect of all such Warrants may very easily be conceived. I will instance in a Warrant granted to stop Process against the Earl of Ranelagh.

*A*fter, &c. Whereas my very good Lord Richard Earl of Ranelagh hath, by his Memorial, set forth, that his Accounts as late Paymaster of the Forces to Christmas, 1701, are passed, and that his final Account to Christmas, 1702, will be ready for Declaration, as soon as the Auditors of the Imprests have made their Report, as to several Sums craved by his Lordship to be allowed in the said Account, and hath therefore prayed that Process against him may be stayed. And whereas the said Auditors have certified me, that his Lordship and his Agents have promised to answer diverse Queries made by them, relating to his final Account, by the Beginning of next Michaelmas Term, and to prosecute the same till it be passed with all possible Diligence. These are to authorize and require you to forbear issuing forth any Process against the said Earl of Ranelagh, for his said Account, until the First Day of Michaelmas Term. And if any Process be already issued, you
are

62 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

are forthwith to supersede the same: But in case his Lordship's Accounts are not passed by that Time, you are then to issue Process without further Order, for which this shall be your Warrant. Windsor-Castle, the second of August, 1708.

To the Queen's Remembrancer
in the Exchequer, or his De-
puty.

Godolphin.

By this one Example every Man may judge of the Nature and Substance of all these Warrants, which vary only as the particular Cases, Circumstances, and Allegations of the several Accountants may differ, but are all grounded upon the same Foundations, and pass the same Steps and Forms before they are obtained.

And now let any Man, who will give himself the Trouble to reflect upon what has been said, tell me in which of the Cases abovementioned it had been just or reasonable to have refused the stopping Process. Was an Extent to go against the Paymaster of the Army, because his Deputies in *Spain* or *Portugal* had not returned him all their Vouchers from those distant Countries strictly within the Time limited by the Course of the Exchequer for Payments made at home? Or was he to suffer for paying the Subsidies, and other Extraordinaries to foreign Princes, pursuant to the Treaties, and out of Money granted by Parliament for that very Purpose, because he wanted Muster-Rolls and Signs Manual, and could not obtain a Privy-Seal to supply that unavoidable Defect? Should the Process of the Exchequer have gone out against the Treasurer of the Navy, when it was impossible for him, within the Time limited, to adjust his Accounts? When every Page of his Leidger must be examined by the Navy-Board, and signed by three of the Commissioners? When the Tediousness of this Examination, and of making up the Ship-Books, with the Multiplicity of other Business, must needs hinder that Board from dispatching the Treasurer's Accounts? And he is therefore sure to be every Half Year certified by the Auditors to be in Arrear? Should his Estate then have been extended for not having done what he never was able to perform? Every body knows what vast Sums of Money are paid by Treasurers of the Navy upon *Interest Bills*; and yet he cannot be discharged of that Money 'till *perfect Bills* are made out, tho' the Money has been actually paid according to the Direction of the Treasury, and by Order of the Commissioners; and tho' he has all the Receipts and Vouchers for Payment of it. These Instances surely are sufficient to shew of what Use and Necessity Warrants are for stopping of Process, and with how great Justice they may be sometimes granted; which is a Matter so very evident, that I may venture to affirm, that the House of Commons did not make the stopping of Process any Part of their Charge or Imputation.

This, I think, may very reasonably be concluded, if we consider that the House of Commons, on *Wednesday* the 26th of *April*, did order that the proper Officers should lay before the House an Account of all Warrants that had been granted for stopping Process, and the Reasons for them; and that no Return was made to this Order 'till *Tuesday* the 1st of *May*. But the House did resume the adjourned Consideration of the Report on *Saturday* the 28th of *April*, and came then to their final Resolutions, without waiting for the Return of the Warrants for stopping Process, or having any Papers or Accounts relating to that Matter

before them. How then can we suppose the House of Commons, that was so just to call for these Accounts, in order to be fully informed, not only of all the Facts, but of the Reasons and Grounds that occasioned or justified these Proceedings, would come to a Determination, and judge or censure any Persons, when such Evidences were not before them, as they knew to be necessary for their fully understanding the Question? And this sufficiently clears the House of Commons from all such Insinuations, as suppose that they censured or condemned the granting of Warrants to stop Process, since it is apparent they had no such Warrants before them when they came to their Resolutions, and consequently it cannot be imagined that they gave any Opinion concerning them.

But as the Nature of the Services, and the Remoteness of the Places where the Payments were made, have chiefly occasioned the Delays in some Accounts, and the Applications for a Stop of Process; so it is very observable, that where the Accounts have not been subject to such Difficulties, there is no Complaint at all. An Instance of this, we see in those of the Paymaster of the Guards and Garrisons, whose Accounts have all along been passed and prosecuted with all possible Dispatch; which it is just to observe for his Credit, so it shews that due Care has been taken for passing Accounts, when the Nature of the Service did not make it necessary to dispense with the common Rules and Forms.

I will trouble the Reader with nothing more, but an Abstract of the Accounts of several Accountants, as stated in the Report, and of Mr. Bridges's Accounts delivered since, with a few Remarks upon the whole.

		l. s. d.
The Earl of <i>Ranelagh's</i> Charge is ———		21,015,618 19 04 $\frac{1}{2}$
Discharge.	By Accounts actually passed ———	14,593,665 04 02 $\frac{1}{8}$
	By Accounts rendered, or lying before the Auditors ———	6,420,182 06 08 $\frac{3}{8}$
		21,013,847 10 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Remains to be accounted for ———	1,771 08 06
		l. s. d.
The Honourable <i>James Brydges, Esq;</i> his Charge is ———		15,374,289 02 02
Discharge.	By Accounts actually passed ———	956,789 06 05 $\frac{1}{4}$
	By Accounts rendered, or lying before the Auditors ———	8,097,492 08 07 $\frac{1}{2}$
		9,054,281 15 00 $\frac{1}{4}$
	By Accounts delivered since <i>Christmas</i> 1710. ———	3,227,778 02 06
Remains to be accounted for ———		3,092,629 04 05
		l. s. d.
Lord Viscount <i>Falkland's</i> Charge is ———		3,094,723 07 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Discharge.	By Accounts actually passed ———	1,122,133 05 11
	By Accounts lying before the Auditors ———	1,465,368 05 09 $\frac{3}{4}$
		2,587,501 11 08 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Remains to be accounted for ———	507,221 16 02 $\frac{1}{4}$

64 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sir Thomas Littleton's Charge is		18,382,750	01	05 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Discharge.	By Accounts actually passed, or ready for Declaration	7,559,382	05	03 $\frac{1}{4}$
	By Accounts lying before the Auditors, under the Examination of the Navy-Board, and by Money paid over to R. Walpole, Esq;	10,770,179	19	00 $\frac{3}{4}$
		18,329,562	04	04
	Remains to be accounted for	53,187	17	01 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Capt. Atkinson, and others, Commissioners for Transportation, their Charge during the late War		938,646	19	09
Their Discharge by Accounts lying before the Auditors		935,807	08	04
Remains to be accounted for		2,839	11	05
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Capt. Atkinson, and others, their Charge for this War		120,108	16	03 $\frac{1}{2}$
Their Discharge by Accounts rendered or lying before the Auditors		60,546	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Remains to be accounted for		59,562	02	04
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Nutting's Charge is		108,118	16	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Remains to be accounted for		108,118	16	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Mason's Charge is		262,813	19	07
Remains to be accounted for		262,813	19	07
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Povey's Charge is		136,160	00	00 $\frac{1}{4}$
His Discharge by Accounts lying before the Auditors		135,476	07	00 $\frac{3}{4}$
Remains to be accounted for		683	13	00
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Micklethwait's Charge is		480,209	00	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
His Discharge by Accounts lying before the Auditors		376,442	10	09 $\frac{1}{4}$
Remains to be accounted for		103,766	10	02
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Mr. Savery's Charge is		276,078	08	08 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Discharge.	By Accounts actually passed	63,810	07	02
	By Accounts before the Auditors	74,728	01	00 $\frac{1}{4}$
		138,538	08	02 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Remains to be accounted for	137,540	00	06 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total to be accounted for		4,330,135	00	02
		Thus		

Thus we see the *Thirty-five Millions* and upwards, reduced to less than *Four and a Half*, which is much short of one Year's Supply; not to mention other Accounts that have been brought in since the Report, particularly *Three* of the present Paymaster for the Sick and Wounded. And now, if I may be allowed to suppose what I think I have fully proved, that many Irregularities and unavoidable Delays attend the passing of some Accounts, which no Care or Industry can prevent: If it appears that the Nature of the Services, and the Method of Payment in some Offices being inconsistent with the Course of the Exchequer, require Privy Seals, and are the Work of longer Time than is limited for *passing Accounts*; if it appears that those Irregularities which are incident to Accounts, are yet necessary for the Accommodation of the Service, and not to be avoided without infinite Prejudice to the Management; and if it appears that the Security of the Publick does not intirely depend upon the *actual passing of Accounts*, provided they have been *duly tendered*; I hope People will begin to be satisfied, that the Nation has not been cheated of *Thirty-five Millions*, and will not persist to reflect so much upon the House of Commons, as to suppose they could discover such a Loss of the Publick Money, and not find out the Persons that had wickedly embezzled it. For I am obliged to think, that the Justice of this House of Commons is equal to their Mercy, and that they would have named, and effectually have punished any of the late Ministers, whom they had known to be the Authors of such unpardonable Mischief to the Publick. But I have still a greater Authority to persuade me, that no body was guilty of these high Offences, because among the many Removes that have been lately made, I hear of no Man turned out for ill executing his Office, nor of any Accountant removed for *neglecting his Duty in passing his Accounts*; which surely must convince the World, that *her Majesty and her present Ministers*, who have Power and Opportunities to inspect narrowly, and to be fully informed of the Conduct and Behaviour of every Man in his Employment, are satisfied that the Delays, which have happened in *passing* the several Accounts, have not proceeded from any Neglect in the Officers. And what then was to be done by the late Ministers, who were equally satisfied that none intrusted with the Receipt of Publick Money during their Administration, had wilfully delayed the *passing* their Accounts?

To conclude therefore, I hope I have made it appear, as plainly to others as it does to me, that of the *Thirty Five Millions*, &c. Accounts have been duly rendered for all *but Four*, &c. That the Delays which have happened in passing most of the Accounts, have arisen only from Necessity, and the Nature of the Services: That the common Course and Method of Business make it impracticable for the several Accountants to comply with the Rules of the Exchequer: That if in some few Instances all possible Care and Dispatch have not been used to prosecute and finish the Accounts, the Blame is by no means to be laid where the general Clamour has fixed it: That of all the Money granted for the Service of this War, and issued during the late Administration, it does not appear there has been the least Loss and Embezzlement: That there is no Ground to suspect, that by not compelling the Accountants to pass their Accounts, any Frauds and Misapplications have been skreened or concealed; and that, upon the whole Matter, there never was a greater Calumny raised upon less Grounds, than that which I have now disproved.

Navy Office, 19th December, 1711.
 An Estimate of the Debt of her Majesty's Navy on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on the 30th of *September* last, with what thereof has and will be satisfied by the *South Sea Stock*, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament on that Behalf, and what remains of the said Debt on the said 30th of *September* to be discharged.

With OBSERVATIONS thereupon.

Heads of the Naval Estimates.		Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711.		What of the said Debt has been discharged by the S. Sea Stock.		What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.	
		Particulars.		Total.			
DUE on Bills in the Second Register-Book, as namely for Purfers Ballance Bills, and for Extra-necessary Money, Pensions, Half Pays, Surgeons, Free Gifts, &c. incurred before this Reign, as by an Account thereof sent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer, on the 10th of <i>December</i> , 1711, in order to be taken in to the <i>South-Sea</i> Stock, For Interest allowed by the above-said Act for the aforesaid Debt, from the 25th of <i>March</i> , 1711, to the 25th of <i>December</i> , 1711.	Before this Reign.	Since this Reign,					
	16409 16 00	737 01 09		17146 17 09		17146 17 09	

What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.

What of the said Debt has been discharged by the S. Sea Stock.

Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711.

Particulars. Total.

Wear and Tear, Ordinary and Extraordinary Repairs.

Before this Reign.

Since this Reign.

Due to pay off all the Bills entered in Course on the Ordinary and Extraordinary of her Majesty's Navy to *Lady-day*, 1711, as by an Account thereof sent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer on the 16th of October past, in order to be taken into the *South-Sea Stock*,

Interest accruing thereon to the said 25th of *March*, 1711.

Interest allowed by the said Act for the aforesaid Debt from the 25th of *March*, 1711. to the 25th of *December*, 1711.

On the said Book of Course from the 25th of *March*, 1711, to the 30th of *September*, 1711,

Interest accruing thereon,

To her Majesty's Yards and Rope-Yards, for the Ordinary and Extraordinary thereof,

1677064 07 03

97208 05 01

79823 18 10

234008 19 11

1005 09 10

350489 00 00

1854096 11 02

235014 09 09

350489 00 00

1854096 11 02

235014 09 09

350489 00 00

What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.

What of the said Debt has been discharged by the S. Sea Stock.

Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711.

Before this Reign.

Since this Reign.

Wear and Tear, Ordinary and Extraordinary Repairs.

Before this Reign.

Since this Reign.

Due to pay off all the Bills entered in Course on the Ordinary and Extraordinary of her Majesty's Navy to *Lady-day*, 1711, as by an Account thereof sent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer on the 16th of October past, in order to be taken into the *South-Sea Stock*,

Interest accruing thereon to the said 25th of *March*, 1711.

Interest allowed by the said Act for the aforesaid Debt from the 25th of *March*, 1711. to the 25th of *December*, 1711.

On the said Book of Course from the 25th of *March*, 1711, to the 30th of *September*, 1711,

Interest accruing thereon,

To her Majesty's Yards and Rope-Yards, for the Ordinary and Extraordinary thereof,

Heads of the Naval Estimates.		Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711.		What of the said Debt has been discharged by the S. Sea Stock.		What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.	
		Particulars.	Total.				
For the Freight of Hospital Ships and Tenders; as also for Stores delivered into her Majesty's several Yards, for which no Bills were made out on the aforefaid 30th of September last,	Before this Reign.	Since this Reign.					
Seamens Wages.							
Due to Men remaining unpaid upon the Books of Ships paid off since the 13th of February, 1688.							
To Ships in Sea Pay							
To pay off and discharge all Bills entered in Course for Surgeons Necessaryes, Bounties to Widows and Orphans, Pilotage, &c. on the Heads of Seamens Wages, Victualling Debt as per an Estimate received from those Commissioners.							
DUE to pay off all the Bills entered in Course to the 25th of March, 1711, as by an Account thereof sent to the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer, the 14th of September, 1711, by those Commissioners, in order to be taken into the South Sea Stock,							
For Interest accruing thereon to the 25th of March, 1711, Interest allowed by the said Act for the aforefaid Debt, from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 25th of December, 1711,							

Heads of the Naval Estimates.

Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711.

What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.

What of the said Debt has been discharged by the S. Sea Stock.

On the said Book of Course from the 25th March, 1711, to the 30th of September, 1711.
 Interest accruing thereon,
 For Extra-Freights and Donorages to Victualling Ships sent to Lisbon and into the Mediterranean with Provisions for the Service of her Majesty's Fleet in those Parts, and for Provisions delivered into Stores, and other Services performed before the 30th of September, 1711, for which Bills were not then made out; as also to Bills of Exchange, and necessary Money, to Purfers Wages, to the Officers, Workmen and Labourers, employed in the several Yards. For Short Allowance of Victuals to Seamen serving on board her Majesty's Fleet; and for Contingencies, &c.
Sick and Wounded, and for Exchange of French Prisoners, the Debt of that Office as per an Estimate, received from those Commissioners, viz.
 Due for the Service of the Sick and Wounded Seamen on board her Majesty's Fleet,
 For Subsistence of French Prisoners,
 To Bills of Exchange from foreign Parts,

Total.

Particulars.

Before this Reign.

Since this Reign.

219568 13 11

1230 13 05

220799 07 04

220799 07 04

340206 06 06

340206 06 06

340206 06 06

81545 19 6½

20742 02 5

115194 17 02

12906 15 2½

115194 17 02

Total £ 74234 09 05 | 7157554 00 06 | 7231788 09 11 | 425693 12 10 | 2974856 17 01

Remaining on the said 30th of September past, of the South-Sea Stock, &c. towards answering the said Debts. Viz.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
HERE was granted by Parliament, in Page 403. of the Act for Establishing a Trade to the South-Sea, for the Debts of the Navy, Victualling, Sick and Wounded, to Michaelmas, 1710, the Sum of	5130539	5	5			
In Page 404 of the said Act, there is a Sum of 378859 l. 5 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{4}$. directed for the Debts incurred between the 29th of September, 1710, and 25th of December following, in the several Offices of the Navy, Victualling, and Transports, and for Interest on Army and Transport Debentures, whereof is to be applied to the Debt of the Navy, on the Head of Wear and Tear 96720 l. 3 s. 0 d. and on the Head of Victualling, 228275 l. 12 s. 5 d. as per Letter from William Lowndes, Esq; of the 29th of November past	324995	15	5			
The aforesaid Act having also made Provision for Interest of the said Debt, from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 25th of December following, which Interest, as by the aforesaid Account for the Debts on the Second Book, appears to be 737 l. 1 s. 9 d. And on the Head of Wear and Tear 79823 l. 18 s. 10 d. and for the Victualling, 83076 l. 5 s. 11 d. and make altogether the Sum of	163637	6	6			
There has been Received by the Treasurer of her Majesty's Navy, South Sea Stock, out of 500000 l. granted by the said Act, for the current Year, 1711. whereof by an Order from the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer, of the 2d of October last, pursuant to her Majesty's Warrant, under her Royal Sign Manual, dated the Day preceding, there was to be applied for the Course of the Navy, to Michaelmas 1711, the Sum of 237386 l. 0 s. 0 d. And for the Course of the Victualling 51214 l. 7 s. 2 d. making together the Sum of	288600	7	2			
There has been subscribed to the South Sea Stock, by the Treasurer of the Navy, Tallies on the General Mortgage, 1710, for the like Sum in the said Stock, to be applied to the Course of the Victualling, to Michaelmas, 1711.	168100	0	0			
	6075872	14	6			
	4256931	12	10			
	1818941	1	8			

Of which, there has been applied to the Services of the Navy and Victualling, as appears in the proper Column, in the foregoing Account, towards the Debt to Michaelmas, 1711, the Sum of

Remains of the aforesaid South Sea Stock, to be farther applied, the Sum of

On the 30th of September last, There was remaining in the Hands of the late and present Treasurers of the Navy, the Tallies and Money hereafter mentioned, (over and above the Assignments of the Navy and Victualling Boards) to be applied to the Services thereof, Viz.

			l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Executors of Sir Tho. Littleton.	{ Tallies	{ On Reverfionary Annuities	460	93	0	brought over	181	894	1
			409	5	3		1	8	
	{ In Money	{ On half Subsidies on a General Mortgage, 1708,	227	8	6				
			7	10	7				
						524	74	0	4
Robert Walpole, Esq;	{ Tallies	{ On the 4th General Mortgage, 1709,	62	18	0				
			8000	0	0				
			31800	0	0				
			93	19	11				
	{ In Money	{ On the 12th 4 s. Aid	5010	2	6				
			6592	3	10				
						515	59	5	0
Charles Caesar, Esq;	{ Tallies	{ On the 14th 4 s. Aid	44000	0	0				
			110400	0	0				
			14390	16	8				
	{ In Money	{ On Malt, Anno 1711,	73914	19	8				
			8215	11	7				
						250	92	1	7
						354	954	13	3
						217	389	5	14
						14	11		11

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.

l.	s.	d.
2974856	17	1
2173895	14	11
800961	12	2
792399	0	10
8562	1	4
186974	1	2
195536	2	6

THE Debts remaining (by the aforesaid Account) to be satisfied, amounts to the Sum of —
Towards which the Remains of the *South Sea* Stock, Tallies and Money in the late and present
Treasurers of the Navy's Hands, as aforementioned, amounts to the Sum of —

Wanting on the said 30th of *September* last, to discharge the said Debts, the Sum of —

l.	s.	d.
497216	6	1
295182	14	9

But towards answering the said Debt, there has been received since *Michaelmas*
last, by the Treasurer of the Navy, for the Service thereof, the Sum of —
Remains to be supplied to the Navy, of the Sum voted for it the last Session of
Parliament —

So that if the Navy could be supplied with the above said Remains, the Charge between *Michaelmas* 1710 and *Michaelmas* 1711, would exceed the Sum granted for the Debt, and what was
voted by the Honourable House of Commons, but the Sum of —
But the Produce of the Funds, granted by the Parliament in their last Sessions, falling short to answer
the Sums voted; the Proportion of the said Deficiencies, which will fall to the Navy, as *per* Letter
from *The. Harley*, Esq; amounts to the Sum of —

And consequently, there will remain unprovided for, the Sum of —

O B S E R-

OBSERVATIONS on the foregoing ACCOUNT.

THE first Observation that is obvious upon Perusal of this Paper, is, That this Estimate of the Debt of the Navy, as it stood on the 30th of September, 1711. is made up by carrying on the former Accounts of the Debt of the Navy, and adding to the old Debt the Increase that has been made upon the several Heads betwixt *Michaelmas* 1710. and *Michaelmas* 1711.

By this Account it appears at the Foot of the Column of Totals, that notwithstanding all that has been said of paying the Debts of the Nation, the Debt of the Navy was at *Michaelmas* Day last 7,231,788 *l.* 9 *s.* 11 *d.*

Whereof there has been discharged, as in the next Column, by *South-Sea* Stock 4,256,931 *l.* 12 *s.* 10 *d.* and then the Debt at *Michaelmas* last remaining to be discharged was, as in the last Column, 2,974,856 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.*

Towards which there was of *South-Sea* Stock not applied to any Service, 1,818,941 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* and in Talleys and Money remaining in the Hands of the several Treasurers of the Navy 354,954 *l.* 13 *s.* 3 *d.* which making together 2,173,895 *l.* 14. 11. *d.* there remained a Debt at *Michaelmas* last no ways discharged or provided for of 800,961 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.*

But as a Debt of above 800,000 *l.* incurred in one Year must appear very extraordinary, not only because it is a far greater Debt than was incurred in the Navy in any one Year during the whole late Administration, but because this Parliament had so lately declared against all Exceedings as *Illegal and Unwarrantable*, it was absolutely necessary to colour this over, and by first deducting what had been received since *Michaelmas*, and then by deducting what had been paid short of the Sums voted by Parliament, the real Debt of 800,961 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.* is very handsomely reduced to 8562 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* and there it is said, *If the Navy could be supplied with the aforesaid Remains, the Charge between Michaelmas, 1710, and Michaelmas, 1711. would exceed the Sum granted for the Debts, and what was voted by the Honourable House of Commons but the said Sum of 8562 l. 1 s. 4 d.*

By this Paragraph it plainly appears, that the Expence of the Navy betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. is the only Account concerned in Question; which demonstrates that the 497,216 *l.* 6 *s.* 1 *d.* received by the Treasurer of the Navy since *Michaelmas*, cannot be admitted as lessening the Debt incurred before *Michaelmas*. This Estimate of the Debt is dated the 19th of Dec. 1711. which within a few Days is another entire Quarter, and it must be admitted there has been an Expence made in the Navy in that time, as well as there has been Money received and paid: To deduct then the Money received since *Michaelmas*, and not to bring to Account the Expence that has been made in the same time, is to take Credit for Five Quarters, and charge themselves with but Four. Besides, if the Money received since *Michaelmas* has been applied to discharge Debts incurred before *Michaelmas*, the whole Quarter's Expence betwixt *Michaelmas* and *Christmas* is unprovided for, and must be added to the Debt, and every Quarter's Expence is estimated at 524,000 *l.* Or if this Money has been applied to Services performed since *Michaelmas*, there can be no Pretence to say, it lessens the Debt incurred before that time: And it is highly

probable this was the Case, because we have heard so much of paying Ready Money upon all Contracts made since *Michaelmas*, which could be supplied out of this Money only.

What immediately follows, as little contributes towards lessening the Debt: To say, that the Navy has received 295,182 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* short of the Sums voted, is giving a very good Reason for so much of the Increase of the Debt. But this was likewise the Case in every Year during the late Administration, and was urged as a necessary Cause of the Increase of the old Debt; but this was so entirely exploded the last Year, that I can scarce believe what was then declared *a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament*, will now be thought right and justifiable: But though it be admitted as a necessary Cause for increasing the Debt, the Debt will still remain the same until that Money is received to discharge it; so that I am afraid, if (as is said) *there was wanting on the said 30th of September last to discharge the said Debts the Sum of 800,961 l. 2 s. 2 d.* the Publick will find they have little left to pay upon these two Considerations; though it may serve a present Turn, and be an Amusement to such Gentlemen as will give themselves the trouble to look no farther, to find at the Foot of the Account such a trifling Exceeding, as 8562 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.*

But for the better understanding this whole Matter, it is necessary now to observe, that the first Provision made in the *South-Sea Act* is for the whole Debt of the Navy, as it stood at *Michaelmas*, 1710. and amounted to 5,130,539 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* There is a farther Provision made for Debts incurred in the several Offices betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. whereof the Expence in the Course of the Navy and Victualling in that time amounted to 324,995 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* which being computed into the Total of the Debts is made Part of the Capital of the *South-Sea Stock*, and thereby discharged. There is afterwards a Clause directing the *Commissioners of the Navy and Victualling* to cause an Account of the Debts in their respective Offices, due on the 25th of *March* 1711. to be made up and stated, and transmitted to the Treasury, in order to be subscribed to the *South-Sea Stock*. But this not being computed into the Total of the Debts, is not provided for in the Capital Stock, and consequently cannot be paid out of any Part thereof, which by the Act is applied to other Services; but must be supplied either out of the 500,000 *l.* granted for Part of the Provision for that Year's Service, or out of such Talleys on the General Mortgage as had been subscribed to the *South-Sea Stock* by the Treasurer of the Navy. The Proportion of the 500,000 *l.* allotted for the Service of the Navy we find to be 288,600 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* and the general Mortgage-Talleys subscribed by the Treasurer of the Navy to be 168,100 *l.* making together 456,700 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* which was all the *South-Sea Stock* that was made applicable to the current Service of the Navy for last Year, except the 324,995 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* which in the *South-Sea Act* is added to the Capital Stock. But yet we find that over and above the Debts incurred between *Michaelmas* and *Christmas*, provided for in the Bill, and the Expence betwixt *Christmas* and *Lady-Day*, for which Power was given, but no Provision made, all the Bills registered in Course in the Navy and Victualling, from *Lady-Day*, 1711. to *Michaelmas*, 1711. are likewise discharged by the *South-Sea Stock*; so that the whole Year's Expence upon the Course of the Navy and Victualling between *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. is discharged by the

the *South-Sea* Stock, which amounts to 1,127,134 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.* although there was Power by Act of Parliament to apply no more than 781,696 *l.* 2 *s.* 7 *d.* The Difference is 345,438 *l.* 9 *s.* 5 *d.* to which I will add no more, but ask, out of what Part of the *South-Sea* Stock this was paid, and what there is to replace it? or with what Justice the Contractors were obliged to take their Payments in the *South-Sea* Stock at such great Discounts, for Services, which it is most evident the Parliament designed should be answered out of the Ready Money granted for this Year's Service.

But although there was a Power given by the Act of Parliament to discharge the Debts of the Navy, incurred betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Lady-Day*, 1711. in the manner above explained, I presume, it will not be pretended, that this was granted as an additional Supply to the Navy, over and above the 2,200,000 *l.* granted for the Service of the Year, 1711. but must be understood as a Power to apply so much of the *South-Sea* Stock, to the current Service of the Year, as Part of the Supply granted for that Purpose. If then the Design of the Parliament was to limit the Expence of the Navy to the Sums voted for that Service, in the Committee of Supply, where the Proportions of Expence for all Parts of the Service are always limited and adjusted; let us enquire how far the Charge of the Navy betwixt *Michaelmas*, 1710. and *Michaelmas*, 1711. has exceeded the Supply granted for that Year's Service; and this may be done, by considering it in two different Views, wherein all the Facts are taken from the foregoing Estimates, or from Accounts, made up by the Commissioners of the Navy and Victualling, of the Debts of the Navy and Victualling from *Christmas*, 1710. to *Lady-Day*, 1711. or from the Report of the Commissioners of Publick Accounts; and it will be no Objection, that the Exceedings are not just the same in the different Views, because they are grounded only upon such gross Computations as are taken from those Accounts; and it is not pretended here, to state the exact Exceedings, which cannot be adjusted without a full and particular Account of the Receipts, Issues, and all the particular Expences upon each Head of the Navy.

There was granted for the Service of the Navy (exclusive of	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
the Ordnance) for the Service of the Year, 1711.	—	2,096,000	0 0

*The Navy had received between Michaelmas, 1710. and Michaelmas, 1711.
in South-Sea Stock.*

For Debts incurred in the Navy and Victualling Offices, from	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. to <i>Christmas</i> , 1710.	—	324,995	15 5
For Ditto, from <i>Christmas</i> , 1710. to <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1711.	—	346,324	19 3
For Ditto, from <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1711. to <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711.		455,813	17 1
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		1,127,134	11 9

The Navy had likewise received in that Time, from the Exchequer, as by Account from the Commissioners of Publick Accounts.	—	—	1,229,849	3 9½
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84 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

Of which there remained at <i>Michaelmas</i> last, in the Hands of the several Treasurers of the Navy, which may be reckoned Part of this Money, not above 300,000 <i>l.</i> and there being Tallies on the General Mortgage deposited with the <i>Bank</i> , which were redeemed with this Money, amounting to about 145,000 <i>l.</i> making together	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
There had been expended before <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711. of the Moneys received from the <i>Exchequer</i> .	0,445,000	00	0
And there was wanting at <i>Michaelmas</i> last, to discharge the Debts, incurred before that Time.	0,784,849	03	9½
Total Expence between <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. and <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711.	0,800,961	02	2
	2,712,944	17	8½
Which exceeds the Supply granted by Parliament	0,616,944	17	8½

Another State of the Exceedings.

The Debt of the Navy at <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711. was	7,231,788	9	10
The Debt of the Navy at <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. was but	5,130,539	5	5
The Debt was then increased	2,101,249	4	5

But in the Debt of <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711. is included a Year's Interest, from <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. to <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711. of the old Navy and Victualling Bills, due before <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. and which are Part of the Capital of the <i>South-Sea</i> Stock; which Interest is not distinguished in the Estimate of the Debt of the Navy, but may be computed at	180,000	0	0
Which being deducted, the neat Increase of the Debt, betwixt <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. and <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711. will be	1,921,249	4	5
Expended of the Money received from the <i>Exchequer</i> , as by the last Account	0,784,849	3	9½
Total Expence between <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710. and <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1711.	2,706,098	8	2½
Which exceeds the Supply granted by Parliament	0,610,098	8	2

The small Difference between these two States, is not worth the Notice; but from what has been said, it is evident, that very great Exceedings have been in the Navy last Year, upon which I will make no Reflections, but leave it to other Gentlemen, whose Honour seems to be a little concerned to reconcile this Practice with the Opinions that have lately prevailed. The Opinion of a private Man, who has no Opportunities of being perfectly informed of these Matters, but can only make his own Observations upon such Papers as accidentally fall in his Way, may be thought of no Weight or Consequence; but such Regard has been

been shewn to the *Representation made last Sessions of Parliament*, that I shall conclude this Paper with transcribing one Paragraph from it.

“ In examining into the State of the War, and looking back from the Beginning of it we find, that in several Years, the Service has been enlarged; and
“ *the Charge of it encreased beyond the Bounds prescribed, and the Annual Supplies granted by Parliament*: To this new and illegal Practice, we must, in
“ great measure, ascribe the Rise and Growth of the heavy Debts that lie upon
“ the Nation; nor does the Consequence of it end there, for we must also represent it to your Majesty, as a *dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament*.
“ The Commons must ever assert it as their sole and undoubted Privilege, to
“ grant Money, and to adjust and limit the Proportions of it; and when your
“ Majesty has recommended to them, to consider of Supplies, and they have deliberated upon the several Estimates for the Annual Services, and considered
“ and determined what the Nation is able to bear, their Proceedings would be
“ very vain and ineffectual, if, after the respective Sums are stated, and granted, *those through whose Hands the Disposition of them passes, are allowed, in
“ any Measure, to alter and enlarge them*. This is an Attempt which very little
“ differs from *levying Money without Consent of Parliament*, as will appear to
“ your Majesty from this one Consideration, that a Charge of that kind once incurred, and laid as a Debt upon the Navy, or any other Publick Office, is
“ so far binding upon Parliament, that, how little soever they approve of the
“ Means by which it was contracted, yet the Publick Credit being pawned, the
“ Commons cannot, without the Ruin of that, refuse to provide for it.”

A brief Account of the DEBTS provided for by the South-Sea Act, and the Times when they were incurred. With some short Observations.

IT is too notorious with what Industry it has been insinuated, and how generally received, that the whole Capital Stock of the *South-Sea Company* was a Debt contracted by the late Ministry. A Debt of near *Nine Millions and a half* was thought a very heavy Burden upon the Nation, and what a great many were ready to conclude must be occasioned by ill Management, or by Embezzlement of the Publick Money. I will not say that the Total of the Capital Stock was swelled to this Height with no other View than to blacken the late Ministry, tho' I believe that was an Incident that did not make the Project at all the less agreeable; because it is very evident, other People found their Account in it, not only by applying so great a Share of it to the Service of the current Year, but because it was essential to their very Project. But to see how far the late Ministry are justly chargeable upon this Account, I thought it worth while to examine into the several Particulars, and enquire by what Degrees, at what Times, and in what Manner this great Debt was contracted; and I found, that the Debt incurred during the late Administration, was not near one half of the whole Sum provided for by this Act; that the Debt at *Michaelmas, 1710*, to which Time all the Debts were stated and adjusted, was but *Six Millions, Seven Hundred Sixty-one Thousand, Six Hundred and Ninety Pounds, Eighteen Shillings, Seven Pence Farthing*; of which, *Two Millions, Eight Hundred Ninety-seven*

Seven Thousand, Five Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, Four Pence, three Farthings, was an old Debt of the last War, and incurred before the late Administration: and that to the Debt due at *Michaelmas*, 1710, there is added above Two Millions, Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds; which either arose from a great Part thereof being granted in Aid of the Supplies for last Year's Service, or from the Nature of the Project; there being no other Provision for the growing Interest, but by making it Principal, the Interest, together with the General Mortgage-Tallies, was included in this Provision; all which being no Part of the Debt due at *Michaelmas*, 1710, is not to be imputed to the late Ministry, whose Charge must be allowed to determine with their Administration; but being now made Part of the gross Debt, which by this *Darling Project* is no otherwise paid, than by being turned into a perpetual Debt, with an Interest of 6 *l. per Cent. per Ann.* must be admitted to be an Increase of the Debt since the Change of the Ministry.

A View of the whole Debt, distinguished under the three following Heads, will best explain this Matter.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Principal Sum provided for by the <i>South-Sea Act</i> , at <i>Christmas</i> , 1711, was	—	—	—
	9,471,325	00	0

Which arose thus:

Before the late Administration,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Debt of the Navy (exclusive of the Register-Office) at <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1702, was	—	—	—
	1,722,679	05	8
Ditto of the Ordnance	—	—	—
	166,293	09	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Principal Money of the Army and Transport-Deben- tures	—	—	—
	987,157	03	8
Arrears of Subsidies to the Elector of <i>Hanover</i> , and Duke of <i>Zell</i>	—	—	—
	9,375	00	0
Deficient Tallies on Coals, &c.	—	—	—
	12,025	01	0

Total Debt at *Michaelmas*, 1702. — 2,897,529 19 4 $\frac{1}{4}$

During the late Administration,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Debt of the Navy (after the Debt of <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1702 is deducted) was at <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710	—	—	—
	3,407,859	19	9
Debt of the Transports, at <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710	—	—	—
	424,791	05	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Interest then in Arrear on the Army and Transport- Debentures	—	—	—
	31,499	14	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

Total Debt at *Michaelmas*, 1710 — 3,864,150 19 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

Since

Since the Change of the Ministry,

The Debts incurred in the several Offices of the Navy, Ordnance, and Transports, and for the Interest of the Army and Transport-Debentures between <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710, and <i>Christmas</i> , 1710	378,859 05 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Interest of such Part of the Debt as carried Interest from <i>Christmas</i> , 1710, to <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1711	85,000 00 0
Interest of the whole, from <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1711, to <i>Christmas</i> , 1711, from which Time such Debts as carried no Interest were charged with Interest, and the Interest in Arrear was made Principal, and charged with Interest	386,325 00 0
<i>Five Hundred Thousand Pound</i> Stock granted for the Service of the current Year	500,000 00 0
By subscribing the Subsidy-Tallies of the Year 1710, in order to have the General Mortgage free at the Year 1716, to be made a Fund for paying the Interest of the whole Debt provided for by this Act; the Principal and Interest of which at <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1711, (from which Time the Interest was made Principal) amounted to	1,371,428 09 1
Total Debt incurred since <i>Michaelmas</i> , 1710	2,721,612 14 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>	
Total of the several Particulars	9,483,293 13 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Difference that appears to be betwixt the Total of the Particulars and the Total of the *South-Sea* Stock, is occasioned by the Debt of the Ordnance being more at *Michaelmas*, 1702, than it was at *Michaelmas*, 1710, which is one Instance of the Debt being lessened by the late Ministry, where the Service would admit of it.

It is observable, that the Debt before the late Administration necessarily occasioned an Increase of the Debt since incurred; not only the Interest of such Part of the Debt as carried Interest, but the Arrears of the several Offices, being in course to be satisfied before the new Contracts, advanced the Prices upon all Stores, Provisions, and Necessaries supplied for the Use of the Publick; and consequently contributed in some measure to the yearly Increase of the Debt incurred in this War.

Notwithstanding this, it appears that the whole Debt incurred in eight Years, does not exceed *Three Millions, Eight Hundred Sixty-four Thousand, One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, Two Pence Half-penny*; and it appears from authentic Accounts, that the Deficiency of the Funds in that Time, amounted to *One Million, Five Hundred Fifty-seven Thousand, Five Hundred and Forty Pounds, Twelve Shillings, Nine Pence Farthing*; which reduces the Debt contracted in eight Years by the late Ministry to *Two Millions, Three Hundred and Six Thousand, Six Hundred and Ten Pounds, Six Shillings, Five Pence Farthing*; which is not *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds* a Year, one Year with another. And he that thinks it a great Mismanagement to incur a Debt of about

about *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds* per Ann. in all the Public Offices, will wonder to find, since the Change of the Ministry, one Year's Debt in the Navy only amounting to double that Sum, as appears by a late *printed Account of the Debt of the Navy at Michaelmas, 1711, with Observations thereon.*

This will still seem a little more extraordinary, if it be considered, that the Supplies of last Year did far exceed the Supply of any one Year during this War; which will be found true, if compared with any of the Years of the highest Expence: and still more so, if we may be allowed to take a Medium of the eight Years for one Year's Expence. The Supplies of the eight Years concerned in this Question, amounted to *Forty-two Millions, Seven Hundred Fifty-four Thousand, and Twenty-one Pounds, Six Pence Three Farthings*; which, at a Medium of the whole for one Year, will be *Five Millions, Three Hundred Forty-four Thousand, Two Hundred Fifty-two Pounds, Twelve Shillings, Seven Pence*: and this compared with the *Seven Millions, One Hundred Ninety-two Thousand, Three Hundred Ninety-nine Pounds, Five Shillings, Eight Pence Farthing*, which in Money and *South-Sea* Stock was granted for the Service of the last Year, exclusive of the Deficiencies transferred to the Land-Tax and Malt, and of the *Five Hundred Eighty-nine Thousand, Eight Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, Seventeen Shillings Four Pence*, (voted this Session for making good the Deficiencies of last Year's Grants) will soon shew, that the Shortness of the Supplies was not the Occasion that the Exceedings of last Year were greater than those of former Years, that had lately undergone such severe Censures.

And as for any extraordinary Services performed last Year beyond all former Years, I know of none but that notable Expedition to *Canada*; and am not concerned whether the undertaking a Project that had been before concerted and rejected as impracticable, or the Success that attended it, is to justify so extraordinary an Expence to the Nation.

The present Ministry justified: Or, an Account of the State of the several Treaties of Peace between Her Majesty and her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*: With an Account of the Obstructions of Peace, and of what was done relating to the *Catalans*. 1714.

IN Answer to the Addresses of this House, That her Majesty will be pleased to order an Account to be laid before this House, how far the Peace is compleat between her Majesty's Allies, and *France* and *Spain*, and what is yet wanting to make the same universal; as also what Obstructions her Majesty has met with in her Endeavours to make the same universal and compleat; and likewise that her Majesty would please to order an Account to be laid before this House, of what Endeavours have been used, that the *Catalans* might have full Enjoyment of all the ancient Liberties and Privileges, and that a full State of all Proceedings during the Treaty of Peace, relating thereunto, be likewise laid be-

fore this House; her Majesty has thought fit to order, besides the Papers herewith delivered in the following State of the Treaties of the Negotiations of Peace, and of the Endeavours which she has used that the *Catalans* might have the full Enjoyment of all their ancient Liberties and Privileges, to be prepared and laid before this House.

On the Eleventh Day of *April*, the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, of *Portugal*, of the present King of *Sicily*, and of the States-General of the United Provinces, signed their respective Treaties with the Ministers of his most Christian Majesty at *Utrecht*.

From that Time, therefore, no Treaties between *France* and any of the Allies remained unfinished, except those of the Emperor, and of the Body of the Empire: The first of which was executed at *Rastadt* on the Sixth of the last Month, N. S. and his Imperial Majesty undertaking therein to procure the Consent of the Empire to all the Articles of it, the Peace of the latter may, in Effect, be reckoned to have been likewise made at the same Time, although a Congress is appointed to meet at *Baden*, where the Consent of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, is to be given in Form, and several particular Claims to be discussed.

Passports not having been granted to the Ministers of *Spain*, 'till more than fourteen Months after the Conferences at *Utrecht* were opened, the Duke *d'Ossuna* did not come to the Congress before the 19th of *April*, N. S. 1713. nor enter on any Business 'till the Arrival of his Colleague the Marquis *de Monteleon* in the Month of *June*.

On the 13th of *July* following, the Treaty of Peace between her Majesty and the Catholic King was signed; but the Treaty of Commerce could not be finished 'till the 9th of *December*, N. S. 1713.

The Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* her Majesty looks upon to be as good as concluded, it appearing by late Accounts from *Utrecht*, that the Project thereof had been drawn up in Form, and sent to the two Courts to be approved; and that the Differences which remain were too inconsiderable to occasion any new Delay. In the mean while, her Majesty has taken the most effectual Care of the Interests of the King of *Portugal*, having given to that Prince, on the 18th of *August*, 1713, of her own Motion, and without any Requisition on his Part, a new Guaranty, whereby the Queen obliged herself to secure the Restitution, even by Force of Arms, if that should become necessary, of any Thing which might be taken from *Portugal* before the Conclusion of the Peace; to procure to that Crown the Colony of the *Sacrament* or in lieu thereof such an Equivalent as the King of *Portugal* himself should be contented to accept; to obtain Satisfaction to the *Portuguese* for what they claim to be due to them, on account of their *Affiento*, or Contract with the Crown of *Spain*; and to set on foot, after the Peace, an amicable Negotiation for accommodating the Differences which have arisen concerning several Estates situated in *Portugal*, and claimed by Subjects of *Portugal* residing in *Spain*; and concerning those *Spanish* Ships which were, about the Beginning of the War, seized by the *Portuguese*: On these Principles, the Earl of *Strafford* made a solemn Declaration to the Ministers of *Spain*, in *February* last, when he exchanged with them the Instruments of Ratification of the Treaties between her Majesty and the Catholick King, that the Peace

about *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds* per Ann. in all the Public Offices, will wonder to find, since the Change of the Ministry, one Year's Debt in the Navy only amounting to double that Sum, as appears by a late *printed Account of the Debt of the Navy at Michaelmas, 1711, with Observations thereon.*

This will still seem a little more extraordinary, if it be considered, that the Supplies of last Year did far exceed the Supply of any one Year during this War; which will be found true, if compared with any of the Years of the highest Expenditure: and still more so, if we may be allowed to take a Medium of the eight Years for one Year's Expenditure. The Supplies of the eight Years concerned in this Question, amounted to *Forty-two Millions, Seven Hundred Fifty-four Thousand, and Twenty-one Pounds, Six Pence Three Farthings*; which, at a Medium of the whole for one Year, will be *Five Millions, Three Hundred Forty-four Thousand, Two Hundred Fifty-two Pounds, Twelve Shillings, Seven Pence*: and this compared with the *Seven Millions, One Hundred Ninety-two Thousand, Three Hundred Ninety-nine Pounds, Five Shillings, Eight Pence Farthing*, which in Money and *South-Sea* Stock was granted for the Service of the last Year, exclusive of the Deficiencies transferred to the Land-Tax and Malt, and of the *Five Hundred Eighty-nine Thousand, Eight Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds, Seventeen Shillings Four Pence*, (voted this Session for making good the Deficiencies of last Year's Grants) will soon shew, that the Shortness of the Supplies was not the Occasion that the Exceedings of last Year were greater than those of former Years, that had lately undergone such severe Censures.

And as for any extraordinary Services performed last Year beyond all former Years, I know of none but that notable Expedition to *Canada*; and am not concerned whether the undertaking a Project that had been before concerted and rejected as impracticable, or the Success that attended it, is to justify so extraordinary an Expenditure to the Nation.

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which the Queen then ratified, did not dispense with the Obligations which she lay under to the King of *Portugal*, as well by her Guaranty lately granted, as by her defensive Alliance made in 1703, and that her Majesty was determined to assist and defend this Prince on the Foot of the Pretensions specified in the said Guaranty, and according to the Tenour of the said defensive Alliance.

The Treaty of Peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* was executed on the same Day on which her Majesty's Treaty with the Crown of *Spain* was signed, that is, on the 13th of *July*, 1713.

All the Articles of a Treaty between the Catholick King, and the States-General, have been long ago adjusted; and that Treaty would have been executed in Form, had not the Ministers of the States-General made and insisted upon a Declaration, which those of *Spain* apprehend to be repugnant to the Terms already settled.

It has not hitherto been possible so much as to enter on a Treaty between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties; the Emperor having thought fit to withdraw the last of his Ministers from *Utrecht*, before those of the King of *Spain* could appear and act in that Congress.

This short Account of the present State of the several Treaties of her Majesty and her Allies with *France* and *Spain*, shews how little is wanting, in Comparison with what has been already done, to render the Peace at last as universal as it would have been long ago, had not continual Obstructions been thrown in the way of this great Work, at its Beginning, and in every Step of its Progress.

France having complained of the Manner of treating, when former Treaties were made to set a Negotiation for a general Peace on Foot; and having for that Reason refused to make any new Overtures to the States-General, her Majesty received, in the Month of *April*, a Proposal from the most Christian King, which she immediately communicated by her Ambassador to the Ministers of *Holland*; assuring them, that in making Peace, as in making War, she would act in perfect Concert with the States: The *Dutch* Ministers, in Return to this Mark of her Majesty's Confidence in them, and Friendship for their Republick, having expressed themselves to be weary of the War, heartily desirous of Peace, and ready to join in any Method her Majesty should think proper to obtain it, gave their Opinion, that the Overture made by *France* was too general; *that it was necessary the Queen should make the French explain themselves more particularly*; and that till they had done so, it was not proper to take any Concert with the rest of the Allies.

As soon as her Majesty received this Answer from the *Hague*, she insisted that the French should be more direct and particular in their Overtures; and that they should form a distinct Project of such a Peace as they were willing to conclude: No Time was lost in carrying this Negotiation forward, and the utmost Care was taken, according to the Desire of the Ministers in *Holland*, whom her Majesty had consulted, to preserve the Secret; but the dilatory Method of treating, which in those Circumstances was unavoidable, and other Accidents, to which Transactions of this kind must be always exposed, were the Occasions that nothing more satisfactory than the first Propositions, which *France* had made, could be obtained till the End of *September*, 1711.

On the first of *October*, the Queen's Instructions were given to the Earl of *Strafford*, to repair with all possible Diligence to *Holland*, to acquaint the Ministers of the States with all that had been done, in Consequence of what they had in the Month of *May* desired; and to communicate to them the Propositions, signed by Monsieur *Mesnager* four Days before, to wit, the 27th of *September*; which her Majesty looked upon to include, in their general Expressions, all the particular Demands proper to be made in the Course of the Negotiation, and to be a sufficient Foundation whereupon to open the Conferences. The Earl of *Strafford* was, at the same Time, instructed to assure the Ministers of *Holland*, that her Majesty was determined to accept of no Advantages to herself, repugnant to their Interests; nor of any Peace, unless they had all reasonable Satisfaction as to their Barrier, as to their Trade, and to every other Respect: He was likewise to exhort them to join with her Majesty in promoting the strictest Union among all the Confederates, as the only Means to carry the Negotiation successfully forward; and Communications and Assurances of the same Nature were at the same Time given to the other Allies.

Before these Orders could be executed, and even before the last Overtures had been made on the Part of *France*, or it could possibly be known what had been transacted, the whole Confederacy was industriously alarmed; Jealousies were every where sown; and even in *Britain*, the most licentious Clamours were raised against her Majesty's Proceedings.

This Behaviour must appear very extraordinary, when, besides what is above-mentioned, it shall be considered, that the receiving a Minister from *France* by her Majesty, which was urged as the Reason of the Apprehensions of the Allies, and which was the only one they pretended to give, was no more than what the *Dutch*, and (there was Ground to believe) others of the Confederates, had several Times done; and that the Person sent hither, was the same Monsieur *Mesnager*, who a Year or two before had laid concealed in *Holland* for many Weeks, and had treated during that Time with the chief Ministers of that Republick.

The fatal Consequences, which the least Appearance of Disunion amongst the Allies would necessarily produce, began then to be felt; and her Majesty found herself obliged to let the *Imperialists* and the *Dutch* know, that the *French* might have been brought to explain themselves further than they did, had it not been for the extraordinary Uneasiness, Impatience, and Jealousy, which upon the first Appearance of taking any Measures towards Peace, discovered themselves among the Allies.

From thence are all the Obstructions to the Peace to be dated; and to those Obstructions alone, such Points as seem to fall short of the Expectations of any of the Parties concerned, are to be attributed. The Queen foresaw, that nothing would be left undone to force the Negotiation out of her Hands; as well by those who were against any Peace at all, as by those who feared that her Majesty, being at the Head of the Negotiation, more Advantages might accrue to *Great-Britain*, than they were willing to allow: And therefore the Confederacy, which formed itself in Opposition to what the Queen had undertaken, instead of altering her Conduct, became the strongest Reason imaginable to continue it. Things were already brought to that Extremity, that there was no Middle between a steady Pursuit of the true Interest of *Great-Britain* in the first Place, and abandoning our-

selves to be disposed of in War, or in Peace, as should suit the Conveniency, or gratify the Passions of the Confederates.

Soon after the Earl of *Strafford's* Departure to *Holland*, Monsieur *Buys* arrived here with the Character of Envoy from the States-General. When a Minister of this Consequence was sent, Hopes were immediately conceived, that all Jealousies might be cured, and a perfect Harmony be created between the Queen and the States: After which, an Union with the other Allies would necessarily follow; and the whole Confederacy entering as one Man into the Congress, the Sincerity of the *French* would have been soon tried, and the Possibility or Impossibility of obtaining a good Peace soon decided.

In order to this End, her Majesty's Servants were instructed and empowered to settle with this Minister such Disputes, as related to the reciprocal Interests of the two Nations, and to prevent, by this previous Concert, any Difference which might arise in the Course of the Treaty between the Queen and the States. They were further directed to *adjust, in Conference with him, such a Plan for the general Peace, as it might be proper finally to insist upon*; and in this Case her Majesty would have been ready, jointly with the States, to have broken the Conferences, if these Terms had not been granted without Exception, and without Delay. But, *such was the publick Misfortune at that Time*, that this Minister was only intpowered to hear, and not to speak, and could not take upon him so much as to conclude, or even sign, *sub spe rati*, a new *offensive and defensive* Alliance betwixt the Queen and the States, which in these Circumstances of Affairs he judged, and her Majesty's Servants concurred with him, to be extremely necessary. By the Conferences which were held with Monsieur *Buys* here, by the Accounts which came from abroad, and by the Representations which some of the Allies made about the same Time to her Majesty, it appeared undeniably evident, not only that the War was become on the present Foot absolutely impracticable; but also that no Alteration could be attempted, either in the Method of carrying it on, or in the Views towards which it was directed, without dissolving at once the Confederacy; and that the Dispute was, in Fact, not whether a Peace, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* would be left to *Philip*, should be made; but who should have the making of it?

The real annual Expence of this Kingdom amounted to more than Seven Millions; whereas it is certain, that we were not in a Condition effectually to raise near Six Millions in the Course of a Year; from hence it follows, that if this Proportion had been continued, about nine Millions would have been the true Charge of a second Year, and about eleven Millions that of a third.

This was the State of our Affairs, whilst the House of *Austria* contributed nothing but one Regiment to the War of *Spain*, little to that of *Italy*; had but few Forces, and those entirely unactive on the *Rhine*; and sent none in the *Netherlands*, except such as those harrassed Provinces were obliged to maintain, and were therefore rendered unable to furnish Troops, or make the necessary Provisions for the Operations of the Army; both which they might otherwise have done, and both which they did in an eminent Degree, whilst they were under the Government of the present King of *Spain*.

The States General bore a considerable Burden; but as they had from the Year 1708. sent no Supplies of any kind either to *Portugal* or to *Catalonia*,
and

and had drawn themselves almost entirely out of the *Spanish* War; as they furnished in no Proportion their Quota for the Sea-Service; as they had reduced their joint Contributions with the Queen in all Payments, to one third of the whole; and as they were very backward in answering even this Share of Expence; so the Load of *Great-Britain* came upon their Account, as well as upon the Emperor's, to be vastly increased: As to the rest of the Allies, all the Troops which they furnished, were maintained by the Queen, and the States, except a few, and those almost wholly employed in covering their own Frontiers.

In this Situation of Affairs, her Majesty declared to the *Imperialists*, and to the *Dutch*, that if they would not allow *France* to have given sufficient Grounds for opening the Conferences; if they were desirous to carry on the War, and determined to accept of *no Terms of Peace, inferior to those which had been formerly demanded and refused*; she was on her Part ready to concur with them: but that, in Justice to herself, and to them, she thought herself bound to let them know, that she could no longer bear so disproportionate a Burden; that it was evident that the common Effort must be still greater than it was, or that there would remain no Prospect of arriving at the Ends which they proposed; and that for these Reasons, it would be incumbent upon them, if the War continued, to increase their Expences, whilst the Queen reduced hers.

The Ministers of the States-General were very candid and open upon this Head: Monsieur *Buys* asserted, that his Masters had done their utmost already, and could be obliged to no more; many of the other had on several Occasions declared their Country unable to support the Charge they were at another Summer; and the Pensionary himself, in a Deputation of the States appointed to attend the Earl of *Strafford*, in *October*, 1711. declared, that it was impossible to think of continuing the War another Year; that what from the Emperor, and what from the Prince of the North, we should be in the utmost Danger, should we attempt to do it; and finally, *that they were Traitors to their Country, who were against the Peace.*

Many Instances might be produced, to shew that there was at least, as little Reason to expect from the House of *Austria*, as from the States-General, a greater Effort than they had hitherto made. The Peace of *Hungary* was concluded about the Month of *May*, 1711. and that constant Excuse, which the Ministers of *Vienna* used to make for all their Deficiencies, did by consequence no longer subsist: Yet her Majesty found it impossible, at the latter End of that Year, to obtain a Reinforcement of no more than eight Thousand Men from thence, although her Minister was impowered to have offered forty Thousand Pounds for the March of them; and although the present King of *Sicily*, then Duke of *Savoy*, undertook, if he might be assured of this Reinforcement, any time before the Close of the Campaign, to establish his Winter-Quarters on that Side of *France*, which would have been in that Point of Time the more decisive; because a Project was then formed, and would have been executed, could the States have been in time induced to have taken even less than their own Share upon them; her Majesty supplying their Deficiency, as well as her own Proportion, to have kept a great Body of Horse all the Winter, on the Frontiers of the *Low-Countries*; by which means *Picardy*, and the Isle of *France*, would have

have been ravaged, no Magazines could have been erected, and the *French* must have gone in the Spring a great way back into their Country, to assemble their Army.

The Imperial Ministers confessed very freely, that their Master expected the Queen should furnish all the Money, and that the utmost he could do, was to send Troops at her Expence; in the same Breath avowing, the Emperor's Intention to break the Negotiation of Peace, and to continue the War till *Spain* was conquered; the entire Monarchy whereof he expected: But if there had remained any Doubt of the little Assistance, which was to be hoped for from the House of *Austria*, who aimed at such great Acquisitions; this Matter would have been put entirely out of Dispute, by the Proposals which Prince *Eugene* himself made in *Holland* first, and afterwards to the Queen.

These Proposals, it must be thought, were carried at least as high as his Imperial Majesty judged himself able to make good; since it is notorious, that he would have stuck at nothing, which might have broke the Measures of Peace, and have encouraged the Resolution of prosecuting the War: And yet, even by these Proposals, his Imperial Majesty did not pretend to act in the Field with two Thousand Men more, than in the Year 1702. it was understood that the Emperor *Leopold* undertook to furnish; although the Expence of a great Part of these Troops was not to fall upon him; and although he offered to contribute but a fourth of the Charge of the Army in *Spain*, so that the remaining three fourths, as well as the whole Transportation and Extraordinary of that War, would still have been placed to the Queen's Account.

From what has been said, it is manifest, that the Method, in which the War was proposed to be carried on, could no longer be supported; and that there was not any Glimpse of Hope left, that the Allies could be brought to make any considerable Augmentation of Force, to have prosecuted the War; therefore in this manner must have been the Ruin of *Britain*, to have insisted upon an Impossibility, as a Condition, without which the Queen would not proceed, must have disunited the Alliance, and suspended the Operations of the Armies in all Parts; in both these Cases the Consequences are too evident to be enlarged upon.

In the Beginning of the Year 1711. died the late Emperor *Joseph*; and the Eyes not only of the Princes of all the Confederates, and of her Majesty, in the first Place, were immediately fixed on his Brother. This Event occasioned a great Alteration in the Councils of *Europe*, and gave a new turn to the Sentiments of many Princes.

There was Reason to believe, that the Ministers of *Vienna* themselves began to cool in the Project of recovering *Spain* and the *Indies*. They seemed to intend nothing more than to get the present Emperor into *Germany*, and to secure the Possession of *Italy* to themselves; and the former, as well as the late Instances they had made, for attempting the Reduction of *Sicily*; though at the Expence of diverting Part of that Force, which was applied to the War of *Spain*, pointed the same Way.

In *Holland*, a Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy seemed almost the general Scheme; and the Conduct of that Republick, as well as the Confession of its Ministers,

Ministers, shewed, that the Project of driving *Philip* out of *Spain* was looked upon there to be pure Chimera.

Soon after the Death of the Emperor *Joseph*, her Majesty had been acquainted, that some of *the Princes of the Empire* thought it a Point, which deserved the most serious Reflection; whether they should suffer the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Crowns to be united on the same Head; and whether it might not be proper, in the Capitulation of the Empire, to insist on the separating of them. Other Members of the grand Alliance, and those the only two with whom her Majesty had entered into any formal Engagement, for recovering the entire *Spanish* Monarchy, represented upon the same Occasion, against placing this Crown on the Emperor's Head: It was urged by one of the most considerable Princes in the Alliance, that the Principle upon which he engaged in the War was now altered; and that instead of fighting to procure the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*; his Interest, and even his Safety, required that he should fight to prevent it.

The Case therefore stood thus: The present Emperor, even after his Brother's Death, and his own Election, would content himself with nothing less than the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, and insisted that the War should be prosecuted in this View. Of the other Allies, some looked on this Prospect as chimerical, others as dangerous; from whence it follows, that to keep the grand Alliance united in this Principle, was impracticable; and it must be allowed, that to have altered this Principle, to have changed so many Treaties, to have reconciled so many different Interests, and to have formed a System entirely new, in the midst of the War, was an Experiment too hazardous to be attempted.

In this Situation of Affairs, no time was to be lost: The Queen knew very well, that Attempts to open a Treaty with *France*, separately from her, were made by those who clamoured the loudest against her Measures; and the present Emperor had thought fit, on Board one of her Majesty's Ships, and by her own Minister, to send her a Message of the same nature. She therefore insisted with the IMPERIALISTS, and with the DUTCH, that she would be at some Certainty, and that they should comply with her in the Measures either of War or of Peace.

How the War became unpracticable, has already appeared; what Obstructions there were to the carrying on a Treaty of Peace comes next to be related.

The principal, and indeed the only avowed, Dispute between her Majesty and the States at this time, concerned the Method of carrying a Negotiation forward. The States pretended, that a fair Opportunity would be given to the Ministers of *France*, to divide the Confederates, if they were suffered to meet together in a General Congress, before the Essential Articles of Peace were settled by Specifick Preliminaries; the Use which had been made of this Method, on a former Occasion, to evade the concluding of any Peace; when, according to the Confession of the *Dutch* Ministers themselves, the Differences on which the Allies and *France* broke off, did not deserve the Life of a single Soldier, gave no great Encouragement to pursue the same again; besides which, as the Queen would not take upon her to settle the Interests of others, so neither would she suffer others to determine those of her own Kingdoms; and if all the Confederates were to assemble

assemble in order to adjust a Preliminary Treaty, the Objection made by the States returned upon them.

In December, 1711. the States concurred with her Majesty in fixing the Place of the Treaty, appointing the Day on which the Congress should open, inviting the Allies to send their Ministers thither, and giving the necessary Passports to the Plenipotentiaries of France. And if nothing had happened to revive the Spirits of those who were bent against the Peace, it is highly probable by the little time which it cost to conclude most of the Treaties, after the Conferences, that had been interrupted, were resumed at *Utrecht*, and the Allies proceeded in earnest to negotiate, that the Treaties of all the Confederates with *France*, might have been finished before the Season of opening the Campaign in 1712. But before Monsieur *Buys* returned into *Holland*, or the Conferences could begin, the Efforts were renewed with the greatest Vigour to break off the Negotiation; the Cry against a Peace by which *Spain and the Indies* should be left to any Branch of the House of Bourbon, became louder than ever; and Letters and Memorials were not only delivered, but printed; and Appeal made against her Majesty's Proceedings to all *Europe*, and even to her own Subjects.

On these Encouragements the good Dispositions towards Peace received a Check, and some of those who had owned themselves against the Prosecution of the War to recover the whole *Spanish Monarchy* to the House of *Austria*, joined now, under this very Pretence, to break the Measures of Peace. *The Treatments which her Majesty met with at this time will appear in the clearest Light from this Circumstance.* The Minister of the States General proposed to her Majesty's Servants, that considering the Difficulties which the Queen lay under, how impossible it was to recover by War, or by Treaty, the *Spanish Monarchy* from King *Philip*, and how impossible he likewise apprehended it to be in the present Circumstances of Affairs, for her Majesty to carry on any Negotiation, by which this Monarchy should be left to *Philip*, he was ready to extricate her Majesty from this Dilemma, and to skreen her Ministers in carrying on the Work which they had begun, in the Name of his Masters, to present a Memorial, by which the Point of obtaining *Spain and the Indies*, should be given up; provided he might be assured, that the *Dutch* should have an equal Share with her Majesty's Subjects in the Assiento, which Contract he supposed it was stipulated should be made with *Great Britain*.

From the Causes, and by the Steps which have been here mentioned, was the Disunion among the Allies arrived to the highest Pitch, at the Opening of the Conferences in the Month of *January, 1711-12.* when the strictest Union amongst them was more than ever necessary, and when the whole Fruit of those Successes, wherewith God had blessed their Cause in the Course of the War, depended on it. They sent their several Plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*, but it was very apparent, that most of them acted on that Maxim, which one of them professed, that giving into the Measures of Peace was the surest way to continue the War. They flattered themselves, that the Imperial Ministers, in Conjunction with those of Britain, having two Years before baffled the Designs of *Holland* to make Peace, it would be, at least, as easy for the Ministers of the Emperor, in Conjunction with those of the States General, to render fruitless, at this time, all her Majesty's Endeavours

Endeavours to the same End. After this it will not appear surprizing, if the utmost Dexterity was exerted to delay the entering on Business at *Utrecht*, and to wait for the Events of the Campaign.

On the 29th of *Jan.* 1711-12. the first general Conference was held between the Ministers of the Allies and those of *France*, and by the Beginning of *April* a Dispute was set on foot concerning the Method of proceeding, which made all Treaty impracticable, and which was kept up, till a Quarrel happening between one of the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and one of those of the States, a new Obstruction was created to take Place and to answer the Ends of the first.

The *French* had made their Overtures in Writing; the Allies had likewise given in their Demands in Writing; and the Question arose, whether the *French* were obliged to give a specifick Answer in Writing, or whether they should now proceed in the Negotiation by debating with the several Allies, agreeably to the Method used in former Congresses? By the Minutes of the *Protocol*, to which the *French* Ministers appealed, it appeared that they were under no such Obligation, but between the 2d of *April*, and the 5th, Count *Sinzendorff* had been at the *Hague*, where the Resolution was taken to carry Things to Extremity, that is, not to treat with the Ministers of the Most Christian King, unless they gave an Answer in Writing, and Orders were accordingly sent by the States to their Plenipotentiaries. The Design was laid upon this to have broke off all further Treaty; but this Design was disappointed by the Declaration which the *French* Ministers made on the 6th, that their Instructions allowed them to go no farther than they had offered, but that they would write to the King their Master to know his Pleasure; after which, during three Months Time, there was not so much as any Steps made on the Part of the Allies for an Answer from the *French*, though at the same Time the *Imperialists* were pushing to get the Congress broke, or at least her Majesty's Ministers excluded.

In *August* the second Obstruction took Place; and that, trifling as the Occasion of it may seem, was so managed, that till the 30th of *January*, N. S. 1712-13, the Difficulty could not be overcome.

Ten Months having been lost at *Utrecht*, and the Success of the Campaign not having answered the Design of those who projected the breaking of the Treaty by the Operations of the Army, the Ministers of the Allies made no further Difficulty to proceed in the very Method, which her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries had from the first advised. This Method succeeded so well, that in two Months after the Negotiation was resumed, all the Parties in the War made their Peace with *France*, except the Emperor and the Empire, and the Ministers of those Powers had likewise brought their Disputes to so narrow a Compass, that on the 15th of *May*, 1713, the only Difference between them was concerning the Marquisate of *Burgaw*, estimated at the yearly Value of about 12,000 Crowns.

In this State of Things Monsieur *Kirchner*, the last of the Imperial Ministers who continued at *Utrecht*, left that Place, and the Emperor's Resolution was declared of supporting that War single, which, assisted by the Queen and the States, he had not been able to carry on with any tolerable Vigour.

It was from this Time easy to foresee, that the Emperor intended to treat no more at *Utrecht*, and that a separate Negotiation between the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, whenever it should happen, would not prove very advantageous to

the Empire, or favourable to the *Protestant* Interest in *Germany*, of which her Majesty had taken early, and, as she hoped, effectual Care, by obliging *France* to consent that all Things concerning the State of Religion in the Empire should be settled conformably to the Tenor of the Treaties of *Westphalia*; in such manner as to make it plainly appear, that the most *Christian* King neither would make, nor would have had made, any Alteration in the said Treaties. Thus one of the contracting Parties had already in effect yielded to the Abolition of that Clause in the 4th Article of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, so fatal to the *Protestant* Religion. And if his Imperial Majesty had concluded his Treaty at *Utrecht*, it is hardly to be believed, that in the midst of so many Allies, whose Blood had been shed, and whose Treasure had been exhausted in his Cause, he would have refused to their joint Intercession, what *France* had complied with on the single Instances of the Queen.

It has been already observed, that if the Allies, when the Congress at *Utrecht* was opened in the Beginning of the Year, had in good Earnest gone about their several Treaties, the Peace might in all Probability have been made before the Armies could have taken the Field. It may be necessary here to observe the State of Affairs at another Period of Time, and another Opportunity lost of treating with the greatest Advantage on our Side, and with the greatest Probability of Success.

On the 6th of *June* 1712, her Majesty communicated to both Houses of Parliament, upon what Terms a general Peace might be made: Those who were against any Treaty, and who entertained Hopes that the Sense of the Nation would not go along with her Majesty, and that Obstructions would arise even in *Britain* to the Conclusion of the Peace, might have seen how vain those Expectations were, by the Returns which the two Houses made to this Instance of her Majesty's Condescension, *by the Assurances they gave of their Confidence in her, and of their intire Reliance on her Wisdom to finish this great and good Work, and by their humble Desire that she would please to proceed in the present Negotiations for obtaining a speedy Peace.* Those who pretended only to be against the Method of treating, and who were fond of specifick Preliminaries, had now the very Thing which they desired, his Most Christian Majesty having declared himself explicitly and particularly on the most important Points, that were to be settled in the Treaties of Peace. The Queen was even at that Time not under the least Obligation, but at full Liberty to have proceeded in the Negotiation, or to have broke it off, according as the *French* had behaved themselves. But *France* was under the strongest Obligations to her Majesty, and by her Majesty's Means to the Allies. The Concessions then made on the Part of *France*, were made without any Concession whatever on the Part of the Confederates: If therefore, even then they could have been prevailed upon to unite with the Queen, and with one another, during a short Cessation of Arms, the general Peace might have been secured, or if that had failed, we should have got by the Cessation into our Hands, a Place of greater Importance than we could have expected by the most successful Campaign to conquer. But instead of applying themselves to improve this happy Conjunction, the Ministers, who met to treat of Peace, seemed attentive only to what passed in the Field, and *Utrecht* seemed the Scene of no other Business than unnecessary Disputes concerning the
Forms

Forms of Proceeding, and Negotiations to accommodate Differences, which the Quarrels of Servants had begun.

From *these unhappy Measures were many evil Consequences derived, and by them were all the subsequent Transactions affected*, particularly those which related to the Interest of the *Catalans*.

This People had submitted to the present King of *Spain*, on his Accession to that Throne; had taken the Oaths of Fealty to him, and in the *Cortes* held at *Barcelona* in the Years 1701, and 1702, had received from him a new Establishment of their Privileges: Notwithstanding which they began in the Year 1704, to shew their Inclinations to a Revolt, and it appears that in the Beginning of the Year 1705, they made Overtures of this kind to the Queen, and that Numbers of them were already actually in Arms. In Compliance therefore with what they desired, and encouraged by the Assurances received, that not only the *Catalans*, but other People of *Spain* were ready to declare for his present Imperial Majesty, as soon as they should see any Prospect of being supported in their Revolt, the Queen thought fit to give Directions to the Earl of *Peterborough*, and to Sir *Cloudesty Shovell*, Joint-Admirals of her Fleet, on the First of May 1705, to do the best they could to induce the *Catalans* to co-operate with them for the Reduction of *Spain*: In order to which, they were impowered to promise in the Queen's Name, that she would secure to them a Confirmation of their Rights and Liberties from the said Prince, King *Charles* the Third. But it appears by the same Instructions, that instead of giving these Assurances, the Admirals were to take Measures for annoying the Towns on the Coast of *Spain*, and for reducing them by Force, unless suitable Returns from the *Catalans* and *Spaniards* were made to these kind Offers on her Majesty's Part. This likewise appears to have been the Measure by which the Queen proceeded from the Commission, Credentials, and Instructions given to Mr. *Crowe*, who was sent to *Genoa* in March 1705; besides which it is also to be observed, that after the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudesty Shovell* were arrived with her Majesty's Fleet at *Lisbon*, it still remained, for some Time, uncertain what Design they should prosecute, and this Uncertainty hindered them from pressing the People of *Catalonia*, whilst King *Charles* rather checked than incited them; so that when the Queen's Forces proceeded on this Service, the *Catalans* were looked upon to be the Principals, and we only Accessaries in the War: From all which it is evident, that the landing of the Earl of *Peterborough* in *Catalonia*, and her Majesty's entering into that Part of the War, were in Consequence of the Solicitations of the *Catalans*, and other *Spaniards* affected to the House of *Austria*; and that all the Engagements which she gave to these People, went no further than the obtaining from King *Charles* the Third a Confirmation of their Rights and Privileges; and although her Majesty offered at that Time to give a Guaranty for the same, and to enter into a Treaty with that People; yet it does not appear that such a Guaranty was ever given, or that such a Treaty was ever made. This being the State of the Queen's Engagements to the People of this Province, there could have been no Doubt of making them good in every Part, had the Events of the War, and the Circumstances rendered the placing his present Imperial Majesty on the Throne of *Spain* practicable; and there is as little Doubt, that besides what has been obtained by her Majesty for the *Catalans*, the Confir-

mation of all their Privileges would likewise have been procured from his *Catholick* Majesty, had not the Conduct of the Emperor singly prevented it.

In the Year 1712, it has been already said, that although the fairest Prospect of making a general Peace was opened, yet his Imperial Majesty continued in his Resolution not to make it: The Queen, on the other Hand was under a Necessity of pursuing the Measures she had taken, and thereby not only of agreeing to a Cessation of Arms, but also of withdrawing her Troops out of the Province of *Catalonia*, the Supplies granted by Parliament for that Year having been so calculated, that the whole Establishment was given only for the first Quarter, and one third of four Millions of Crowns for the other three Quarters, conditionally, that the Emperor and the States-General would take upon themselves, the other two thirds, which in Fact neither of them did.

Under these Circumstances it was plain, that the *Catalans* would be left without any Terms made in their Behalf, and that the Empress and Imperial Forces, who remained in that Province, would be exposed to the greatest Difficulties and Dangers. The Queen, therefore, took immediately all the care she could to prevent these Misfortunes, and, at the same Time to secure and strengthen his Imperial Majesty, as far as lay in her Power, notwithstanding the Treatment she had received; and the just Provocation she had to leave him to struggle with the Consequences of his own Measures.

At the latter End of this Year 1712, her Majesty set a Treaty on Foot for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, and for the Neutrality of *Italy*. Her Majesty's Aim by the first Part of this Treaty was to secure the Return of the Empress and the Imperial Troops, and since she could no longer support the *Catalans* by her Arms, to provide for them by the Terms of Peace. Her Majesty's Aim in the second Part was to leave as little Room as possible, for *France* or *Spain* to attack his Imperial Majesty, when the Treaties between her Majesty and the States General, should be concluded with the Most Christian King. The Queen considered that these Treaties, and the Barrier of the States would secure the Ten Provinces of the *Netherlands* from any Invasion, and by this Convention for a Neutrality in *Italy* the Emperor's Territories in that Country were likewise covered; so that by the Care which her Majesty took, since he was determined to run the Risk of continuing single in the War, he would lie open in no Frontier but that of the *Rhine*, where, by the same means, he would be able considerably to encrease his Strength, as well with Draughts out of *Italy*, as with the *Germans* and other Forces which were to be transported from *Spain*.

It was no sooner than the End of *January* 1712-13, that by the good Offices of her Majesty's Ministers at *Utrecht*, the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this Negotiation, and, in the mean Time, her Majesty endeavoured, as well by her own Ministers at *Madrid*, as by pressing the *Spanish* Minister who was then here, to induce the *Catholick* King to facilitate this Matter as much as possible, and particularly on the Head of the Privileges of the *Catalans*, in which the Minister of *France* concurred with the greatest Earnestness. But it soon appeared, that his *Catholick* Majesty, who saw the Advantage which the Conduct of the Imperial Court gave him, would hardly be prevailed upon to grant any Thing more than a general Act of Oblivion, and a Restitution of Honours and Estates.

On the 14th of *March*, N. S. 1713, the Convention for the Neutrality of *Italy*, and the Evacuation of *Catalonia* was executed by her Majesty's Ministers on Behalf of the Emperor, and by those of *France*, on Behalf of the King of *Spain*, and the Article concerning the Privileges of the *Catalans* left undetermined, a Right being reserved to her Majesty to insist, whenever the Emperor should treat of Peace, that those Privileges should be preserved to them; and the Most Christian King declaring, that he would concur with the Queen to the same End.

In *May* 1713, the Treaty of Peace between her Majesty and the Catholick King, was signed provisionally here, and in *July*, definitively at *Utrecht*, whereby there is not only an absolute Amnesty with a full Possession of all their Estates and Honours, but also the Privileges of the *Castilians* granted to the *Catalans*, which Article is at least in this respect considerable, that the People of *Catalonia* are thereby entitled to hold any Employments in the *West-Indies*, or to trade directly thither, in as full and ample Manner as the People of *Castile*, from which they were formerly as much excluded as any Foreign Nation whatever.

The Preservation of their antient Privileges is neither granted nor directly refused by this Article; so that the Queen, either when the Peace shall come to be treated between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties, or on another favourable *Occasion which may offer itself*, is at Liberty to renew her Applications upon this Head. In the mean time, it is certain, that the Refusal of the People of this Principality, as well as the Island of *Majorca*, to submit to the Catholick King, when in Pursuance of the Treaty of Neutrality, these Countries were evacuated by the Emperor's Forces; and their obstinate Resistance since that Time, must have rendered the obtaining of their Privileges still more difficult, if that be possible, than it was.

If the antient Privileges of these People in their full Extent were not obtained, it *must be attributed* to those who rendered it impracticable to treat effectually for them before the withdrawing of the Queen's Forces out of *Catalonia*; and if their Condition is become since more desperate, those are only to answer for it, who have encouraged them not to submit a second Time to their Prince, with the Hopes of Relief, which they who gave such Hopes must have known themselves in no Condition of making good.

From this State of the several Treaties between her Majesty, her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*; by this Account of the general Negotiations of Peace, and of the particular Case of the *Catalans*, the Reasonableness of all the Steps her Majesty has taken, and those Designs which have been pursued, at first to wrest the Negotiation out of her Hands, and since to unravel all that had been done, and to throw us into Confusion, will sufficiently appear.

A REPORT from the Commissioners appointed to take, examine, and state, the Publick Accounts of the Kingdom, and to determine the Debts due to the Army, &c. with a STATE of the Expence of the LATE WAR, 1714.

YOUR Commissioners have proceeded with their utmost Care in taking the Publick Accounts, and humbly present a State of the Receipts and Issues of her Majesty's Exchequer from *Michaelmas, 1703. to Michaelmas, 1704.* (which immediately succeeds that laid before the Parliament by the last Commission of Accounts) as also a State thereof from *Michaelmas, 1712. to Michaelmas, 1713.*

We have been obliged, in Obedience to an Order of the late House of Commons, to spend some time in examining several Extraordinaries demanded from Parliament, together with the Facts contained in the Report of the Commissioners sent into *Spain*. However, we have detected some Mismanagements in the Clothings of the Army; and, having yet represented nothing on that Head, we here offer them to your Consideration.

We do not take Notice, that there are great Sums paid by the Contractors to the Colonels on Clothing their respective Regiments, sometimes (as we are informed on Oath) to the Value of One Thousand Four Hundred Pounds on a single Contract; because the Practice is so notorious and universal, that it wants no Representation. But the following Instances have, in our humble Opinion, something more extraordinary in them, and not unworthy the Notice of Parliament.

There was a Contract made by Sir *Joseph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moore*, Esq; Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army, in the Year 1706. for clothing Six *French* Regiments of Foot then raised. Your Commissioners, observing the Expence of this Clothing, which amounted to Seventeen Thousand Sixty One Pounds, Eighteen Shillings, was answered, pursuant to a Direction of the Treasury, by an immediate Payment from Mr. *Brydges*, and not by a regular Assignment of the Off-reckonings of those Regiments, enquired into the Reasons of this Proceeding.

We found by the Books of the Comptroller's Office, That one *Richard Hallam* was the Contractor; but on Examination could get no other Information from him, than that he was only a Nominee in this Affair: for he deposed, " That though his Name was used in a Contract made the 27th of *April, 1706.*
 " by Sir *Joseph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moor*, Esq; then Comptrollers of the
 " Accounts of the Army, for clothing the Six *French* Regiments then to be
 " raised, under the Command of the Earl of *Liffard*, Count *Paulin*, Count
 " *Fran. Nassau D'Auverquerque*, *Monf. Sibourg*, *Monf. De la Barth*, *Monf.*
 " *de Montargis*, he was not the real Contractor, but employed only as an Agent
 " for the said Sir *Joseph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moor*: That he received only

“ a Gratuity from them for the Trouble they had given him in this Matter,
“ but could not recollect the Sum: That he had not seen the Accounts of this
“ Clothing for some Years, and therefore could not be more particular.”

About ten Days after this Deposition had been made, the Deponent brought the under-written Letter to your Commissioners.

“ **W**HEN I was summoned before your Board I could not remember the
“ Particulars about the Clothing the Six *French* Regiments, which was
“ almost Seven Years since, and I understand that the Contract and Business of
“ the Colonels are entered in the Comptroller's Books. I still own that I was
“ but an Agent, and paid for what I did, and a Gratuity for my Trouble,
“ which I received of Mr. *Harnage*, who also furnished the whole Clothing;
“ for what I bought he gave me the Money to pay for the same, the Contract
“ made by the Comptrollers being by me assigned over to him. This upon
“ Recollection and Examination is the Truth of that Matter.”

We perceiving this Letter to be a Contradiction to the Deposition, apprehended the most probable Method of knowing the Truth would be to send for Mr. *Harnage*, who is here said to be the Contractor. We accordingly summoned him, and the Effect of his Examination on Oath was in a great measure a Confirmation of the Fact, as it stands stated in the Letter. He deposed,
“ That Sir *Joseph Tredenham* and *Arthur Moor*, Esq; Comptrollers of the
“ Accounts of the Army, being appointed to contract for the Government with
“ Persons to cloth the Six *French* Regiments of Foot raised in 1706. under the
“ Command of the Earl of *Liffard*, Count *Paulin*, Count *Francis Nassau*
“ *D'Averquerque*, Monsieur *Sibourg*, Monsieur *De la Barth*, and Monsieur *De*
“ *Montargis*; that he proposed in the Name of himself and Mr. *Churchill* to
“ undertake the same; but his Proposals were refused, and one *Hallam* (a Per-
“ son he did not know) was accepted as Contractor; that *Hallam* some
“ time after was recommended to him, to the best of his Remembrance, by
“ the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army; that he was prevailed upon
“ to furnish the Clothing himself, and to employ *Hallam* in buying some of
“ the Cloths, though he was unwilling to do it, *Hallam* being a Man, as he
“ was told, in mean Circumstances; that he received on this Contract only
“ Thirteen Thousand Six Hundred and Eleven Pounds, Ten Shillings, besides
“ One Hundred Pounds given to *Hallam* for his Trouble, though he believes
“ the Government paid several Thousand Pounds more, but does not know to
“ whom; that he believes he had no Assignment of the Contract from *Hallam*,
“ and that there was not any Instrument or Contract but that entered in the
“ Comptrollers Books; that to the best of his Remembrance, he and Mr.
“ *Churchill* went to the Comptrollers Office, where the Comptrollers produced
“ Mr. *Hallam's* Contract, out of which several Defalcations were made, and
“ the Comptrollers agreed with them to furnish the Goods mentioned in the
“ Contract for the remaining Sum, which was Thirteen Thousand Six Hun-
“ dred Eleven Pounds, Ten Shillings; that he was assured at the Pay-Office
“ he should receive the Money, it being known there that he provided the
“ Clothing.”

Mr.

Mr. *Churchill* being named in this Deposition, we examined him likewise: but he said, "That on settling his Accounts about three Years before with Mr. *Harnage*, with whom he had been concerned in clothing other Regiments as well as these six, he had burnt all his Papers relating to these Accounts; that therefore he could only tell us in general, that he was concerned with Mr. *Harnage* in this Clothing; that one *Hallam*, a Man he never saw, had first contracted for it with the Comptrollers of the Army, and that they took the Contract from him."

The Case remained thus represented for some time, and your Commissioners had no Opportunity of getting any further Information concerning it, 'till on Inspection into the Accounts of some Clothings, we had Occasion to send (amongst others) for Mr. *Moore* himself, who gives the following Account of this Contract.

"That about *March*, 1705. the Duke of *Marlborough* directed the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army to contract for Clothing and Accoutrements for six *French* Regiments of Foot, which her Majesty had raised, or resolved to raise, and to lay the Proposal before the Lord Treasurer. The Comptrollers thereupon received Proposals from several Persons, and at the same time employed some others to enquire the lowest Rates, at which such Goods might be furnished; and they particularly employed in this Enquiry Mr. *Richard Hallam*, a Packer, who informed them, that the same might be done for ready Money at One Thousand Pounds a Regiment cheaper than the usual Contracts, and very considerably cheaper than any Proposals laid before the Comptrollers, although they offered to contract with the Proposers to be paid in one Month after the Delivery of the Goods. All which the Comptrollers laid before the Lord Treasurer, and had his Lordship's Directions thereupon. The Comptrollers received Orders for the Contractors to allow to each of the Colonels Three Hundred Pounds, in regard so much more would be saved by this Way, than if they were themselves to contract as the other Colonels of the Army did. And in their Report to the Lord Treasurer they represented, that on the six Regiments there was at least Six Thousand Pounds saved, besides what was given to the Colonels, the Rates being compared with what was given by other Regiments at that time for the like Clothing and Accoutrements. The Comptrollers, being desirous to shew what Service might be done by that Office, prevailed upon Mr. *Hallam* to execute the Contract, assuring him, at the same time, that the Goods should be furnished by some other Persons, whom the Comptrollers should appoint; and that they would take care, that whoever performed the Contract should employ him in his Way of Trade, and gratify him for his Trouble. That after the Contract was signed, the Comptrollers got Mr. *Harnage* and Mr. *Churchill* (who they knew had a very great Stock of such Goods on their Hands) to accept of the Contract; and they informed Mr. *Hallam* thereof, and that the Contract was to be for Mr. *Harnage* and Mr. *Churchill*'s Use, and that they were to provide the Goods, receive the Money from the Government, and reward him for his Trouble. This, he says, upon inspecting the Comptrollers Books, is what he can re-

collect

“ collect of this Matter, only that he is certain the Comptrollers always imagined they had done the Government a very eminent Piece of Service in this “ Affair.”

This Contract, we see, was at first undertaken by Order of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and afterwards concluded by the Direction of the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*. But by what particular Warrant those noble Lords acted, does not appear to your Commissioners, and we cannot conceive them empowered by the general Authority of the great Posts they then enjoyed, thus to dispose of the Publick Money.

If we consider the Case in the View Mr. *Hallam*’s Deposition puts it, we must always be of Opinion, that though there is no Charge of Bribery or Corruption, yet it is an irregular Practice, for any Person employed to contract for the Government, to be himself secretly concerned in such Contract on any Pretence whatsoever; because, could we suppose a Contract so made beneficial to the Publick, there is an Appearance of Collusion, and a Ground to suspect what may not be true; which ought to be avoided by all Officers concerned in the Disposal of Publick Money.

If we take it as explained by Mr. *Harnage* and Mr. *Churchill*, then there remains no Imputation on the Comptrollers of the Accounts of the Army: For they say, that they performed the Contract; that they received thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven Pounds ten Shillings; that *Hallam* was their Agent.

If we allow Mr. *Moore*’s Representation, he removes the chief Difficulty, which naturally occurs in this Case, that it was extraordinary the Comptrollers should accept Proposals from one unable to perform so great a Contract, and reject those offered by sufficient and wealthy Persons. He is so far from apprehending any Thing in the Transaction blameable, that he thinks the Method taken in employing *Hallam*, was the very Occasion of reducing the Contract so low, and making it advantageous to the Government.

Besides the thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven Pounds ten Shillings, which Mr. *Harnage* is said to have received, we find there was paid by *Hallam*.

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To each Colonel	{ For his own Use 300 <i>l.</i>	— —	1,800	0	0
	{ For clothing his Servants, 208 <i>l.</i>	— —	1,248	0	0
For eighteen Colours	— — — —		120	0	0
For Package and incident Charges	— — — —		182	8	0
			3,350	8	0

Which Sums, with the Gratuity of one hundred Pounds given to *Hallam*, make up the seventeen thousand sixty one Pounds and eighteen Shillings, charged by Mr. *Brydges* in this Account.

It is not pretended these remaining Sums were under the Direction of Mr. *Harnage*, and therefore we are at a Loss to know whose Agent *Hallam* was in the Distribution of them; or by what Authority he made a Deduction (as Colonel *La Barib* swears he did) of thirty four Pounds from each Colonel in Consideration of prompt Payment; nor do there appear any Reasons, why so much Countenance

nance should be shewn to the Gratuities, given by Contractors to other Colonels on clothing their Regiments, by allowing such Sums to these Colonels in Lieu thereof; as if those Gratuities were become legal and established Perquisites. Nor why the one hundred Pounds bestowed on *Hallam*, who was but a private Agent, should not rather have been paid out of the Profit of the Contract, who ever received it, than have been charged to the Publick.

There is a Circumstance which seems very unintelligible, if we are to suppose, that Mr. *Harnage* executed the Contract, and that *Hallam* was only his Agent: It is, that *Hallam* assigned over the Money due on this Contract to *John Mead*, Goldsmith, in Consideration of a competent Sum to him paid by the said *Mead*, who afterwards, by Virtue of that Assignment, received the Whole from Mr. *Bridges*. Now Mr. *Harnage*, on a second Examination, hath deposed, 'That to the best of his Knowledge he never employed Mr. *John Mead*, Goldsmith, deceased, as Agent for him at the Pay-Office in receiving Money, on Account of any of the Clothings, he hath been concerned in: Nor ever knew of any Assignment made to him on that Account; but Mr. *Nathaniel Jackson* was the Goldsmith he constantly employed.'

Mr. *Mead* being dead, we thought we had no other Way of explaining these Difficulties than by requiring his Widow and Executrix, to let us know whether it appeared by her Husband's Books, for whose Use this Money was received. But she desired to be excused from giving us any Satisfaction of that kind, because it might be a Prejudice to her Affairs; and she thought herself only obliged to do it to those who had Accounts depending with her Husband. We cannot therefore draw any certain Inference from this State of the Fact, but must leave the whole to the House, who will best judge of the nature of it, consider the Disagreement of the Evidence, and determine where the Proof lies.

But your Commissioners have a further Reason for relating this Matter at large, which is, that we find by Mr. *Brydges's* Accounts, there hath been no more than Six Thousand Five Hundred Eighteen Pounds, Nine Shillings and Seven Pence Farthing repaid by the Off-reckonings of these Regiments, and that consequently there hath accrued a Loss to the Publick of Ten Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-three Pounds, Eight Shillings and Four Pence Three Farthings.

There are two Contracts for clothing *Guiscard's* Regiment of Dragoons, wherein Mr. *Harnage* and *Churchill* were likewise concerned, and wherein there is an Appearance of a Breach of Trust, and a great Expence brought upon the Government.

The first of these Contracts was made by the late Earl *Rivers*, in Behalf of her Majesty, with Mr. *Harnage* and *Churchill* for Six Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty-seven Pounds, which was to be advanced by the Publick. Mr. *Harnage* declares on Oath, "That in the Accounts of this Clothing betwixt him and Mr. *Churchill*, there were One Thousand Pounds or Guineas charged for a Gratuity, which Mr. *Churchill* (who transacted the whole Affair) told him was given to the late Earl *Rivers*, in Consideration of their being admitted into that Contract."

The other was made in 1708, by Mr. *Le Bas*, with the said Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage*: For which Mr. *Harnage* deposes, "There were likewise One
Thousand

“Thousand Pounds or Guineas charged in the Account thereof, as a Gratuity,
“which Mr. *Churchill* informed him were given to the Marquis *Guiscard*; and
“also a farther Sum of One Hundred Pounds, or more, to Mr. *Le Bas*.”

What we have to say on the first Contract is, that this Regiment being raised in *June* 1706, and reduced in *July* 1708, the Off-reckonings did not amount to near the Sum contracted for. But notwithstanding this apparent Loss to the Publick, a Warrant was obtained from her Majesty, countersigned by the Secretary at War in *November* 1708, for Payment of Seven Hundred and Seven Pounds Six Shillings and Four Pence, allowed for Interest ’till the whole Sum could be raised out of the Off-reckonings, which by this Warrant were continued for some Months after the Reduction of the Regiment.

We make no Remarks on the Money given on this Occasion, because the noble Person who received it is since dead.

As to the second Contract, it is thus represented to your Commissioners by Mr. *Le Bas*, who hath deposed, “That Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage* solicited the
“Secretary at War to have his Name put into a Warrant, empowering him to
“contract for a full Clothing for *Guiscard*’s Regiment of Dragoons, commonly
“called *Laffabriques*, in the Year 1708, and to assign over the full two Years
“neat Off-reckonings for the same; that soon after he contracted with the said
“Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage* for furnishing the said Clothing; that he under-
“stood they gave Monsieur *Guiscard* Seven Hundred Pounds (which Mr. *Har-*
“*nage* says was a Thousand Pounds) in Consideration of their being employed
“in this Contract; that they gave this Deponent about an Hundred Pounds for
“making use of his Name, and the Trouble he had on this Account.”

Now it is submitted, whether it is not extraordinary, that a second Contract should be entered into before the first was satisfied, in Favour of a Foreigner, who by his Religion was incapable of being admitted into her Majesty’s Service; and who, besides the Profits of this Regiment, received the Pay of a Major-Gen-ral, with other great Advantages from the Publick: or whether this Power ought to have been granted to Mr. *Le Bas* on the Solicitation of Mr. *Churchill* and *Harnage*, who were known to be the Persons intending to contract under it; or whether the Secretary at War (who recommended the Warrant to her Majesty, and countersigned it) had not executed his Trust with more Caution, at least if he had for that Reason declined doing it, since it was, in Effect, empowering them to contract with themselves?

Mr. *Le Bas* further deposes, “That in the Year 1708, or 1709, he pro-
“mised Mr. *James Taylor*, chief Clerk to the then Secretary at War, that he
“would give him a Present in case he was made Agent to the Regiment of Dra-
“goons, whereof *Beltbazer de Foissac* was Lieutenant-Colonel, and to the seve-
“ral Regiments of Foot, whereof *Constantine de Magny*, *John Trepaud*, *Antbo-*
“*ny La Columbre*, were Lieutenant-Colonels; that afterwards he was appointed
“Agent by the major Part of the Field-Officers and Captains, and had a War-
“rant granted him, and countersigned by the Secretary at War, for confirming
“the same; that thereupon he, some Time after, made the said Mr. *Taylor* a
“Present of Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds; that in the Year 1709 he pro-
“cured a Warrant, countersigned also by the Secretary at War, for the Subsis-
“tence of several Officers in *Guiscard*’s Regiment of Dragoons after it was re-

“duced, and gave the said Mr. *Taylor* a further Gratuity of twenty or thirty Guineas, he does not remember whether.”

Besides those already mentioned, Mr. *Harnage* and *Churchill* have been concerned in several Contracts made by Persons employed by the Government, amounting to the Sum of One Hundred Ninety Thousand Nine Hundred Fifty-five Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Two-pence.

We pass over their Agreements with Colonels for clothing their particular Regiments, being very numerous, and not within the Intention of our present Representation.

We having Reason to believe, as well from the Prices allowed in these Contracts with the Publick, as from other Circumstances, that there were as considerable Gratuities given for obtaining them, as for those above stated; we examined Mr. *Harnage* on Oath, and proposed the following Questions to him.

Whether any Money was given, and to whom, for procuring any of these Contracts?

Whether any Person or Persons were concerned with him, except Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Craggs*?

Whether all the Money due on these Contracts were received?

Whether any Allowance was made for prompt Payment?

To which he declined making any immediate Reply, but desired Time to have Recourse to his Books, and some Days after brought the following Answer in Writing:

“*Richard Harnage* saith, That he having been concerned in great Variety of Dealings, and with great Variety of Persons, cannot affirm any Thing upon Oath that doth not appear in his Books, or some authentick Papers of Transactions, so long ago passed; and having no such Papers, cannot take upon him to charge any Person whatsoever to have had any Share of the Profit of any such Contract, except the Persons who were concerned with him: That does not remember any Sum or Sums given for the procuring any of those Contracts, or any Money brought to account for that Purpose. The said *Richard Harnage* further saith, That he can say nothing positive concerning the Receipt of the Money, it being received by several Hands, and that he never kept Account of it, neither hath any Papers that give him any light into that Affair. And he further saith, That he does not know of any Sum of Money given to any Person for Prompt Payment; and that he cannot of his own Knowledge say that any Person was Partner in the said Contracts, but Mr. *James Craggs*, Mr. *William Churchill*, and himself.

Richard Harnage.

This Answer seeming to be drawn up in general and uncertain Terms, particularly that Part where it is said, *That he cannot take upon him to charge any Person whatsoever, to have any Share of the Profit of any such Contract, except the Persons who were concerned with him*, we pressed him to explain that Sentence, and to declare whether any Persons besides those he called Partners, were concerned with him, or had any Share of the Profit: But he refused giving any other Answer than what was contained in the Paper here recited. We are unwilling

willing to complain of any Disregard shewn to the Power reposed in us; but we think ourselves obliged to take Notice, that if Persons contracting with the Government, shall be permitted to refuse answering Questions, which may discover the real Considerations on which their Contracts are made, there will be no Probability of detecting publick Mismanagements for the future, and all Enquiries of this Nature will be rendered ineffectual.

We likewise summoned Mr. *Churchill*, but understood he had a little before left *England*, and not returning 'till after the Expiration of our Commission for taking the publick Accompts, by Virtue whereof this Examination was begun, we have not proceeded further in it.

We have discovered some Instances (and have Ground to believe there are many more not yet proved to us) of Clothings, which have been supplied out of her Majesty's Magazines to Regiments abroad, and for which no Account hath been rendered to the Publick.

The Instance that hath already come to our Knowledge, is of a Clothing delivered out of her Majesty's Stores in the Year 1708, to Colonel *Bladen's* Regiment in *Portugal*, by Order of the Earl of *Gallway*.

John Philip de Clapie, who hath been a Captain in this Regiment from the Raising to the Reduction of it, deposes, "That the Regiment received a full Clothing from Colonel *Bladen*, which was taken out of her Majesty's Stores in *Portugal* by the Earl of *Gallway's* Order, though sent over thither for another Regiment which was then Prisoners."

We examined Mr. *Edmund Strudwick*, who (we were informed) was concerned in this Affair, and he deposed, "That Colonel *Bladen's* Father desired Leave to make use of his Name in an Assignment made by Colonel *Bladen*, bearing Date the 10th of *March*, 1709-10, of the Off-reckonings of his Regiment, 'till the Sum of Two Thousand Eight Hundred Thirty-nine Pounds Seventeen Shillings and Six-pence should be paid, which he granted; but never furnished any Clothing, or received any Money, or gave any Receipts on Account of the said Assignment; that he afterwards assigned over the said Assignment, and thinks it was to Colonel *Bladen's* Father."

We summoned the Colonel's Father, who confirmed the Truth of what *Strudwick* had sworn, and declared on Oath, "That he knew no more of the Matter, than that he solicited at the Pay-Office for the Money, and received Tallies, all which he gave to his Son."

Thus it appears that an Assignment was made, and the Money actually paid by the Publick; but we cannot find that a Clothing was ever provided in Consideration thereof. On the contrary, it further appears (besides what is alledged in Capt. *Clapie's* Deposition) by the Accounts of Mr. *Medlycott*, Commissary of Stores in *Portugal*, that a great Quantity of all Species of Clothing, except Sergeants Coats and Waistcoats were delivered to Mr. *Traplien*, for the Use of Colonel *Bladen's* Regiment, which, if there was no other Proof, would entitle her Majesty to a Proportion, at least, of the Off-reckonings assigned on this Account: For we have it on Oath from several Captains of this Regiment, that there was no more than one Clothing delivered during the Time of Colonel *Bladen's* Command.

Nor does the Colonel himself give us any Satisfaction in this Matter: For in his first Representation of it, he takes no Notice of what appears by the above-mentioned Account to have been delivered out of the publick Magazines: But he says, "He made an Assignment of the Off-reckonings for sixteen Months, amounting in Value to the Sum of Two Thousand Eight Hundred Pounds, or thereabouts, which said Sum has since been discharged in Candle-Tallies and *South-Sea* Stock; that in Consideration of the said Assignment, he did cause a good and sufficient Clothing to be delivered to the Regiment in *Portugal*; and having hereby, as he humbly conceived, discharged his Duty to the Queen and the Regiment, he did not keep any Papers by him, nor can he find any upon diligent Search, relating to the Particulars of the said Clothing; that therefore he is entirely incapable of giving any Account of the Distinction between Species and Prices, because the said Clothing, though made of *Englisch* Manufactures, was almost all of it provided abroad.

On further Recollection, he says, "That he believes his Agent might receive out of the Stores at *Lisbon* some remaining Part of a Clothing that belonged to the Earl of *Gallway's* *Spanish* Regiment of Foot, who were then Prisoners. But that it is impossible for him to say what this Remainder consisted of, or whether his Agent paid for the same, because he is, since this Transaction, become a Bankrupt, and retired into a Convent for Protection, with his Regimental Papers in his Hands; and though there are still Accounts depending between them, he hath not heard from him some Years. But he hath been informed, and does believe, that the said *Spanish* Regiment, when they were taken by the Enemy at the Battle of *Caia*, were about Three Hundred and Fifty Men under Arms, compleatly clothed, without accounting for those that might have deserted before that Day. He hath also been informed, and doth believe, that one of the Regiments of Dragoons, raised in *Portugal* after the Battle of *Caia*, was likewise clothed out of the Remainder of the said *Spanish* Clothing, before any Part thereof was delivered to his Agent. Therefore he does presume the Remainder, after these Deductions made, could not be very considerable. But he is ready to pay for whatever his Agent may have received in his Behalf from the Store-keeper, if the same be not already accounted for. He further adds, in Proof of his providing a Clothing, that such Part of it as was provided in *England* was bought of one *Peter*."

He hath also produced to your Commissioners a general Certificate from some Captains of his Regiment to this Effect; "That he did, in the Year 1710, deliver to them, and to every Captain, a good and compleat Clothing for each of their respective Companies; that whilst they were under his Command, he did upon all Occasions do Justice to them, and to all the Officers and Soldiers in the Regiment." This Certificate is signed amongst others by Capt. *de Clapiè*: But it does not contradict the Assertion in his Deposition, That the Clothing was taken out of her Majesty's Stores in *Portugal*, by the Earl of *Gallway's* Order: For it is agreed on all Hands, that a good and full Clothing was furnished to the Regiment. But, as is said before, it does not appear that it was furnished at the Colonel's Expence, or consequently, that he had a Right to all the Money he hath received on this Account; especially when it is understood, that

that *Robert Peter* (who is the Person said to have furnished that Part of the Clothing which was bought here in *England*) hath sworn, that he never had any Dealings with the Colonel for more than the Value of Two Hundred Nineteen Pounds Nineteen Shillings; and that, in the Accompts thereof, we find several Articles no Ways relating to the Use of the Regiment. As to that Part which is said to have been provided abroad, we can observe nothing, but that there is no Proof of it; and how satisfactory the Reasons (given by the Colonel for his not being able to produce any Account) are, must be entirely left to the Determination of the House.

We have had another Irregularity in Clothing under our Examination, which relates to Major-General Handasyd's Regiment.

The Case is this; "Mr. *John Mac Culloch*, in the Year 1710-11, provided a full Clothing for General *Handasyd's* Regiment, for which he received Three Thousand and Thirty Pounds. In the Year 1711-12 he contracted for half a Clothing for the said Regiment, and had an Assignment of the Off-reckonings, amounting to Sixteen Hundred Pounds, which he paid to General *Handasyd's* Son by Order of the General; but did not provide any Cloathing. In the Year 1712-13, he contracted for another full Clothing for the said Regiment, and had an Assignment of the Off-reckonings amounting to Two Thousand Three Hundred Pounds, or thereabouts, which he received, and paid also to the General's Son, though no Clothing was then provided. But the same was altered, and he received Five Hundred and Fifty Pounds for the Alterations: After which, Part of the Clothing was sent to *Jamaica*. But there are Two Hundred and Forty Suits now remaining in *England*, which, with One Hundred and Thirteen more, are to serve for the Clothing the said Regiment for the Year 1714."

Mr. *Mac Culloch* hath sworn all these Particulars, and his Evidence is confirmed by the Oaths of Mr. *Boulter*, a Laceman, and of Mr. *John Osbeal*, who was employed in making and altering these Clothes.

It is further supported by Capt. *Robert Gardner*, who was empowered by a Letter of Attorney from Major-General *Handasyd* in February 1703-4, to contract here for clothing his Regiment, and who gives this following Account on Oath, of his Transactions in this Affair; "That, pursuant to his Authority, he made several Assignments of the Off-reckonings of this Regiment, to the Value of Fourteen Thousand Six Hundred Sixty-eight Pounds, the last of which was made in April 1710, to Messieurs *Man* and *Mac Culloch* for Three Thousand and Thirty Pounds Twelve Shillings and Ten-pence; that he believes the Clothing provided on this Assignment was not sent over to *Jamaica*, but detained in *England*."

These Facts are not contradicted by what the General says concerning the Clothing of the Regiment: for he alledges, 'That some time since a Clothing, which he expected from *England* for his Regiment in *Jamaica*, not coming thither, he bought a *French* Clothing, which was taken off of *Martinico* by a Privateer. That he can give no particular Account of the said Clothing, but he remembers that it was very bad, and did cost only Ten Shillings a Coat and Breeches; that there were several Shirts, Shoes, Stockings, and Cravats, the

‘ Number of which he does not remember ; that soon after a Clothing arrived
‘ from *England* by the Packet-Boat, which he delivered to his Regiment.’

But he cannot swear to the Truth of these Circumstances, because he says,
‘ His Memory will not serve him to recollect whether the Clothes were deli-
‘ vered in the Year 1710, or 1711 ; nor what the Quantity or Quality of them
‘ was, having had only a Sight of a Coat and Breeches, and they being deli-
‘ vered out at *Port-Royal*, fifteen Miles distant from the Residence of the Go-
‘ vernor of *Jamaica* ; which, at the Regiments coming home, when required,
‘ will be made appear. But that he would rather refund the Money, than take
‘ any Oath concerning this Matter.’

From all these Accounts it appears, that there hath been only one Clothing
(for the *French* Clothes bought in *Jamaica* are not pretended to be worth much)
provided for this Regiment ; though there have been Assignments made to the
Value of Six Thousand Nine Hundred and Thirty Pounds.

Another Instance of Mismanagement in disposing of the Off-reckonings of
Regiments, is in that of Colonel *Watkins*. Mr. *Potter*, Agent to this Regiment,
did, by Vertue of a Letter of Attorney from Colonel *Watkins*, make an As-
signment, dated the 1st of *April*, 1706. of two Years Off-reckonings, (amount-
ing to the Sum of Three Thousand Nine Hundred Sixty Pounds, or there-
about) to Mr. *Robert Peter*, Clothier. The next Day Mr. *Peter* re-assigned the
whole Assignment to Colonel *Watkins*. Some time after he furnished Clothes to
the Value of Eight Hundred Twenty-three Pounds, and was paid for them by
Mr. *Potter*. But he deposes, that he never received any other Sum on Account
of clothing this Regiment ; nor does Mr. *Potter* know of any other Clothes fur-
nished to it, during the time of Colonel *Watkins*’s Command.

The Colonel made another Assignment, dated *December 31*, 1709. to Mr.
Luke King of the Off-reckonings of this Regiment, amounting to Eleven Hun-
dred Seventy-eight Pounds, or there-about. But Mr. *King* declares on Oath,
‘ That he never knew that any Clothes were furnished to the Regiment ; that his
‘ Name was only made use of in the Assignment ; that by Colonel *Watkins*’s
‘ Order he transferred the Assignment to Mr. *Jackson* a Goldsmith, and only
‘ received Six-pence per Pound. Nor can your Commissioners be informed that
‘ any Clothes were supplied on this second Contract.’

Colonel *Watkins* alledges for himself, ‘ That his Regiment’ never com-
‘ plained for want of Clothing ; that to the best of his Remembrance he took
‘ care that every Man in his Regiment should be furnished with Clothing, ac-
‘ cording to the Custom of the Army : but that he can give no Account
‘ thereof, by reason of the Distance of Time.’

Since the Colonel pretends not to offer any Proof sufficient to confront or
weaken the Evidence above stated, we are left to suppose, that out of these two
Contracts, he hath applied above Four Thousand Pounds to his own private
Use.

These Particulars are only a few of the many Instances which might be given
of the indirect Practices in Clothing the Army. But they are sufficient to prove,
that the good Husbandry and Oeconomy, so much pretended to in carrying
on the late War, hath been as defective in this Article, as in any of the other
publick Expences.

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 105

This may be further demonstrated to the House by an Account of the Clothings furnished by the Publick, for the Use of her Majesty's Forces, which is as followeth.

	l.	s.	d.
For Clothing sent to <i>Portugal</i> , and consigned to Mr. <i>Alexander Stevenson</i>	5,000	0	0
For Clothing for 4000 Foot and 1000 Dragoons, sent to <i>Catalonia</i> , under the Care of Mr. <i>Thomas Castle</i>	24,571	19	6
For 20000 Sets of small Clothing sent to <i>Spain</i> under the Care of the said Mr. <i>Castle</i>	12,490	0	0
For the Clothing of the six <i>French</i> Regiments sent under the Care of Mr. <i>Edward Douglass</i>	17,061	18	0
For Clothing of 3000 Foot and 1000 Horse of the Forces in <i>Spain</i> , sent under the Care of Mr. <i>Henry Vincent</i>	23,625	0	0
For 40000 Sets of small Clothing, sent to <i>Spain</i> under the Care of the said <i>Vincent</i>	24,980	0	0
For Clothing and Accoutrements of Horse and Dragoons sent to <i>Portugal</i> , and consigned to Mr. <i>Vincent</i>	23,360	16	4
For 5000 Bayonets for the Expedition commanded by the Earl <i>Rivers</i> , sent under the Care of Mr. <i>Edward Douglass</i>	880	0	0
For Clothing sent to <i>Spain</i> , and consigned to Mr. <i>Vincent</i>	12,870	8	1
	10,369	2	3
	8,424	2	5
For 4488 Pair of Shoes bought of Mr. <i>David</i> , and delivered to Mr. <i>Castle</i>	1,065	18	0
For 10,000 Sets of small Clothing for the Forces in <i>Portugal</i> , consigned to Mr. <i>Medlycott</i>	6,437	10	0
For an entire Clothing and half for Lord <i>Gallway's</i> Dragoons, consigned to Ditto	5,475	3	11
For an entire Clothing and half for Brigadier <i>Carle's</i> late Regiment, consigned to Ditto	4,142	12	1
For an entire first and second Clothing for four Regiments of Foot in <i>Portugal</i> , consigned to Ditto	16,434	19	2
For an entire Clothing, with Saddles and Accoutrements for a Regiment of Dragoons, consigned to Ditto	5,627	7	4
For Arms and Accoutrements for six Regiments of Dragoons in <i>Portugal</i> , consigned to Mr. <i>Medlycott</i>	7,782	16	6
For Accoutrements for the said Regiments, consigned to Ditto	5,663	0	0
For Arms, &c. sent under the Care of Mr. <i>Netmaker</i> for the Forces to the late Expedition to <i>Canada</i>	28,036	5	0
Total of the several Payments afore-mentioned	234,298	18	7

By this Account the Government hath disbursed the Sum of two Hundred forty four Thousand two Hundred ninety-eight Pounds, eighteen Shillings, and seven Pence. And your Commissioners have, notwithstanding what hath been said as to some particular Cases, Reason to believe, that the Contracts in general, pursuant to which it was paid, were not always made with the greatest Caution. But besides any Loss, which may have accrued by that means, we find in the Accounts we have required for our Information in this Matter, that there yet remain above fifty Thousand Pounds unanswered to the Publick, even allowing the Sum of Six Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety Pounds, Four Shillings and Two-pence, chargeable to the King of *Spain's* Account, to go in Part of Repayment; which perhaps may be thought a Concession without a Reason, when it is known, that there was no Treaty betwixt her Majesty and the present Emperor; and that the Sum annually granted by Parliament, for carrying on his Successes in *Spain*, cannot be considered as a Subsidy due to that Prince, but as Money voluntarily advanced; and which therefore was, or ought to have been under the same Management with the other publick Money given for that Service. There is not above the Sum of Eighty-seven Thousand Six Hundred Eighty-nine Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Nine-pence Halfpenny, pretended to be accounted for by the Commissary of Stores.

As this is a considerable Loss to the Publick, so it must have arisen from Mismanagement somewhere. For if, on advancing these Sums, there was not a Prospect of repaying the Publick, then it will be difficult to account why the Advances should ever be made, or why the Directions were given for making proper Deductions from the Regiments to whom they were delivered. If the Money was advanced on just Grounds and good Computations, then it is reasonable to suppose, had due Care been taken, that the Government could not have suffered so egregiously.

This Method of clothing at the Publick Charge was one of the many exorbitant Expences, which attended the *Spanish* and *Portugal* War; and the Contracts for Corn, transported from *Genoa*, and other Places for that Service, have been likewise an excessive Burden to the Publick. But these later Contracts have not yet been so distinctly laid before us, as to enable us to state any Account thereof.

We are sensible it may be expected we should here offer some Observations on the Accounts of the Pay-Master-General; and we take leave to acquaint the House, that we have examined, with the best Care we could, those which are already laid before us. But, when it is understood that he hath not yet exhibited his final Account, nor Vouchers for any of his Payments further than the Year 1707, we humbly conceive, it will be allowed, that few Remarks can be made, but such as may possibly admit of a full Answer, when this final Account, and all his Vouchers are produced, and such therefore as ought not to be offered to the House.

Mr. *Brydges* hath been frequently pressed for this final Account, and so lately as the 27th of *February* last, he gave the following Reasons why it cannot yet be made up, and laid before us.

‘ The final Account and Vouchers of some of the Deputy-Pay-Masters abroad,
‘ being but very lately transmitted over, and some not yet arrived, and those
‘ Accounts returned not being yet fully examined, are the Reasons why my final
‘ Account for the eight Months, ending the 24th of *August*, 1713. cannot yet
‘ be made up, and laid before the Honourable Commissioners of Publick Ac-
‘ counts in the same particular Method, as my Accounts ending at *Christmas*,
‘ 1712. have been delivered in to them; so that what can be done at present is
‘ to lay before the Commissioners my Cash-Accounts, to the last Day of *Feb.*
‘ 1713. which will be ready in a few Days, in the same Method with those al-
‘ ready delivered to them, to the 14th Day of *September*, 1713.’

J. Brydges.

Feb. 27, 1713-14. •

Nor can we receive better Satisfaction from the Accounts of the Deputy-Pay-Masters. For Mr. *Morice* being dead, we cannot take any personal Examination relating to his Accounts, which were but lately laid before us, and in so very general a manner that little can be collected from them.

Mr. *Mead* (through whose Hands most of the Money remitted for the *Spanish* Service passed) hath exhibited his Accounts to us, without mentioning the Dates and Species of his Payments, which he declares on Oath, he cannot do, because several of them were made by Persons at a Distance from him, who returned him no such Distinction. He further declares, he found no Necessity for keeping any such Account, not having any Instruction for that Purpose from Mr. *Brydges*. To supply this Defect we desired a Sight of his Cash-Book, but he refused to submit it to our Examination, because, he says, it contains his own private Affairs, as well as the Publick Accounts.

However, though for these Reasons it is impossible for us to give a particular State of the Accounts of the Army, yet we conceive a general Computation of the annual Expence on this Head, as well as on that of the Navy, for twelve Years last past, may not be unacceptable to the House, in that it will give a View how heavy the Maintenance of the War was become to *England*, and how insupportable the Continuance of it would have proved.

A STATE of the EXPENCE of the late W A R.

Payments made by the Earl of Ranelagh, from the 1st of June, 1701, to the 24th of December, 1702.

Year.	The several Services,	Particular Totals.		Annual Totals.	
		l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.
1701	For twelve Battalions sent to the Assistance of the States	—	—	102	185 17 3
1702	Guards and Garrisons, from 25 December 1701, to 24 December, 1702.	275	546 12 2 $\frac{1}{4}$		
	Forces in Flanders from and to ditto Time	—	—	98	560 13 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Defcent under the Duke of Ormond	—	—	89	66 3 5
				135	0973 9 7

Payments made by Charles Fox, Esq; from the 25th of December 1702, to the 23d of June, 1705.

Year.	The several Services,	Particular Totals.		Annual Totals.	
		l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.
1703	To 40000 Men in Flanders, from 25 December, 1702, to 24 Ditto, 1703.	88	1352 14 1		
	To 100000 Men, Troops of Augmentation, Ditto Time	—	—	156	704 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	To the Circle of Suabia	—	—	23	255 16 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	To Forces in Portugal, from 16 August to 24 December, 1703	—	—	106	1312 12 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1704	To 40000 Men in Flanders	—	—	169	387 8 5
	To 10000 Men, Troops of Augmentation	—	—	123	0700 1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	To the Duke of Savoy pursuant to Treaty	—	—	119	2934 6 0 $\frac{2}{4}$
	To Extraordinaries relating to the War	—	—	203	355 19 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	To Bounty Money	—	—	44	978 4 10
	To Forces in Portugal	—	—	64	473 0 0
				355	599 13 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
				186	1341 4 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Carried over	—	—	454	5200 12 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 109

Year.	The several Services.	Particular Totals.			Annual Totals.		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1705	Brought over	—	—	—	4545200	12	2½
	To 40000 Men in Flanders, from 24 December, 1704,	—	—	—			
	to 23 June, 1705	474317	3	1¼			
	To 10000 Men ditto Time	84111	8	2½			
	To the Duke of Savoy pursuant to Treaty ditto Time	—	—	—			
	To Subsidy to the King of Prussia	—	—	—	558428	11	3¼
	To Forces, &c. in Portugal	—	—	—	89800	7	6½
1706	To Forces in Flanders, from 24 June to 24 December, 1705.	—	—	—	23255	16	4
	To Forces in Spain and Portugal ditto Time	—	—	—	186883	13	2¼
		—	—	—	759278	7	0¼
		—	—	—	213374	14	4½
					1831021	9	9¼
Payments made by James Bridges, Esq; from the 24th of June, 1705, to the 24th of August, 1713, &c.							
1706	To Forces in Flanders, from 25 December, 1705, to 24 December, 1706	—	—	—	1566285	18	8
	To Forces in Spain and Portugal ditto Time	—	—	—	835801	8	4
1707	To Forces in Flanders	—	—	—	1498552	6	1½
	To Forces in Spain and Portugal	—	—	—	967551	16	10
1708	To Forces in Flanders	—	—	—	1649209	14	6
	To Forces in Spain and Portugal	—	—	—	1127675	6	9¼
1709	To Forces in Flanders	—	—	—	1761631	7	5¼
	To Forces in Spain and Portugal	—	—	—	1436943	2	3
					3198574	9	8¼
					17219873	2	11¼
					Carried over		

Payments made by John Howe, Esq; from the 24th of December, 1702, to the 23d of February, 1713-14.

Year.	From and to what Time.	Paym. on Account for Forces employed in the War abroad.		Paym. on Account for Guards and Garrisons.		Annual Totals.	
		l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.
1703	Brought over					27818	513 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1704	From 24 Dec. 1702, To 23 Dec. 1703			2574	16 9 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	3040	85 17 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1705	To 23 Dec. 1704	3196	5 11 2	3111	72 10 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3431	38 1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1706	To 23 Dec. 1705	7062	9 6 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	3372	71 0 7	4079	00 6 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1707	To 23 Dec. 1706	8695	0 12 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2884	95 18 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3754	46 10 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
1708	To 23 Dec. 1707	4202	3 14 6	3025	86 15 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3446	10 9 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
1709	From 24 Dec. 1707, To 22 Dec. 1708	3518	4 3 10	5095	76 16 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	5447	61 0 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1710	From 23 Dec. 1708, To 22 Dec. 1709	5753	7 9 5	5051	51 5 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	5626	88 15 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
1711	To 22 Dec. 1710	8305	8 18 10	5130	89 13 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	5961	48 12 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
1712	To 22 Dec. 1711	5397	9 7 1	4732	70 2 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	5272	49 9 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1713	From 23 Dec. 1711, To 21 Dec. 1712	9057	8 18 5	4193	28 1 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	5099	07 0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	To several Payments for the Service of the Year 1713	4349	9 10 6	3190	23 5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3625	22 15 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	By the Royal Hospital for the like Sum received at the Exchequer on Account for the Service of the Years 1711 and 1712					4496	3 16 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	By Ditto on the same Account for the Service of the Years 1712 and 1713					5649	0 0 0
	Carried over					3279	8425 18 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

112 A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.

Ordinance from 1702, to the 30th of June, 1713.

What Year.	Land Service.			Sea Service.			Total.			Grand Total.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Brought over												
1702	101892	11	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	81023	3	9	182915	15	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	327984	25	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
1703	80695	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	91735	2	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	172439	7	1			
1704	72863	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	51913	11	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	124777	2	0 $\frac{3}{4}$			
1705	97386	11	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	94445	9	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	191842	1	3			
1706	119484	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	101978	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	221462	15	9 $\frac{3}{4}$			
1707	97178	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	88827	6	8	186005	8	3 $\frac{1}{4}$			
1708	143884	2	8	145388	14	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	289272	16	11 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1709	125913	13	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	112737	3	7	238650	16	9 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1710	163090	19	9	64409	8	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	232500	8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1711	124955	18	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	56135	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	181092	0	2			
1712	140551	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	111867	13	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	443422	15	1 $\frac{1}{4}$			
1713	106746	14	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	84256	19	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	153133	11	5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
	96537	6	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	56596	4	11 $\frac{1}{4}$						
Stores exhausted amounting to	1471180	3	8	1146325	14	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	2617505	18	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	2666178	8	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Carried over							48672	9	6	3546460	4	4

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 113

Transports from the 2d March, 1701-2, to the 2d of March, 1713-14.

Years.	Holland Service.			Spain and the West-Indies.			Portugal & Spain.			Total.			Grand Total.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	d.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	91630	7	10½	35464604	6	4
1702	14311	9	8½	77318	18	2	56290	5	7	95102	4	9			
1703	7140	11	6	31671	7	8	103596	17	9	110840	13	1			
1704	7243	15	4	—	—	—	103253	14	4	109393	5	7			
1705	5439	11	3	—	—	—	143077	11	1	152464	15	10			
1706	8095	2	0	1292	2	9	140812	11	10	149568	8	2			
1707	7864	11	1	891	5	3	179574	18	2¾	210668	1	6¾			
1708	29141	10	8	1951	12	8	243046	19	5	250525	16	7			
1709	6654	6	11	824	10	3	210751	1	5¼	217511	9	1¼			
1710	5812	12	9	947	14	11	96966	2	10½	165031	7	11½			
1711	8024	5	3	2234	7	10	—	—	—	85238	15	11	1718327	4	5
Canada	—	—	—	57806	12	0	—	—	—	80351	18	0			
1712	6706	1	3	1108	0	0	77424	14	8	—	—	—			
1713	21078	10	8	1076	19	0	58196	8	4	—	—	—			
	127512	8	4½	177123	10	6	1413691	5	6½	—	—	—			
										—	—	—			
										270681	17	0½			
										556279	10	0	826961	7	0½
													65853799	8	7½
										Total of the Expense					

Navy, Viſtualling Sick and Wounded, and Marine Regiments; and Treasurer of the S. Sea Company.

Expence of the Navy, Viſtualling, Sick and Wounded, and Marine Regiments, between the 1ſt of October 1701, and the 30th of September 1713
 1712 To the Treafurer of the South Sea Company for Interest, and Charge of Management thereof
 1713 Ditto

It is obvious, that the Commencement of some of these Accounts preceeds the actual Declaration of the War: but the Grand Alliance being then settled, we apprehend they must be allowed as Part of the Expence.

Some of them are carried beyond the time of the Determination of the War: but those Charges have been Consequences of it. The Troops in *Flanders* were continued there pursuant to an Address of this House. The Ships in the *Mediterranean* have been employed in Services relating to the War. Many Payments made since have been in consideration of what was performed during the War.

Besides the Arrears here-mentioned to be due by Estimation, considerable Demands are every Day brought into the Pay-Office, and more are here expected.

In this Account is comprehended the whole Money issued to the Fleet and Army. But there ought to be a Deduction of the necessary Expence on those Heads in time of Peace; and if it be computed for twelve Years last past, according to the Establishments made since the War, it will amount to Twelve Millions, Nine Hundred and Thirty Thousand, Four Hundred and Sixty-one Pounds, Seventeen Shillings, and Four Pence.

Your Commissioners take leave just to mention a Proceeding in relation to the Buying and Selling Commissions in the Army, dated *May 1, 1711*. directing, that on the Sale of any Commission, Twelve-Pence in the Pound should be paid both by the Buyer and Seller, which Money was to be applied to increase the Fund for Maintenance of *Chelsea* College.

This Money not being brought to the Account of the Hospital, we examined Mr. *Francis Lynn* (who was appointed Receiver of it); and he deposed, 'That he received Four Hundred Twenty-five Pounds, Seven Shillings and Three Pence on this Account, which he kept some time in his Hands, but that since our Enquiry he had paid it to Mr. *Merrill* for the Use of the Hospital:'. He further said, 'He acquainted Mr. *Merrill* a Year since, that he had this Money in his Hands, which Mr. *Merrill* owns he did.'

Your Commissioners think it extraordinary that this Practice of buying and selling Commissions, should receive so great Countenance as to have a publick Office erected for the transacting it. They further observe, that eighteen Colonels, who were all that appeared to have bought or sold Regiments during the time this Regulation subsisted (which was from *May 1, 1711*, to *April 1, 1712*, were excused the Payment of this Twelve Pence in the Pound by particular Warrants, and the Burden fell on the inferior Officers only.

There have been general Directions given by the Treasury, that the Receivers of Taxes, and other Publick Officers, should transact their Affairs with the *Bank of England*.

By which means the ancient Method of paying Money in Specie into the *Exchequer* hath been much laid aside, and a great Part of the Revenue of the Kingdom received in *Bank* Notes.

How far this new Practice may prove fatal to the Publick, if the *Bank* shall ever be obliged, on any Exigency of the Government, to stop their Payments we know not: but we are of Opinion, that it is worthy your Consideration.

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 115

Your Commissioners were informed, that the Sufferers in the Islands of *Nevis* and *St. Christophers*, had agreed to give considerable *Premiums* for obtaining Relief from the Publick for their Losses ; and on Enquiry into the Matter, We find, That in the Year 1709, Mr. *James Campbell* was employed by Mr. *Stephen Duport*, Agent for those Islands, to solicit this Affair ; That he was to have Two and an half *per Cent.* for all the Money the Sufferers should receive from the Publick ; and some time after an Act passed for giving them One hundred and three thousand and three Pounds eleven Shillings and Fourpence ; That on the 3d of *July* 1712, the greatest Part of the Agents for Sufferers agreed to give him One *per Cent.* more ; That in *October* 1712, they came to another Agreement, which was to give him Five *per Cent.* more for all the Money received from the Publick on this Account : If the Debentures should at any Time before the First of *July* 1713, be sold for more than 76 *per Cent.* By which Increase the whole *Premium* was advanced to Eight and an half *per Cent.*

Whether Negotiations of this Kind are allowable, where Money is given by the Publick, though for private Uses, we are not to determine ; But this Matter being now under your Examination, we thought it not improper to mention this Circumstance.

There is a Transaction relating to the Customs in *Scotland*, whereby her Majesty hath been considerably defrauded, and so much as we have been able to discover thereof, we here lay before the House.

In the latter End of *May* 1707, the three following Ships, *viz.* the *Neptune* of *Glasgow*, the *Eagle-Galley*, and the *May-Flower* of *Glasgow*, arrived in the Road of *Greenock* loaded with Brandy from *France*, and the Ship called the *Recovery* of *Dowart*, arrived likewise about the same time on the West Coast of *Scotland* ; but no Entry was made, or Customs paid, for any Goods on Board the said Ships, though it appears that the same Goods were landed in *Scotland*.

But the Fact will be most fairly stated, and best understood by reciting the Substance of some of the Depositions taken on this Occasion.

Archibald Maclean, Tide-Waiter at Port *Glasgow*, deposed ‘ That he and another Waiter were sent by *John Kaltfoe*, Surveyor of the said Port, on Board the ‘ *Eagle*, which he saw loaded with Brandy ; That he went likewise on Board ‘ the *Neptune* and *May-Flower*, which were then unladed, but was told by the ‘ Waiters on Board that they had likewise been loaded with Brandy ; that the ‘ said Deponent was ordered by *Kaltfoe*, a Surveyor, to continue on Board the ‘ *Eagle* till she arrived at the *Isle of Man*, or some Part of *Ireland* ; that as soon ‘ as this Ship was under Sail, she begun to unlade into several Lighters, ‘ which came to her Side for that Purpose ; and that the Deponent and the ‘ other Waiter were shut up, and kept in the Cabin during the Time of their ‘ unlading.’

William Semple and *James Roland* deposed ; ‘ That being Waiters at Port ‘ *Glasgow*, they were sent on Board the *Neptune* by *John Kaltfoe* Surveyor, ‘ and were told by the Sailors that she was loaded with Brandy from *France* ; ‘ that they were threatened and commanded by the Master, and Ship’s Crew, ‘ to betake themselves to the Cabin, where they were shut up and kept during

‘ the Time the Goods were unloaded.’ *Semple* further deposed, ‘ That whilst he was on Board the *Neptune*, he saw several small Boats about the *May-Flower* and *Eagle-Galley*.’

Thomas Kennedy, Land Waiter at Port *Glasgow*, deposed; ‘ That he saw several of the Lighters which transported the Brandy from the *Eagle*, *Neptune*, and *May-Flower*, in their Course from the said Ships, and coming into the Key of Port *Glasgow*; that *James Thompson*, Master of one of those Lighters, which carried the Goods from the said Ships to Port *Glasgow*, told this Deponent, that he was loaded with Brandy from one of the said Ships, and produced to this Deponent a Permit for the same, signed by *Daniel Campbell*, then Collector at Port *Glasgow*; That he was told by *Robert Robertson*, that he, and others who were concerned in the Goods of the said Ships, had agreed to pay ten Pounds *per* Ton for the said Brandy, and that he the said *Robertson*, had actually paid to the said *Campbell* above Five hundred Pounds in Money and Brandy, for the Duties of the said *Robertson*’s Share of the said Cargoes.

The said *Semple* and *Ronald* likewise deposed, ‘ That while they were abroad, they saw in the Cabin of the *Neptune* several Blank Permits, signed by *Daniel Campbell*, Collector at Port *Glasgow*.’ And the said two Deponents, as also the aforesaid *Maclean*, declared; That after they returned ashore from the said Ships, their superior Officer demanded no Accompt of them, nor did they pretend to make any, believing that their Superior Officers at that Port were in the Knowledge of, and connived at, what had happened with respect to the unlading the *Neptune* and *Eagle Galley*. But that the said three Deponents, and another Waiter, having been turned out of their Offices on that Account, applied to the said *Daniel Campbell* for some Acknowledgement of their Services, that the said *Campbell* referred them to *Richard Murray*, his Clerk, for an Answer, who gave to each of the said four, ten Pounds over and above their Salaries, which Sum was never demanded of them till the Morning on which the said Deponents made this Deposition; That the said *Murray* then told them they must repay it to him.

Robert Noble, Tidesman at Port *Glasgow*, deposed; That he knew the greatest Part of the Ship *Neptune*, and all her Cargoe, did belong to the said *Daniel Campbell* and his Partners; That he had the Management and Direction of the same; That he believes the said *Campbell* signed Permits for unloading the Cargoes of the aforesaid four Ships; That he had seen one of the said Permits.

William Gilbagie, Merchant in *Glasgow*, deposed; ‘ That *Daniel Campbell* was Proprietor of the *Neptune*; That he, the Deponent, had a Share of the Cargoe with *Thomas Smith*, Merchant in *Glasgow*, and others; That he knew of no Money that was paid for Customs; but that *Thomas Smith* and *Thomas Clark*, as Managers of the *Neptune*’s Cargo detained from those concerned, a large Quantity of Brandy, which he believes was for the most Part for *Daniel Campbell*’s Use.’ This Deponent, *Arthur Park*, and *John Hill*, Merchants, further deposed; ‘ That they had seen several Transfers signed by *Daniel Campbell*, for the Brandy of the said Ships.’

William

William Miller, Collector at *Fort William*, deposed, ' That he heard *Thomas Clark*, Merchant in *Glasgow*, say in a publick Company, that fifty Pieces of Brandy of the *Neptune's* Cargo were set a-part for a particular Person's Use; and as a Fund for the common Charges in getting the Brandy landed; that he heard the said *Clark* acknowledge, that he had sold a Parcel of Brandy to a considerable Value, and taken Bills and other Security for the Money, payable to *Daniel Campbell*, Collector at *Port Glasgow*, or to the said *Clark* for *Campbell's* Use.' The aforesaid *Kennedy* further deposed, ' That he heard some of the Merchants concerned in the Cargoes of the said Ships, exclaim against the said *Daniel Campbell* for having exacted the Duties, and not accounted for the same to her Majesty; That they threatened to sue him for Recovery thereof; That when *Sir Robert Dixon*, one of the Commissioners of the Customs, came to *Port Glasgow* to enquire about unlading the Ships, (which made a great Noise in the Country) this Deponent was informed, that the said *Daniel Campbell* sent two Waiters in all haste to the Isle of *Bute*, (where the Ships had sailed after unlading) to give Notice thereof to the Masters of the said Ships, and to advise them in all haste to sail out of the Kingdom, lest their Ships should be arrested.' The said *Semple* and *Ronald* deposed, ' That whilst they were at Anchor at the Isle of *Bute*, one *Duncart Macklarty* came on Board the *Neptune* with a Letter to *Dugall Campbell*, the Master, and immediately on the Receipt of this Letter, the *Neptune*, *Eagle*, and *May-Flower*, weighed Anchor and sailed, and the Deponents and other Custom-House Officers were dismissed and sent ashore.' That the said *Ronald* further deposed, ' That the said *Dugall Campbell*, Master of the *Neptune*, told him, that this Letter was from *Daniel Campbell*, Collector at *Port Glasgow*, and gave Occasion to their immediate sailing.'

By other Depositions (which, with those above abstracted, your Commissioners are ready to produce to the House) it appearing that the said Ships were laden with Brandy, which was landed in *Scotland*, without paying any Duties; That *Thomas Smith*, Merchant in *Glasgow*, was with others concerned in the said Brandy on Board the said Ship *Neptune*; that he was employed in overseeing the unlading the Brandy in the *Neptune* and *Eagle*; and hiring Lighters for transporting the same; We examined him on Oath, Whether the Ship *Neptune* arrived at the Time aforesaid, and brought any Brandy into *Scotland*? What Duty was paid, and to whom, for the Goods in the said Ship? Whether any Part of the said Goods were sent from *Scotland* to *London*? Whether any Transires were granted, importing the Payment of the Duties, and what those were? He refused to give us any Satisfaction, and said he did not apprehend himself obliged to answer such Questions.

We likewise examined Mr. *Daniel Campbell*, Collector at *Port Glasgow*; and in Answer to a general Question about the Arrival of those Ships, he swore, That he knew nothing of any Goods which were landed out of them in any Port, either in *North Britain* or *South Britain*.

But being further interrogated, Whether he knew of any Brandy or other Goods landed out of those Ships, or brought into the Port of *Glasgow* by any Lighter or other Vessel from on board them, between the First of *May* 1707, and the First of *August* following, he declined answering so particular a Question.

It is humbly submitted whether these Depositions are sufficient to prove, That the Brandy on Board the Ships was landed without paying any Duties? And whether they do not charge Mr. *Campbell* with an high Breach of Trust in agreeing for ten Pounds *per* Ton, and detaining the same for his own, and his Partner's Use.

We presume not to offer any other Remarks on this Fact than, That if we suppose the Ships to be fully loaden, as is most probable they were, the Quantity of Brandy would amount to about Three hundred and forty Ton.

That had it been seized, the Duties (as *French* Brandy) would have amounted to Twenty-eight thousand one hundred eighty-six Pounds or thereabouts.

Your Commissioners have been intirely disabled from stating the Debts due to the Army, and have only employed themselves in some previous Examinations, which would have been useful to them, could Mr. *Brydges* have sworn to the Accounts of the several Regiments under his Care of Payment. But, being required to do it, he still insists on the Reasons given us the last Year, and declares on Oath, 'That for want of Muster-Rolls and Establishments, he cannot yet attest the Credits of any one Regiment.'

We represented these Difficulties to Parliament in a former Report, and a Clause was brought into a Bill, in order to remove them, by directing the Payment of the Arrears, according to such Establishments or Warrants, as had been or might be made by her Majesty, and such Muster-Rolls as could be obtained, and where Muster-Rolls were wanting according to the Lists of Effectives, to be attested on Oath. But this Clause not passing, the Inconveniences still remain, and it is again submitted to the House, in what Manner they are to be removed.

Your Commissioners can only say, that in the present Circumstances, the Accounts of the Army can never be regularly made up; nor could your Commissioners, appointed for that Purpose, proceed to any Determinations with Certainty or Justice, as will be evident to those, who will be pleased to consider the Nature of their Commission.

12 April, 1714.

H. B.
G. L.
S. W.
F. A.
T. L.
W. S.
H. C.

An

An INDEX to the REPORT of the SECRET COMMITTEE: By which, in a short View, the *Reader* is presented with the Substance of it. *In a Letter to a Friend.*

S I R,

SINCE you are pleased to desire from me an Account of the Committee of Secrecy's Report about the late Peace, &c. I think the best way of satisfying you, is to give you a summary Index of the most remarkable Passages, that you may readily know where to turn to them in the Report itself, which is of such Importance, that no true *Britain* ought to be without it; and I am satisfied, that every honest Man will think it ought to be conveyed to Posterity, as one of the most valuable Legacies that can be left them.

To begin then.—You will find, (*pag. 1.*) that the late Ministry being sensible their own Papers would expose them, have taken care to destroy or carry off several Books, Letters, and Papers referred to in others that have been found, which occasions our being left in the dark as to some of their very material Correspondencies, and by consequence interrupts the Thread of their black History during their four last Years; yet Providence has been so kind to us, as to preserve enough to prove that they betrayed the Queen, their Country, and our Allies in the basest Manner that ever was heard of.

It appears by a Paper, called, *The first Propositions of France*, signed by Monsieur *De Torcy*, April 22, 1711. N. S. marked Number 1. in the Appendix, that *France* designed from the beginning to retain *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, to create Jealousies among the Allies, and to make a separate Peace.

It likewise appears, that these *French Propositions* were transmitted by Mr. *St. John*, April 27, O. S. to the Lord *Raby*, (now Earl of *Strafford*) the Queen's Ambassador at the *Hague*, that they might be communicated to the States Pensionary, with Assurances from her Majesty, *That in Peace and War she would act in perfect Concert with the States.*

It appears, *pag. 2.* That notwithstanding these Assurances, the States had no notice from our Ministry of the Negotiations that were carrying on for above five Months together betwixt *England* and *France*, till after the special Preliminaries were signed by our Ministers, and the seven General Preliminaries were also concluded by them, and sent to the States.

That Mr. *St. John* ordered the Lord *Raby*, in the Queen's Name, to hasten home, because our Ministry expected very soon to have many Intrigues upon the *Tapis* to confer with him about; adding, that *Britain* had gone so much too far in weaving her Interest into that of the Continent, that it would prove no easy Task to disentangle our Affairs, without tearing or rending.

Lord

Lord *Raby* declares, he will venture and undertake any thing to serve the Queen, that he may be boldly trusted with the real Intentions, and would never grudge any Danger and Pains to serve her. And, *pag. 3.* he desires this frank Declaration might be communicated to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. *Harley*.

It does not appear upon what Pretence such solemn Assurances to the *Dutch* were dispensed with, as soon as made; for all Transactions betwixt *England* and *France*, during this time, are entirely suppressed, except two or three Papers; only in the Lord *Strafford's* Instructions, *Octob. 1, 1711*, these Transactions are said to have been carried on by Papers sent backward and forward, and much time spent in it. The first Paper found, is of *July 1*, called private Propositions sent by Mr. *Prior* from *England*, which is Numb. 2. in the Appendix; and it is proposed that the Secret should be inviolably kept, till divulged by mutual Consent.

The next Paper is called Mr. *Prior's* Authority, signed at Top *Ann R.* and at Bottom *A. R.* not countersigned, without a Date, and the Contents are, Mr. *Prior* is fully instructed and authorized to communicate to *France* our Preliminary Demands, and bring back an Answer; he had also Orders to see if *France* had full Powers from *Spain*.

In all things that concerned the Allies, the *English* Proposals are as dark and general as those of *France*; and the *English* Ministers said in a Conference with *Mesnager*, 'That the Principle upon which they treated all along, was, that *France* should consent to adjust the Interests of Great Britain in the first Place, that the Queen could never depart from it, and that it was absolutely necessary to remit the Discussion of the particular Interests of the Allies to General Conferences.'

By this it appears, that the Minister of *France* was instructed to treat of the Interests of the Allies, which the *English* Ministry would by no means consent to, but were determined to carry on a separate Negotiation with *France*, contrary to the Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance; and thereby put the Negotiation into a Method more advantageous for *France*, than she had proposed, or could hope for.

Pag. 4. It appears in the very Infancy of the Negotiation, That the Trade of the World, and the entire Spanish Monarchy are given up by the *English* Ministry, contrary to the repeated Addresses of Parliaments, and the declared Sense of the Queen, for mere verbal Assurances, that the Crown of *France* and *Spain* should never be united.

Mr. *Mesnager*, upon his Arrival here, had frequent Conferences with our Ministers, and full Powers, dated *August 3, 1711*, to treat and conclude with them, or the Ministers of any of the Allies then in War with *France*, that should have Authority to do it.

The Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Lord *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, met *Mesnager*, *Sept. 1711*, in the Evening at Mr. *Prior's* House, by Order of a Committee of Council, where *Mesnager* delivered the *French* King's Answer signed, to the Demands sent from *England*; which Demands and Answers were signed as the secret Preliminaries betwixt *Britain* and *France*, *Sept. 27. 1711*, by *Mesnager* for *France*, Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* for *Britain*.

Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to the Queen that same Night, sent a Warrant and full Powers to be signed by her, in order to pass the Great Seal next Day; by which the Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Bucks*, the Bishop of *Bristol*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Earl *Powlet*, Earl of *Dartmouth*, *Henry St. John*, and *Mat. Prior*, Esqs; were to be constituted Plenipotentiaries to treat with *Mesnager*.

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The Queen signed a Warrant under the Signet, directing the Lord Keeper to put the Great Seal to an Instrument, commissioning himself, and others therein named, to treat with *Mesnager*. This Warrant is dated the 17th of *September*, tho' it is manifest by Mr. *St. John's* Letter, it was not thought of 'till the 20th. This ante-dating seems designed to justify the Ministers in meeting, and concurring with the Queen's Enemies, previous to the Warrant.

Page 5. But what is more strange is, that after Mr. *St. John* had represented it to the Queen as the unanimous Opinion of her Ministers, that full Powers must immediately pass the Great Seal, to authorize them to treat with *Mesnager*, these Powers should be laid aside, and the Preliminaries be signed by Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John*, by virtue of a Warrant directed to them two only, signed by the Queen at top and bottom, and countersigned by no-body.

Those Ministers, included in the Powers which were not passed, seemed conscious to themselves of the Danger in privately meeting with the Ministers of *France*, 'till this separate Negotiation was brought to Maturity, and avoided to become Parties, when the Treaty was to be signed and executed.

This great Care for their own Persons, and little Regard for the Honour and Interest of their Queen and Country, appears thro' this whole separate Negotiation; there being not one Paper of Powers or Instructions countersigned by any Minister, but the Queen's Name exposed to cover all.

It appears by the judicious Reflections of the Committee in this and the next Page, that these special Preliminaries sacrificed the general Interest of *Europe*, and that the Demands in them made for *Great-Britain* were inconsiderable in themselves, and since rendered ineffectual: That nothing possibly could be said less with regard to the Succession; the Queen is not to be owned 'till the Conclusion of the Peace, not a Word of removing the Pretender, nor any Engagement not to support him in any Attempt upon the Nation. The Article of Commerce so doubtfully worded, that *France* only could make Advantage of it; that of *Dunkirk* so worded, as must needs bring great Prejudice to our Allies, and little Advantage to us: That the Assiento-Contract was calculated only for private Advantage; that the Allowance of 15 per Cent. upon our Manufactures sent to *Spain*, was given up by our Ministry, who confessed themselves to be imposed upon: Yet Love to Peace induced them to take such Things for real Securities, which they owned to be none.

Pag. 6. They gave the *French* what they desired as to *Hudson's-Bay* and *Newfoundland*; and, contrary to the eighth Article of the Grand Alliance, gave the Trade of the *Spanish West-Indies* to *France*, and accepted of Articles by Powers from King *Philip*: Yet afterwards they publicly disowned their Intentions of leaving him any Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy. And tho' they pretended that the Queen would never depart from settling the Interest of *Great-Britain* in the first Place, they declared by these Preliminaries, that the King of *France* should not be obliged to make them good, 'till a General Peace was signed. These were the Terms upon which our Allies were to be forced to accept of such a Peace, as *France* thought fit to impose upon them, and that our Ministers might be enabled to engage the Queen to make the Conclusion of the General Peace easy to *France*.

Thus our Ministry brought the Queen to this fatal Dilemma, that she must either go on in the Measures of *France*, or the *French* had it in their Power, by exposing such a notorious Breach of National Faith, to divest the Queen of all her Confederates.

Pag. 7. The *French* attempted to improve it for that End; for three Months before these Articles were signed, M. *Torcy* had writ to *Holland*, that the *French* had begun a Negotiation in *England*.

That same Day the special Preliminaries betwixt us and *France* were signed, another Set of General Preliminaries on the Part of *France*, which are N^o. 7. in the *Appendix*, were signed by *Mesnager* only, to be sent into *Holland*, as the Foundation of a General Peace, after the Lord Treasurer had licked them over to make them more palatable abroad.

N. B. These were the Preliminaries which Count *Gallas* was forbid our Court for finding Fault with, and getting published.

That same Day, a separate Article was signed in favour of the Duke of *Savoy* by *Mesnager*. Lord *Strafford's* Instructions for returning to *Holland*, were dated *Oct. 1. O. S. 1711.* and tho' a separate Treaty had been thus signed by us, he was to urge the Confederates to hold fast together; and if the *Dutch* Ministers should express their Apprehensions of any such private Agreement, he is ordered by evasive Answers to avoid giving them Satisfaction concerning it, and at the same Time to deliver them the Preliminaries signed by *Mesnager*, as the Foundation of a General Peace. This alarmed the *Dutch*, who declared them not sufficient; and they sent M. *Buys* to entreat her Majesty to alter her Resolutions. But, *Pag. 8.* Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to Lord *Strafford*, *Oct. 9.* shewed it was to no Purpose; 'For certain it is, says he, that her Majesty has so far determined upon her Measures, that those will deceive themselves, who imagine, by Delay or other Artifices to break them.'

Mr. *St. John*, at the same Time, gave Intelligence of all the Queen's Counsels to *France*, particularly of my Lord *Strafford's* Instructions: and tho' the States gave in a Paper, which is Numb. 9. in the *Appendix*, that would have moved any Set of Men not already determined; yet Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to the Abbot *Gaultier*, *Oct. 29*, Numb. 10. in the *Appendix*, and in one to M. *Torcy* of the same Date, Numb. 71. in the *Appendix*, assures them, That the Queen continued firm to have the Conferences opened on the Articles signed by *Mesnager*; said it was absolutely necessary the *French* King should give her Majesty such Explications of his Intentions in respect to the particular Interests of the Allies, as he shall think proper, to engage them to come more easily into the general Negotiation; and that he might assure himself, the Queen would make no other Use of that Trust, but to advance the Negotiation.

Mr. *St. John* adds, I assure you, if the King offer a Plan of Specifick Preliminaries, the Queen will never communicate it to her Allies; and that if *Gaultier* returned with these Marks of Confidence, our Parliament would be as much inclinable to Peace as ever it was to War. Here our Ministry, after seven Months treating with *France*, beg that they may have some Intimations at least of what *France* designed for the Allies.

The *French* King's Return is dated *Nov. 18. 1711.* Numb. 11. in the *Appendix*, accompanied with a Letter from M. *Torcy* to Mr. *St. John*, telling him, his Majesty

Majesty wholly depends upon the Secrecy and good Use you will make of the entire Confidence he testifies to the Queen; and the King of *France* extols her Firmness, and his great Pleasure in the new Marks of her Resolution.

Pag. 9. The *French* King, not satisfied with having *Spain* and the *West-Indies* for his Grandson, proposes to strip the Emperor of his Dominions in *Italy*. Nothing had at this Time been demanded by our Ministry of *France* concerning the *Netherlands*; and if the *Dutch* would not accept of this Scheme, they were to be punished with the Loss of their Trade. Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter of Nov. 25, thanks M. *Torcy* for communicating this Scheme, promises to keep it secret; that the utmost Efforts should be used in *England* to fix the Pretensions of the Allies, and that they would endeavour to finish the Treaty so soon, as not to be exposed to another Campaign.

In the general Instructions to our Plenipo's, they are ordered to insist upon it, that the reasonable Satisfaction expected by the Allies, and which the *French* King promised, cannot be obtained, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*; tho' by the sixth and seventh Articles of the special Preliminaries, *Append. N^o. 4.* Philip is owned as King of *Spain*, and is to grant us the *Affiento-Trade* for thirty Years.

Our Ministers, in their general Instructions, were ordered to concert Measures with those of the Allies, and did so at first. Upon which, M. *Torcy* complained in his Letter to Mr. *St. John*, and desired they might have precise Instructions to concert with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, as the King had ordered his to establish a strict Intimacy with the Queen's.

At the first general Conference, Lord *Strafford* declared, that the Queen had received the general Propositions as a Foundation for a Treaty, but they were binding to *France* only; to which the *French* Ministers readily assented: But the Allies were kept ignorant of the special Preliminaries agreed on between us and *France*, which on all Occasions had been publicly disowned.

Pag. 10. The 11th of *February* 1711-12. the *French* delivered a specifick Explanation of the general Preliminaries signed by *Mefnager*, Numb. 13. in the *Appendix*; wherein he makes his first Offers in the Name and by virtue of Powers from his Grandson as King of *Spain*. This was received by the Allies with the greatest Indignation, and made our Plenipo's so uneasy, that they sent for farther Instructions.

Mr. *St. John* comforts them, told them Mr. *Harley* would set out in a few Days, fully instructed in all the Queen's Views and Desires; but he was too useful to be spared, 'till the House of Commons was perfectly secured to the Queen's Interest and the Peace, which he thought they were absolutely now. Mr. *St. John* acquainted M. *Torcy* with the same, and that Mr. *Harley* was to be sent with the Queen's final Instructions to her Plenipotentiaries. He referred M. *Torcy* to M. *Gaultier* for a more large Explanation of Mr. *Harley*'s Commission, and what the Queen hoped the *French* King would do, to co-operate with her. All Matters relating to the Pretender were referred to *Gaultier*; and *Torcy* commends the Conduct of our Court in managing the Commons, and particularly their making them know that the Nation was abused by its Allies; and the *French* King assured himself, that those who managed the Queen's Affairs with so much Capacity, knew how to curb the Passion of the turbulent Party in the Upper House.

Pag. 11. The Allies drew up their respective Demands at *Utrecht*, to communicate them to each other, and agreed to insert a Clause for a just and reasonable Satisfaction to all the rest. *C. Sinzendorf* insisted, that the Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy should be expressly mentioned, which the *Dutch* agreed to. This puzzled our Plenipo's, who were the only Ministers that did not mention *Spain* and the *Indies*, but only insisted on a just and reasonable Satisfaction for the Queen's Allies.

The *French* refused to give in their Answers in Writing, and were supported in it by our Ministers; though, to cheat the Allies, they joined in the like Demand. The States refused to treat on any other Terms; which Lord *Strafford* tells Mr. *St. John*, was the last convulsive Pang of an expiring Faction; and that the *French* would give in no Answer in Writing, till they saw all things agreed betwixt their Court and ours: well knowing their Business was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Negotiation directly betwixt *London* and *Versailles*.

About the Beginning of *April*, the *French* Plenipotentiaries communicated to ours a Plan for a General Peace, with marginal Notes in a distinct Column, of what they were told would be absolutely necessary, but under the highest Obligation of Secrecy to discover nothing of it to the rest of the Allies. This they took as a great Mark of Confidence, engaged the Allies should know nothing of it, and sent it with the same Caution to Mr. *St. John*; though no doubt it was concerted here, and sent by Mr. *Harley* to *Utrecht*, and by *Gaultier* to *France*.

P. 12. Mr. *St. John* ordered the Plenipo's to tell the *Dutch*, that the Queen would allow them *Dendermond* and *Ghent*, quit her Pretensions to *Ostend*, and settle their Trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies* as at the Death of the late King of *Spain*, except the Assiento; and to tell them in plain Terms, that her Majesty will take her Measures according to their Answer.

The Summary of the whole Proceeding at *Utrecht* appears to be this: A Congress was necessary to be opened, that the Allies might in appearance have the Opportunity of treating and adjusting their several Pretensions. Our Ministers were by Instructions to act in concert with the Allies, but really acted in concert with the *French*. The Allies could not be hindered to give in their Specifick Demands, but the *French* were to gain time by unnecessary Delays, while the Negotiations were carried on directly betwixt *England* and *France*; or rather all the Terms prescribed by *France*, and all Particulars relating to the Interest of the Allies, were transacted betwixt the Ministers of *England* and *France*; under the highest Obligations of Secrecy. The *Dutch* are pressed to come into the Queen's Measures, without being acquainted what they were; and because they would not consent to they knew not what, Orders are sent to the D. of *Ormond* to engage neither in Siege or Battle: and the great Projects being ready to be executed on the other Side of the Water, the Queen declares herself, from their Conduct, to be under no Obligation whatsoever to the States-General. And thus the Alliance betwixt *Great Britain* and her principal Ally is declared to be dissolved, before any thing was finally agreed on betwixt us and *France*, or we had the least Security for our own Trade, or any other Advantages that were to accrue to us.

P. 13. We have an Account of the Debates betwixt our Court and that of *France* about the Renunciation; which first came from *England*, and was made an

Article

Article in the private Propositions sent over by Mr. *Prior*; but hitherto the Sense of *France* and *Spain* upon that Article was not so much as asked. So that it is surprizing the Ministry had gone such Lengths in promoting the Measures of *France*, without the least Precaution concerning the Monarchy of *Spain*, wherein they confessed the Interest of *Great Britain* was more immediately concerned, than in all the other Articles of the Peace together.

But though our Ministry valued this Renunciation so much, M. *Torcy* honestly told them, as appears by the Letters in the *Appendix* between him and Mr. *St. John*, from *Numb.* 15. to 22. That the said Renunciation would be null by the Fundamental Laws of *France*, according to which the most near Prince to the Crown is of Necessity the Heir thereto; that this Law is looked upon as the Work of him who hath established all Monarchies, and we are persuaded in *France* that God only can abolish it. No Renunciation therefore can destroy it; and if the King of *Spain* should renounce for the sake of Peace, and in Obedience to the King his Grandfather, they would deceive themselves that received it as a sufficient Expedient to prevent the Mischief we propose to avoid.

But notwithstanding what M. *Torcy* had so strongly urged about the Nullity of the Renunciation, Mr. *St. John* replied, that we are persuaded in *Great Britain* a Prince may depart from his Right by a voluntary Cession, and that he in favour of whom that Renunciation is made, may be justly supported in his Pretensions by the Powers that become Guarantees of the Treaty; and that the Queen commands me to tell you, that this Article is of so great Consequence, as well for herself as for the rest of *Europe*, for this present Age as for Posterity, that she will never agree to continue the Negotiations, unless this Expedient she has proposed be accepted, or some other equally solid. The rest of the Debate is in *p.* 14.

P. 15. This Correspondence between the two Secretaries for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, was carried on from about the middle of *March* to the 18th of *May*, 1712. and ended at last just as it began; K. *Philip* making the Renunciation, which the *French* Minister so truly told us was null of itself. It is also observable, that no Care was taken to render effectual the two only Expedients that were ever proposed, for adding any Degree of real Security to the Renunciation; which were, to have it solemnly accepted by the States of *France*, and to have it confirmed by a general Guaranty of all the Powers of *Europe* engaged in the present War. The first was asked indeed, but upon the Refusal of *France* entirely given up by our Ministry: the second was made impracticable by our Method of Negotiating, and our Treatment of the Allies. For a few Days after this Answer from M. *Torcy*, Mr. *St. John* ordered our Plenipo's to declare to the States-General, that the Queen was now under no farther Obligations whatsoever to them, who with the rest of the Allies were to be Guarantees of this Treaty.

Though our Plenipo's proposed to Mr. *St. John*, that K. *Philip* should renounce the Regency as well as the Crown of *France*, for himself and his Posterity, no Endeavours were used to obtain it.

The Lord Treasurer seems to have been concerned in all this Negotiation, and kept a Correspondence with M. *Torcy*; who, in a Letter to Mr. *St. John*, expresses his Concern for my Lord Treasurer's Indisposition, and said it was very

important that those, who like Mr. *St. John* and him had the principal Share in the Work of Peace, should have the Glory of finishing it.

On the *French King's* Promise, that he would oblige his Grandson to accept the Alternative of the two Kingdoms, communicated by M. *Torcy*; Mr. *St. John* the next Day sent Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* to avoid either Siege or Battle. He also acquainted M. *Torcy* with it by M. *Gaultier*; and in a Letter to Mr. *Prior*, says, the Moment that he read the Queen that Letter from M. *Torcy*, with the *French King's* said Promise, these her Orders were dispatched to the Duke, and she prevented the *French* from even making the Demand. *I will not say* (adds Mr. *St. John*) *that this Order saved their Army from being beat, but I think in my Conscience that it did.*

He acquaints M. *Torcy*, May 12, 1712, that though they had no Answer from *Madrid* about the Renunciation, it was necessary the Queen should communicate to the Parliament the Terms on which a Peace might be made. He tells what Steps the Queen was resolved to take, provided the *French King* would make them practicable for her. Here he tells him the chief Heads of the Speech the Queen made to the Parliament the sixth of *June* following.

Page 16. That she had agreed on a Suspension of Arms, to prevent any Obstruction to the Treaty by the Events of the Campaign.

Though we were daily told, that the Advantages we had obtained for Trade was the Inducement that engaged us in those Measures with *France*, and that the Queen had laid it down as a Principle, which she would not depart from, that the Interest of *Great Britain* should in the first Place be adjusted; yet no Mention was now made of our Trade with *Spain*; and the postponing of the Settlement of our general Trade by Commissaries on both Sides at *London*, was not demanded by *France*, but voluntarily offered by Mr. *St. John*.

M. *orcy* acquaints Mr. *St. John*, that King *Philip* had renounced the Succession of *France*, that the King of *France* expects the Queen will make the Declarations she had promised, and settle a Suspension of Arms; which if not immediately done, since the Allies talk of investing *Quesnoy*, we may find ourselves indispensably drawn into some great Event, which he hopes will be prevented by the Secretary's Care and Prudence. And though in the Answer to the Queen's Demands nothing material was granted for our Trade in *North America*, that the evacuating of *Dunkirk*, and admitting an *English* Garrison is not agreed to; and the receiving of a *Dutch* Garrison into *Cambray* was absolutely refused, which was proposed as a Condition of the Cessation of Arms; *Torcy* hopes, that as this Negotiation had been carried on *bona fide* and a mutual Confidence, of which they had seen the good Effects, the Queen would repose an entire Confidence in his Majesty, without insisting on Demands, which may serve only to create Jealousies.

Mr. *St. John* answers, on the 6th of *June*, that tho' the King of *France* had not answered the Queen's Demands, according to Expectation, which were the Conditions on which she was to make such decisive Declarations, yet she would not defer going that Day to Parliament, and make all the Declarations that were necessary to render the Nation unanimously inclined to the Peace: That she had not indeed mentioned to them the Suspension of Arms, but commands him to acquaint M. *Torcy* with the Resolutions she had taken about it, and insisted upon the
Renun-

Renunciation as the capital Point of the Negotiation, for which her Majesty would rather depart from almost all the Points agreed upon, than to leave that to any Uncertainty; therefore if the King consented to that, and the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, you have only to sign and send to the Duke of *Ormond*, who at the same Time will declare to the Allies, that he has Orders to act no further against *France*. At the same Time he acquaints him, that Lord *Strafford* was going back to *Utrecht*, with such Instructions, according to your Desire, as will put the Queen's Plenipo's in a Condition to keep no longer those Measures, to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit; but from henceforth they may openly join with those of *France*, and give Law to those who will not submit to just and reasonable Conditions.

Pag. 17. There is a Letter from Lord *Strafford* of *April* 30, 1712, to Mr. *St. John*, advising to a Cessation of Arms, and that the Queen should be resolute in it. He is pleased that the *French* are better posted and stronger than we, that our Armies marching to *Paris* this Summer is stopped; complains of the Temper of the *Dutch*, and is afraid that those who delight in War should make some desperate Attempt.

The Articles of Suspension were signed by Mr. *St. John* the same Day the Queen made her Speech to the Parliament.

Next Day he wrote to M. *Torcy*, expressing his Confidence in the *French* King's good Faith, presses the hastening of the Peace, and says, it will frighten the *Dutch* to be told the Queen will act no longer against *France*; and if they do not hasten to agree, it will lay a Burden on their Backs, which they are not able to bear.

The Orders from Mr. *St. John* of the 7th of *May* to the Duke of *Ormond* follow next, which being at large in his Grace's Conduct, it is needless to mention them here.

Pag. 18. It is observed, that his Instructions, signed by her Majesty, ought to have been his Grace's Rule, till countermanded by equal Authority, he having no general Direction to follow such Orders as he should receive from a Secretary of State. The Duke had assured the Pensionary, that he would carry on the War with Vigour, and act in Confidence with the Allies, especially the *Dutch*; which Assurances were received with the greatest Professions of Duty and Respect to her Majesty, and the *Dutch* had given the like Orders to their Generals.

Mr. *St. John*, on *April* 25, O. S. before it was known whether *France* had proposed the Alternative of the two Monarchies to the King of *Spain*, hinted what Part the Duke was to act; and *May* 10, ordered him not to engage in any Siege or Battle.

The 25th of *May* the Duke wrote first a private Letter to Mr. *St. John* with his own Hand, promised to obey and to keep the Secret; but in his publick Letter, takes no Notice of his Orders to avoid Action, but commends his Troops, and said, if there were Opportunity of a Battle, he should not decline it.

Pag. 19. He gives an Account of what he did to avoid being suspected by the Allies of his Correspondence with M. *Villars*, and acquainting him with the Confederate Designs; that M. *Villars* answered, he had the King's Orders, and the Queen's Consent to write to him; and whatever Glory was to be acquired a-

gainst a General of such known Valour, he never received more agreeable News, than that they were to be no longer Enemies.

It is observed, that there cannot be a better Representation of the favourable Opportunity lost to the Allies, and of the Deliverance secured to the *French*, than the Letter of the *Dutch* Deputies to the Duke of *Ormond*, *June 4*, Numb. 26. in the *Appendix*.

Pag. 20. It is observed, that though the *French* refused to comply with the Demands sent from *England*, as the Condition of the Suspension of Arms, which saved their Army, and delivered their King from the Apprehensions for the Events of the Campaign; our Ministry lowered the Terms, by accepting what could be of no Advantage to *England*, but was of the highest Importance to *France*.

That it was a very extraordinary Order, and our Ministers seemed to be in extraordinary Haste, to deliver up all into the Hands of *France*, when they ordered our General to act by the Advice of the *French* Court, and the Orders of their General, whose Duty it was, by Force or Stratagem, to gain any Advantage he could over the Allies.

Pag. 21. Gives the same Account of the Duke's Correspondence with M. *Torcy* and *Villars*, that he gives in his Conduct. It is observed, that the unexpected Resolutions of the Foreigners in the Queen's Pay, not to abandon their Allies to the Mercy of *France*, disconcerted the Measures of our Court for a short Time, and gave the Queen a sensible Displeasure; but Mr. *St. John* wrote to M. *Torcy*, that she was unalterably resolved not to yield to any Difficulties, and that unless they obeyed the Duke's Orders, she would take it as a Declaration against her, and pay them no more.

Page 22. That if *Dunbirk* were surrendered, she would immediately conclude a separate Peace with *France*, and leave the Allies a Time to submit to such Conditions, as should be agreed on betwixt her and the King of *France*.

Mr. *St. John* sent this Letter inclosed to the Duke, and said, it was not fit to be seen by any but himself and M. *Torcy*; and ordered him, as soon as he had Notice of Orders being sent for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, to declare a Suspension of Arms with *France*.

This was agreed to by the *French* King, on Condition the Queen should immediately make a separate Peace, keep no Measures with her Allies, but leave them Time to submit as above; and he consented to a General Cessation, as had been proposed by *England*, till the Treaties could be finished.

Page 23. The Duke refused to march with Prince *Eugene*, told him he would march off with the Queen's Troops; and receives a Letter from M. *Villars*, requiring an Account of the Motion and Strength of the Confederates, that he might lose no Time to fight them. The Duke complied with this next Day, told him that he had separated the Queen's Troops, with such of the Foreigners as would obey him, and had stopped the Pay of those that would not; which had brought such a Burden on the Emperor and *Holland*, as they would not be long able to support. That same Day M. *Villars* invited the Duke to encamp on the King's Territories as his Ally, and next Day the Duke proclaimed the Cessation.

Pag. 24. It is observed, that had all the Foreigners in the Queen's Pay abandoned the Allies, they must have been exposed to be cut off, or taken Prisoners at Discretion by the *French*, and the Queen's Troops might have had the Privilege of being last destroyed; but those who had more Honour and Conscience than thus to abandon the Allies, were punished with the Loss of their Pay and Subsidies, which was all our Ministry could do against them, for thus disappointing the Measures of *France*.

Lord *Strafford* put this Turn upon Prince *Eugene's* March, that it had obliged the Queen's Troops, for their own Safety, to declare a Cessation. He says, it was better that the *Hanoverians* separated from us than otherwise, for by this time he may see the wrong Advice he has followed, since all must lay the blame of the Separation upon him. And in an Account of a Conversation with the Elector of *Hanover's* General, *July 16, 1712*, his Lordship declared, the Queen had neither made Peace nor Truce, though this was near a Month after the Articles of Suspension were signed. His Lordship at the same time alledged to the said General, that the Queen's Troops were exposed by Prince *Eugene's* March; and that General answering, that if they had been attacked, they were sure of the Protection and Assistance of the *Hanover* Troops, Lord *Strafford* replied with Contempt, It would be a very odd thing when an Elector of the Empire should be a sufficient Protection to *Great Britain*. His Lordship, in his Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *Dec. 4, 1712*, endeavours to ridicule the Elector, as the greatest Hero for the War.

The Cessation of Arms being of infinite Advantage, and absolutely necessary to *France*, our Ministry gave early into it, if they were not the first Advisers of it; and as all their Measures tended to advance the Interest of the Queen's Enemies, they could not fail to be zealous for the Suspension, which contributed more to these Views, than any Occurrence during the whole Negotiation; but as they all along wanted Appearances, and consulted them more than any real Advantages to the Kingdom, they thought it necessary to annex some Conditions to this important Article, that might pass upon the deluded People as a Justification of this unprecedented Treachery.

Pag. 25. The Demolition of *Dunkirk* was always so popular, that nothing could strike the Imaginations of the People more. This they thought, well improved, would recommend the Peace, or at least justify the Cessation; and as the Nation had nothing more at Heart than the Disposition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, the Renunciation was industriously cried up, and the Queen declared from the Throne, that *France* and *Spain* were thereby more effectually divided than ever. These two Articles were made the Conditions of the Cessation. The latter *France* easily agreed to, because they knew it was void by their fundamental Laws: For the first, they came very unwillingly into it, but our Ministry resolved to purchase it at any rate, as what would most easily amuse the Nation; therefore to obtain it, they not only granted a Cessation, but a separate Peace. But if we consider what *England* gained by this Cessation, we shall find *Dunkirk* supplied by a new Canal more beautiful to *France*, and formidable to us, than *Dunkirk* ever was; and for the Renunciation, they fairly told us, that we should deceive ourselves, if we thought it would prevent the Union of the two Monarchies.

The *Dutch* having surprized Fort *Knock*, they formed the like Design on *Newport* or *Furnes*. The Duke of *Ormond* knowing this, writes to Lord *Bolingbroke*, *Octob.* 21, 1712, that the Marshal *de Villars* ought to be informed of it, in requital of some Informations which he had given the Duke; and his Grace desired, the thing might be managed with the greatest Secrecy.

The Cessation being made, M. *Torcy* calls on Mr. *St. John*, by his Letter of *July* 19, for concluding the Peace in a few Weeks, since the Conditions with *England* were agreed on, and the Intentions of the King for the Confederates known and approved by her *Britannick* Majesty. Then he proposed the adjusting of the Suspension by Sea, that no Troops, Ammunition, or Provisions shall be imported into *Catalonia*, *Portugal*, or any other Place where the War continues; and that the Suspension of Arms might also be published there, without waiting till it be settled at *Utrecht*.

Pag. 26. All this is agreed to; and Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter of *July* 12, is for the Queen's not losing a Moment. He proposes the Kingdom of *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*, whole Interest the Queen had more at heart than any of the Allies; and hopes the *French* King will act in Concert with the Queen in this Matter, to bring the Duke of *Savoy* into all our Measures.

The *French* had actually offered *Sicily* to the Emperor, says the Bishop of *Bristol*, in a Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *April* 26, 1712, and the Duke of *Savoy* did not relish the Proposal of being King of *Sicily*, but wondered that the *French* King, who had been beaten ten Years together, should carry off the Prize, which the Parliament had so often declared to be the just and unavoidable Cause of the War, says Lord *Peterborough* in his Letter to Mr. *St. John*, *Sept.* 24, 1712. And in another of *Nov.* 16, he said, Nothing could express the Duke's Uneasiness after this Offer; but to calm and fix his Royal Highness in the Measures of our Ministry, the Earl was ordered to present a Memorial, telling him, that by refusing the Offer, he must fall out with the Queen and her Ministry; and if he accepts, *England* and *France* would protect him by their Fleets against all Insults. This not only robbed the Emperor of another considerable Ally, but might have engaged us in a War with him: And thus our Ministers made us Guarantees for Conditions advantageous only to *France*, but never endeavoured a Guaranty for the Protestant Succession, tho' it had been addressed for by both Houses of Parliament.

Pag. 27. The Defeat of Lord *Albemarle* at *Denain*, *July* 24, was one of the fatal Consequences of the Cessation. M. *Torcy* sends immediately an Account, *July* 26, of this agreeable News to Mr. *St. John*, and says, the King of *France* is persuaded that the Advantage which his Troops have obtained, will give the Queen so much the more Pleasure, as it may be a new Motive to overcome the Obstinacy of the Allies; and hopes the Queen will effectually bring them to Reason, in agreeing immediately with the King, the last Measures to be taken for finishing this Work. She has the Means in her own Hands, if she will make use of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which her Troops possess, and especially of *Ghent*; for it depends upon whosoever is Master of that Place, to make all the Designs of the Enemy's General miscarry, and to give Law to the *Dutch*.

M. *Villars* did also give the Duke of *Ormond* an Account of the News, ascribes the Victory to the Separation of the brave *English*, insults the Allies as common Enemies, and desires his Grace to transmit this Account to the *French* Plenipotentiaries

rentiaries at *Utrecht*, and to make a thousand Compliments from him to Lord *Strafford*.

M. *Torcy* farther proposes, that the Queen should put a stop to Count *Staremberg's* Projects in *Catalonia*, that her Troops in *Terragona* should not let the *Germans* into that Place; and that Orders might be sent from *France*, as the shortest Way, to our Men of War in the *Mediterranean*, to suffer the *French* Ships, then returning from the *Levant*, to pass unmolested; which was complied with.

Lord *Strafford*, in a Letter to Mr. *St. John*, July 17, 1712, advised, That the Duke of *Ormond* should send a Party to march through some of the *Dutch* Towns, to see whether they would refuse them Passage; if they did, that might authorize us to do a thing very agreeable to the Queen's Troops; adding, that the Duke was very hearty in every thing, but really under Difficulties by those about him. And in one of July 21, he says, what he mentioned in the former, was the Duke's marching to *Ghent*, that he was now within two Days march of it. The *English* were entire Masters of the Citadel, and the Gates of the Town; and had Orders to be upon their Guard, not to be surpris'd by the *Dutch* Troops in the Town, or any sent from other Places. This, says he, is a *Coup de Parti* for the States, who did not expect it, else they would not have behaved themselves with the *Hauteur* as they lately did. The thing was so secretly managed, that till we had marched a Day's March on this Side the *Scarpe*, the *Dutch* and our Friends did not perceive our Design; which as soon as they did, their Surprize and Uneasiness were equally great.

The Duke of *Ormond* having given an Account of this March to Lord *Bolingbroke*, his Lordship commended his Conduct in a Letter, July 18, and said, that it answered in every Point what they would have wished; and that the News of *Dunkirk* could not have been followed by any thing more agreeable, than that of his March to *Ghent*.

Pag. 28. Lord *Bolingbroke*, in a Letter of the 22d, says, 'That taking Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, had improved her Majesty's Views, and he doubted not but it would have a good Effect upon the Conduct of the Allies.' *Bolingbroke*, in a Letter of July 17 to *Torcy*, repeats what he had demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*; said, 'It would be important to have his Concurrence both in the Suspension and Treaty between *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, which probably would be made without the other Allies: That *Savoy's* declaring for us will be a decisive Stroke, and the more necessary, because the King of *Prussia* had not answered the Queen's Expectations.' July 18, He tells M. *Torcy*, with great Satisfaction, 'That the Duke of *Ormond* has since seized *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and that the Queen, embracing every Opportunity to do the King of *France* a Pleasure, had ordered Admiral *Jennings* to suffer the *French* Ships from the *Levant* to pass freely.' Thus our Ministry gave up the Honour of the Queen, and the Interest of their Country, to the Dictates of *France*, in an open Manner. Though a Suspension of Arms in *Flanders* is the only thing yet declared, *Ghent* and *Bruges* are taken from the Allies; and though a general Cessation by Sea and Land was not signed till the 12th of *August*, N. S. Lord *Bolingbroke*, on July 18, O. S. sent positive Orders to our Admiral not to intercept the *French* Ships.

M. *Torcy*, in a Letter of *July 18*, presses the Conclusion of the separate Peace, desires the Duke of *Ormond's* Troops might continue in *Flanders*, to make a good Use of the Towns he was in: and, as the *French* King could not consent to the Duke of *Savoy's* having *Sicily*, except the Elector of *Bavaria* had the *Netherlands*, besides his Electorate, that the Army under the Duke of *Ormond* might render this very practicable; and as the Queen had done a great deal for her ungrateful Allies, it would be her Glory to do this for a Prince of the Elector's Merit.

This our Ministers could not consent to, because the Allies had yet an Army in *Flanders*, able to defend their Conquests: Lord *Bolingbroke* hopes this would not be insisted on, because it might be the Source of Quarrels betwixt *England* and *France*, whose strict Union and indissoluble Friendship had been the View of all our Measures so long: Therefore the Queen's Ministers think, when the King of *France* has made all reasonable Efforts for his Allies, he must do something for the Love of Peace, and a particular Interest should yield to the general. *You cannot*, says Lord *Bolingbroke*, *but feel the Force* of this Argument, because you know that this Negotiation was begun and carried on upon a Supposition, that the Queen must desist from many Conditions, which in Rigour she was obliged to procure for her Allies.

Pag. 29. He urged the immediate Conclusion of the Peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, and insisted upon *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*.

The *French* King agreed to this, upon an ample Proviso for Satisfaction to the Elector; and that a Peace be concluded between *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Savoy*. This issued in a Design of sending Lord *Bolingbroke* to *France*, where he says, in his Letter to M. *Torcy*, he hoped, under the Auspices of the Abbot *Gaultier*, to salute him at *Fontainebleau* in a Week's time.

The Report turns back from these great Negotiations directly betwixt *France* and *England*, to those kept up for Form at *Utrecht*. The States, alarmed at the Duke of *Ormond's* Orders to engage neither in Siege nor Battle, desired Satisfaction from the *British* Plenipo's concerning a Matter, wherein they thought Religion, Liberty, and all that was valuable concerned: and were answered by the Bishop of *Bristol*, *June 3. N. S.* according to Orders from the Queen, that she thought herself under no Obligation whatsoever to the States. This Declaration was grounded upon their Behaviour: But 'tis observable, that this Order to the Bishop is dated a very few Days after the Duke's Orders not to engage in Siege or Battle. And in the same Letter the Bishop gives an Account, that M. *Consebruck*, the Emperor's Minister, desired to know of him the Particulars wherein the Care of the Emperor's Interests did consist; but he was not able to inform him. The *Dutch* sent an Express to their Minister at *London*, with a long and most moving Letter to the Queen against this Proceeding, which is Numb. 36. in the *Appendix*; but obtained no Answer. Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter of *June 30, O. S.* thought the Plan of Peace, which the Queen was to lay before her Parliament in three Days after, and the Proceedings of the Houses upon it, would be a more seasonable and decisive Answer to the States, than any he could return. He directs the Bishop, in his Letter of *June 11*, to discourse the Confederate Ministers upon that Plan; but first with those of *France*, to know whether they were willing to give this Communication to the Allies, and in what Man-

Manner. The Bishop, in his Letter of *June 28. N. S.* says, the *French* Ministers declared they had no such Orders, and refused to declare that the Particulars in the Queen's Speech were their Master's Offers to the Allies, even after the *Dutch* had consented, *July 12*, to accept the Contents of her Majesty's Speech *pro Materia Tractandi*, if the *French* would at the same Time acknowledge them to be their Master's Offers. But instead of this, the *French* demanded of our Ministers to know the Queen's Mind upon several Parts of the general Plan brought over by *Gaultier*, Numb. 11. in the *Appendix*, which are not explained in the Queen's Speech; that their King expected it, and that he was not to be excluded from making some Demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that *Lisle* was also to be restored to him.

Pag. 30. When Mr. *St. John* communicated the Queen's Speech to the Bishop, which was *June 11. N. S.* he ordered him to tell the *Dutch* Ministers, that the Queen thought a Suspension of Arms, in the *Netherlands* at least, to be absolutely necessary; tho' that very Day the Cessation was signed by M. *Torcy*, and had been signed by *Bolingbroke* five Days before.

The Bishop, in several following Letters, gave an Account of the general Disatisfaction and inexpressible Consternation of all the Allies; that they represented our Proceedings as the unavoidable Ruin of *Europe*, Religion, Liberty, and the Faith of Treaties. He knew not what he might expect from the unmeasurable Rage of the People: The *Dutch* were uneasy to know what was to be their Lot, but he told them with the greatest Truth he knew it not. Mr. *St. John*, in his Answer of *June 20*, says, We are not surprized at the Clamours and Rage of the *Dutch*, which we foresaw, and were prepared for; that the Bishop was in no Danger, his Character being sacred in a double Manner. They kick and flounce like wild Beasts caught in a Toil, the Cords are too strong for them to break: They will soon tire with struggling, and grow tame. Lord *Strafford*, in his Letter of *July 9*, says, he is glad the Pay of the Foreigners is stopt; it will make them humble; sharp Handling does better with these People than the best Words.

June 24. Mr. *St. John* writes to the Bishop, bids him lay the Blame of all upon the *Dutch*, and tell them, that her Majesty was ready, for the common Interest, to forget what was past, and to join with them in the strictest Terms of Amity and Confidence; tho' four Days before, he had assured M. *Torcy* in the Queen's Name of a separate Peace. And tho' this was a Thing settled on both Sides betwixt him and M. *Torcy*, yet he orders our Ministers at *Utrecht*, in a Letter of *July 16*, to proceed on another foot, and to lose no Time for settling a Suspension betwixt *Britain* and *France* by Sea and Land, and then to call upon the Allies to treat on the Foot of the Queen's Speech.

Pag. 31. They are ordered to press the Allies for categorical Answers; so that if they complied, the Scandal of a separate Peace would be avoided; and if they did not, the Blame was to be charged on their Obstinacy.

We return to Lord *Bolingbroke's* Journey to *France*. His Instructions signed by the Queen *July 31*, are in the *Appendix*, Numb. 35. to settle the Suspension and Peace; to insist that the Duke of *Savoy* may have his Barrier and the Kingdom of *Sicily*; to settle the Renunciation; to make the Elector of *Bavaria* King of *Sardinia*, and to get his Dominions in the Empire restored, except the Upper
Pa-

Palatinate. When satisfied in those Points, he was to treat of the Articles relating to *Great-Britain*, to know the real Ultimatum of *France* upon the several Parts of the general Plan: And when the Peace between *England* and *France* was signed, a Time for the Allies to come in must be fixed, with Liberty to obtain better Terms for themselves. He was not restrained from concluding, if his Endeavours proved ineffectual for *Britain*; but was positively forbid to conclude, if he did not obtain the Terms demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*.

When Lord *Bolingbroke* arrived in *France*, he signed with M. *Torcy* a general Suspension of Arms for four Months, the 29th of *August*, 1712. N. S. as he says in his Letter, but dated the 19th, according to the Treaty, which is Numb. 29. in the *Appendix*.

Pag. 32. We return again to *Utrecht*. On the 30th of *August*, our Plenipotentiaries acquaint Lord *Bolingbroke*, in their Letter of *Sept.* 2. N. S. that they had told the Ministers of the Allies, that if the Terms for them fell short of the Plan in her Majesty's Speech, 'twas their own Fault, who had rendered Things difficult and uncertain; that they obtained the Consent of the Allies to confer with the Ministers of *France* about renewing the Treaty, but parted without coming to a Conclusion, because the *French* insisted on *Lisle* as an Equivalent for *Dunkirk*. They also demanded *Tournay*, and would not part with *Maubeuge* and *Conde*. Our Ministers alledged, this was contrary to the Queen's Speech, by which the *Dutch* were to have the entire Barrier as demanded in 1709, except two or three Places; and they acquainted Mr. *St. John*, that those of the *Dutch* who were most for a Peace, resolved to have *Tournay* and *Conde*; and if that were refused, they would either come to any Terms that *France* offered, or continue the War at all Hazards. Lord *Bolingbroke* in his Answer approves their laying the Blame upon the *Dutch* and the other Allies, and says, *France* would have yielded *Tournay*, tho' much against the Grain, but if she refused it now, the Fault was entirely their own.

P. 33. He adds, that he could not give them positive Instructions in this Matter, till it were considered by the Lords of the Council; but recommends to them the keeping the *Dutch* in hopes of her Majesty's good Offices, which will prevent their taking any desperate Resolution; and told them, that since the *French* insisted to have Count *Rechteren* disavowed for the Affront to *Mesnager*, before any farther Treaty, it would for some Time put off the Decision of that great Point.

Lord *Strafford*, by Letters of *Sept.* 13, and 16, says, the States are mightily sunk with their Misfortunes, and knew not well what to do; but insisted upon *Tournay* as so essential to their Barrier, that they had none without it; therefore he wishes they might have it in Exchange for *Ypres*; since if he could assure them of it, he believed they would submit to the Plan of the Queen's Speech. And in a Letter to Mr. *Prior* of *Octob.* 4, 1712, he says, If we had a Mind to have *Nick Frog* sign with us, we might, he is ready to do it for *Tournay*; which, if we sign together, we cannot well refuse him; but I expect you will cut that Matter short, and I long to hear from you.

P. 34, and 35. The Dispute concerning *Tournay* arose from the *French* Ministers being express in demanding the Restitution of it. The *British* Plenipo's conceiving this to be inconsistent with what the Queen had declared, refused to open

open the Conferences till they had further Orders. This occasioned great Warmth in the Cabinet Council, says Lord *Bolingbroke*, but instead of endeavouring to preserve this Town as part of the Barrier, which he confesses was so intended in the Queen's Speech, he proposes an Expedient how *France* may have the Town, without the Queen's being a Party in what would contradict her Plan; viz. That the *French King* should say he did consent to the said Plan, but since the *Dutch* refused it, had rejected the Suspension of Arms, it was but just he should be recompensed for the Charge of the Campaign by the Restoration of *Tournay*. In this Expedient Lord *Bolingbroke* was not single, but seconded by the Lord Treasurer; and *France* made Use of it accordingly; but however the States were so firm and resolute, that they retained *Tournay*, though they purchased it by coming into the Peace without any further Demands.

There being something relating to our Commerce and *North America* to be adjusted, Lord *Bolingbroke* advised our Plenipo's to revive the Differences betwixt Count *Rechteren* and *Mesnager*, that they might gain Time, and keep the *Dutch* in Suspence as to their Tariff.

P. 36. Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior*, Sept. 19, in *France*, to this Effect; That *Cassari's* Invasion upon our *Leeward* Islands gave a Theme to the Whigs, and served to awaken Passions, that were almost lulled asleep; that we never expected they would attack our Colonies, when we were knitting the Bands of Friendship. Had this been suspected, our Fleet should have kept him in Awe. Compare this Conduct with the Queen's, which saved their Army from being beat. We depended so much upon the good Understanding, that we avoided to fortify our Squadron, and forbore to execute Designs, which perhaps would have annoyed the *French* and *Spaniards* more than any thing that has fallen out during the War.

Sept. 29. Lord *Bolingbroke* gives a further Account to Mr. *Prior* of his Services to *France*, in Substance thus: 'I have got the Affair of the *Griffin* compounded for 35000 *l.* to the Captors, tho' she was plain Prize; and I could have proved that the Pass sent over hither was one of those I delivered at *Fontainbleau*, four Days after the *Griffin* was in Sir *Tho. Hardy's* Power, tho' Abbot *Gaultier* was ready to swear he received it some Months before.' From whence it appears, tho' this Pass was none of them, that Passes had been granted some Months before the Suspension was concluded.

The latter End of *October*, Mr. *Prior* was sent by the *French King* to *England*; and, by what appears, without leave from the Queen. He was thought fit to be intrusted with the great Secret, of prevailing with the Queen to obtain by her Credit what the *French King* demanded for the Elector of *Bavaria*; and brought a Credential Letter to the Queen, with very endearing Expressions, *Append. N^o. 38.*

He was sent back about the middle of *November*, with new Instructions to propose a Neutrality in *Italy*, &c. and a Copy of the Queen's last Instructions to her Ministers at *Utrecht* about the Peace, that he might act conformably; and carried a Letter from the Queen to the *French King*, *Append. N^o. 39.* 'Tis dated *November 14, 1712.* 'As your consummate Wisdom (says she to the *French King*) hath taken the Resolution that is most proper to fix the Terms of Peace, I will not lose a Moment to hasten the Conclusion of it. I assure you,

‘ the great Facility that you are willing to lend towards it out of a Regard to me, shall be made no other Use of, than to be employed without any delay to re-establish the public Tranquillity, according to the Wishes of us both. By the Orders that I give to my Ministers at *Utrecht*, it will appear I do all that’s in my Power in Favour of a Prince whose Interest is supported by your Generosity. The Consideration of your Friendship will be a very prevailing Motive to engage me a-new in his Interest, and in that of his Family, as Occasion shall offer for the future. I send back Mr. *Prior*, who, in continuing to conduct himself in the manner that shall be entirely agreeable to you, does no more than execute to a Tittle the Orders which I have given him; and among all the Proofs of his Duty and Zeal for my Service, I expect in a very particular manner that he should take all possible Occasions to repeat to you the Esteem and perfect Regard that I have for you, and my earnest Desire to live with you in a sincere and perpetual Friendship.’

Notwithstanding all this Kindness to *France*, and that the Treaty was ready to be concluded; yet, contrary to Agreement, as Lord *Bolingbroke* owned, they disputed with us about the Fishery of *Newfoundland*, and the Cession of *Cape Breton*. The Queen, in her Instructions to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, gave up *Cape Breton*, on Condition the *French* King would quit the Right of fishing and drying on *Newfoundland*, reserved to his Subjects by the Articles signed at *London*, 27 Sept. 1711. O. S. *Append. Numb. 4.*

P. 37. The *French* notwithstanding obtained what they demanded in *Newfoundland*, and *Cape Breton* was quitted to them; tho’ her Majesty, in her Instructions to the Duke, claimed *Cape Breton*, as Part of *Nova Scotia*, which by this Treaty was to be restored to her.

It was agreed, May 29, 1712. That *Britain* and *France* should treat one another as *Gens amicissima*. Upon this Foot, the Tariff of 1664 granted to *Holland*, except the four Species, was also to be granted to us, and it was so settled by the 8th and 10th Articles of the Project of Commerce; but *France*, pretending now that this would be too advantageous for us, refused it, ’till we should reduce our Duties as low here as theirs in *France*.

Lord *Bolingbroke* complained of this as an open Violation of Faith, and the removing of a Corner-Stone, when the *French* pleaded that our Commerce was to be treated by Commissioners after signing the Peace; but forgot that he himself had proposed it the 24th of May. Being thus caught, he offers an Expedient, that the *French* should strike out of the Project of Commerce the 9th and 10th Articles, and instead thereof, to insert one that he drew, which is *the 9th in the Treaty*. This was so advantageous to the *French*, that they readily agreed to it; but it was so justly and universally condemned here, that our *Parliament rejected it*: yet this was *the Price* for which our Ministry sold *Cape Breton* and the Fishery of *Newfoundland*.

P. 38. *France*, having reaped the Benefit of the Suspension of Arms, refused to allow us that of *Gens Amicissima*; and our Ministry being thus circumstanced, were obliged to court *France* that the Queen might be able to tell the *Parliament*, that her own Interests were absolutely determined: for they dreaded the Discovery of the contrary. Lord *Bolingbroke* instructed the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to tell the *French* Court, that, as they desired the Queen to precipitate her Peace,

Peace, and leave the Confederates to their Mercy, she must be enabled to declare her own Interests settled; then her Plenipo's should publicly declare that they are ready to sign: the rest of the Allies must be engaged to conclude, or she will sign without them.

P. 39. The Distraction our Ministry was in, appears further by Lord Bolingbroke's Letters to Mr. Prior; wherein that Lord says, *We stand indeed on the Brink of a Precipice, but the French stand there too.* Pray tell M. Torcy from me, he may get Robin and Henry hanged, but Affairs will soon run back into so much Confusion, *that he will wish us alive again.* Let France satisfy the Queen, and let her immediately declare to her Parliament, and at the Congress, that she is ready to sign. Then he enumerates the Offers he would have the French make to the several Allies, which, tho' he owns to be insufficient, if they be not instantly accepted, *our Separate Peace would, sitting the Parliament, be addressed for, made, and approved, and the Cause of France for once become popular in Britain.*

If these Overtures were accepted by the Allies, let M. Torcy sit down and consider what a Bargain would be made for France, and compare the Plans of 1709, and 1712. By that of 1709, was meant the Preliminaries agreed on at the Hague betwixt the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend, &c. and M. de Torcy, who promised to get them ratified; but the French Court did afterwards treacherously refuse it.

Lord Bolingbroke, in another Letter to Mr. Prior, says, 'M. de Torcy has a Confidence in you, make use of it once for all upon this Occasion, and convince him thoroughly that we must give a different Turn to our Parliament and People, according to their Resolution at this Crisis. We are now at the true Crisis of our Disease: *We die at once, or recover at once.* Let France depart from that shameful Expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the Advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well; otherwise by God they and we are undone. Send Barton back as soon as possible; the Queen can neither delay the Meeting of the Parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the Houses till we hear from you. My Compliments to M. Torcy, let him know that if they do not agree with the Queen, I may perhaps be a Refugee; if I am, I promise before-hand, to behave myself better in France, than the French Refugees do here. Make the French ashamed of their sneaking Chicane; by Heaven they treat like Pedlars, or, which is worse, like Attornies.'

The Lord Treasurer was in all this Secret, and principally depended upon, as appears by Mr. Prior's Letters to him; who did not think the Queen's Orders sufficient, without knowing Lord Treasurer's particular Pleasure.

P. 40. Mr. Prior was more free with Lord Treasurer than with Lord Bolingbroke about the Affair of Newfoundland, &c. Mr. Prior, as well as the French Ministers, thought some Points insisted on by our Plenipo's at Utrecht to be unreasonable: he doubted not but he had adjusted the Affair of Newfoundland to Lord Treasurer's Satisfaction, though he mitigated it a little to Lord Bolingbroke. He hoped the Queen would send such an Answer to her Plenipo's, as would cut off all Delays; but desired this might not be canvassed in Council: and says; he had promised the King such an Answer from the Queen as he desires.

Mr. Prior says to the Lord Treasurer, *your Friend M. Torcy* is in the last Concern, to find the Duke of *Sbrewsbury's* Instructions *so strict in a Point that France cannot give up*; begs Lord Treasurer's positive and distinct Orders about it. Says, the Duke of *Sbrewsbury* also desired his Orders to finish, and that if the Points of *Newfoundland*, and the Tariff of 1664, were settled, the Peace may be sent next Day, viz. Jan. 24, 1712-13. N. S. to be signed at *Utrecht*. He begs he may be able to say, he has the immediate Commands of the Lord Treasurer, which does all Business here. And in his Letter, Feb. 4. promises to follow that Lord's private Instructions. This was very extraordinary, that a Minister, having the Queen's Instructions, should desire to be released from them, by private ones from the Lord Treasurer; so that to him it seems we owe the giving up of the *Newfoundland* Fishery, and being treated as the *Gens Amicissima*, for the 9th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, which our Parliament condemned.

Pag. 41. The Business of *North America* and Commerce being thus determined, *France* pressed a separate Peace with us, and our Ministry here agreed to it, while our Plenipo's in *Holland* were in the utmost *Perplexity and Consternation*, because the *French* refused many things which the *Dutch* took to be agreed on, both by her Majesty's Speech, and Lord *Strafford's* Declaration. Our Plenipo's complained of this to Lord *Bolinbroke*, who answered them with great Joy, Feb. 28. that the *French* had complied with what the Queen had demanded, and therefore she positively commanded them to execute the *Treaties of Peace and Commerce between Britain and France*; for the Queen would on Tuesday tell the Parliament, she had made Peace with *France*. He repeated those Orders the 7th and 20th of March, O. S. that the Peace should be concluded with that *Precipitation* which her Majesty ordered.

Though the Demands of no other Prince or Potentate were at this time regarded, yet the Demand of a *Principality in the Spanish Netherlands* of 30000 Crowns per Ann. Revenue, was insisted on for the Princess *Ursini*, as a Condition, sine qua non, of the General Peace. While the Queen, says Lord *Bolinbroke*, did not look upon the Degradation of *Hanover* as a Matter of any Importance.

Pag. 42. Our Plenipo's were still averse to sign, made new Complaints of the Proceedings of the *French*, who pushed them to sign separately, when so many of the Allies were ready to join; they likewise alledged, they had not sufficient Power to do it, and were apprehensive of the Consequences of doing it alone.

Lord *Bolingbroke* ridiculed their Objection, sent them new Powers, and Lord Treasurer put the last hand to it, by a Letter to Lord *Strafford*, March 31. N. S. to this Purpose: 'I felicitate your Excellency on the Success of your Zeal, true Love to your Queen and Country, and the Repose of all *Europe*. The Danger now is, lest we be shipwrecked in Sight of the Port. The Nation is five Hundred to one for Peace, the Warriors are drove from their Outworks, their last Retrenchment is Delay; which operates so much, that the Ferment begins to work, and it will be impossible to answer for the Turn the House of Commons will take, if further provoked by Delays; they feel how many Hundred Thousand Pounds this needless Protraction costs them for the Army and Navy. Merchants lie off, and will not come into Port. The Faction encourages their Friends to hold out, and wait for some unhappy Accident, that

“may unravel all: the Members will grow ill-humoured to be kept idle so long
“in Town; all that has been unsettled for many Days, is not worth one Day’s
“Charge. *France* has acquitted herself, the only Step is now at *Utrecht*.”

Upon this our Plenipo’s signed, *April* 1—11. several of the Allies dropped in one after another; and the *Dutch*, when in vain to hold out longer, signed about Midnight: so that the Emperor and Empire were left alone, because they would not submit to such a dishonourable Peace, as *England* and *France* had carved out for them.

Pag. 43. Our Ministers, in the Negotiation still to be carried on with *Spain*, allowed them, in the 15th Article of Peace with that Nation, a Right to fish in *Newfoundland*, though contrary to our Treaty with that Crown in 1670. and to the Advice of the Board of Trade, *Jan.* 13, 1712-13. and to the Act of the 10th and 11th of King *William*. This seems to be owing to Lord Treasurer, who intrusted Mr. *Gillingham*, an *Irish* Papist, in the Management of the Trade with *Spain*, and to correspond with him about it.

Pag. 44. Our Ministers admitted also an essential Alteration in the Treaty of Commerce signed with *Spain*, by three explanatory Articles; by which our Merchants are to pay 29 *per Cent.* instead of less than 10 they paid in the Reign of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*; yet the Great Seal is affixed to these Articles.

The Queen employed Mr. *Crow* to treat with the *Catalans* to submit to King *Charles* III. on Promise that she would support them, and get the Privileges they enjoyed under the House of *Austria* restored to them. *Appendix*, Numb. 46, 47.

Pag. 45. Lord *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudesly Skovel* had the like Commission; and Mr. *Harley*, when Secretary, drew their Instructions for a Declaration, adding Threats if the *Catalans* did not accept on these Promises: *Appendix*, Numb. 49. No want of Fidelity or Zeal was ever charged on those People; but on the contrary, they had the Applauses of the Allies, and the like, with renewed Assurances from every *British* General and Minister: but when the separate Peace was made, Lord *Lexington* had very defective Instructions about the poor *Catalans*, of which, though he was also defective in the Execution, the King of *Spain* refused to comply with them.

Pag. 46. Lord *Lexington* writes to Lord *Dartmouth*, that he had finished his Negotiation about the *Catalans*, he hoped to her Majesty’s Satisfaction. Our Court shewed no Dissatisfaction either with this way of negotiating, or the Fruitlessness of it, but order another defective Memorial about it; and all the King of *Spain* would do, was to promise them Pardon upon Submission; said, they deserved little from him, and that his and the *French* Army were marching to reduce them. Count *Sinzendorf* urged also, when he was to evacuate *Catalonia*, that the People might have their Privileges, but was refused. Lord *Dartmouth* wrote about, and Lord *Lexington* presented a Memorial about it in a more pressing manner, saying, the Queen’s Honour and Conscience were concerned in it, and she would adhere to it; but the King of *Spain* positively refused it. Lord *Lexington* writes, that things were not upon the same foot in *Spain* as before the Suspension, and that the King of *Spain* told him, we know that Peace is as necessary for you as for us, and you will not break it off for a Trifle.

The first fatal Step to the Ruin of the *Catalans*, was, that Lord *Lexington*, contrary to his first Instructions, was ordered to own *Philip* as King of *Spain*, before one Article of Peace or Commerce was agreed on with them. This enabled him to refuse what he thought fit.

Pag. 47. That Point of owning King *Philip* was given up at the Desire of the *French* Court, and Mr. *Prior* and Lord *Bolingbroke* urged it should be so. Lord *Bolingbroke* charged the Refusal of it on Lord *Dartmouth's* mistaking the Queen's Meaning, and bid Mr. *Prior* represent it to the *French* Court, saying, it was absurd to do otherwise; and for God's sake, dear *Mat.* hide the Nakedness of thy Country, and give the best Turn thy fertile Brain will furnish to the Blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians than the *French* are Poets. Lord *Dartmouth* acquiesced, and sent Lord *Lexington* Orders accordingly.

Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to our Plenipo's at *Utrecht*, that it was not the Interest of England to preserve Catalan Liberties, which was the Power of the Purse and the Sword; the King of *Spain* would give them beneficial Employments, and a Trade to the West-Indies, which are infinitely of greater Value to those who intend to live in a due Submission to Authority. Lord *Lexington* treated them as Rebels, and urged it as an Argument for Peace with *Portugal*, that the *Spaniards* might use their Troops to end the Rebellion of the *Catalans*; *Appendix*, Numb. 53.

When the Evacuation of *Catalonia* was forced on the Emperor, his Ministers insisted on preserving the Liberties of the *Catalans*, *Majorcans*, and *Yvicans*; the Queen promised her good Offices for it in the most effectual manner, and the *French* King promised to join with her, in which those Ministers acquiesced. When our Treaty with *Spain* was ripe, by which the Catalan Liberties were to be abandoned, Lord *Lexington* signed it, with a Protest against that Article at the same time he signed it, as he wrote before he intended to do, that the Queen might be at liberty to reject it.

Lord *Lexington* was again ordered to present another Memorial for the Catalan Liberties in very strong Terms as before, but he had signed the Treaty beforehand, and said to the Marquis *De Bedmar*, he was sorry he must do what he knew to be against the King's Sentiments, but must obey Orders, and gave in the Memorial.

Pag. 48. The Marquis answered, that this Matter having been debated, and the Treaty signed, the King did not see that any thing further was to be done in the Matter. This Treaty was negotiated by *Bolingbroke*, and ratified by the Queen. The King of *Spain*, finding our Ministers so much in his Interest, that the Queen's Honour and Conscience must be sacrificed to his Desires, proposes that the Queen should assist him against the *Catalans*; *Appendix*, Numb. 56. Lord *Lexington* said, he believed the Queen would be unwilling to do that; yet the Night before he left *Madrid*, at the Desire of the *French* Ambassador and Princess *Ursini*, he wrote a deceitful Letter to the *Catalans*, advising them to submit: and this Letter was privately to be sent by the *Spanish* General, as if it were without his Knowledge, by one who pretended to be a Defserter. *Appendix*, Numb. 58.

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 141

Lord *Lexington's* Secretary says, This Letter was writ, that if the *Catalans* complied, the Queen might have the Mediation; and if not, the Court of *Spain* would see how ready she was to serve them: *Appendix*, Numb. 59. The *Catalans* refusing, Sir *Patrick Lawless*, in *Sept.* 1713, presented a Memorial to our Court about it, *Appendix*, Numb. 60. and desires a Squadron to force them.

Pag. 49. Sir *James Wisbart* is sent with a Fleet accordingly, as appears by his Instructions, *Appendix*, Numb. 61, and 62.

It is observed, that though the Queen promised to obtain the *Catalans* their Liberties, yet Mr. *Prior* acquainted Mr. *Torcy*, she was assured they would submit, without mentioning their antient Privileges, *Appendix*, Numb. 63. M. *Torcy* eluded the *French King's* Promise, by saying, he had little Interest with the Court of *Spain*: It is also observed, That *Britain* was engaged to support the Privileges of *Majorca*, when Sir *J. Wisbart* had Orders to attack them.

When these Designs were forming against the *Catalans*, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior* in *France*, that by their Agent the *Marquis Dalmasses*, who was not taken Notice of here as a publick Man, it appeared a reasonable Accommodation might be made with those turbulent People; he called them so, because they told the *Spanish* General, they would rather die than be Slaves; but if their Liberties were confirmed, they would open their Gates, and receive him with Gladness. *Appendix*, Numb. 64.

The Lords addressed, *April* 3, 1714, the Queen to interpose for the *Catalan* Liberties; she answered, she resolved, when she made Peace with *Spain*, to interpose, and to prevent, if possible, the Misfortunes they were exposed to, by the Conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them.

To allay the Indignation of the People against the Ministry, a Demand for the *Catalan* Privileges was put down in the Lord *Bingley's* Instructions; but he was never sent, and Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote to Sir *James Wisbart* not to appear before *Barcelona* till further Orders; and to M. *Grimaldo* he sends a kind and friendly Complaint, as he calls it, that the *Catalan* Privileges had not yet been granted.

Pag. 50. Sir *James Wisbart* complained that his Orders were ambiguous about attacking *Barcelona*, supposes the *Catalans* may refuse advantageous Conditions, if they find he is not to act by Force; therefore he desires his Orders may be clear, and promises punctual Obedience. When Sir *James* arrived at *Cadiz*, a Lift of his Ships were sent to *Madrid*; but the *Spanish* Court hoping to bring the *Catalans* to their Terms, by Mr. *Orry* a *Frenchman*, took no Notice of Sir *James*, because they would rather owe the Submission of the *Catalans* to *France*. *Orry* having no Success, the *Spanish* Court were a little more civil to Sir *James*, and exempted his Fleet from paying any Duty for Provisions. He pleaded that the Duties so exempted might be allowed to himself, but finding it did not amount to much, he forbore demanding it, and hoped Lord *Bingley* would procure him some Marks of Favour from the Court of *Spain*, since this Expedition was so much intended for their Service, and that his Pay from Home did not bear half his Charges. The *Catalans* refusing to submit, without being granted their Privileges, the *French King*, contrary to his Promise, sent the Duke of *Berwick* with his Troops against them; and Sir *James* sent Capt. *Gordon*, and two Men of War, with threatening Letters, in the Queen's Name, on Pretence that the *Catalans*

talans disturbed the Commerce of her Subjects, took and plundered their Ships, and used the Men barbarously, for which he demanded Satisfaction on Pain of what might follow.

Pag. 51. The Deputies answered, that only one of the Ships mentioned, laden with Salt, was brought into *Barcelona*, which, being besieged, they might do by the Law of Nations; that they gave the Captain the full Price, had paid other *English* Ships that came into their Port with Provisions, more than they could have got any where else, and had forbid the molesting of any *English* Ship on Pain of Death, even though carrying Provisions to the Enemy; adding, that they had the utmost Deference for the Queen, desired to live in good Correspondence with his Noble and Generous Nation, and would obey his Excellency's Orders with all Affection and Respect. *Append. Numb. 68.*

The Government of *Barcelona* wrote also to him, that he knew they received *Charles III.* on Promise of Protection from the Allies, and particularly from *England*; that for seven Years together they had served the *English* as much as possible, by furnishing Troops and considerable Sums without Interest; that though they had pleased themselves with Thoughts of being always subject to *King Charles III.* yet by the ordinary Vicissitude of human Affairs, the *French* and the Duke of *Anjou's* Troops were Masters of all the Principality except *Barcelona* and *Cardona*; where they committed the most execrable Hostilities, without sparing Age or Sex: That *Barcelona* had been blocked up for a Year, that 14000 Bombs had ruined most of their Houses; that in twenty-four Hours they expected to be battered in Breach, and could not express their Affliction to see the Inhabitants in Danger of becoming Victims to the Enemy's Cruelty. Therefore they fly to the Queen of *Great-Britain's* Protection, by the inclosed Letter to their Envoy at *London*; and, in the mean Time, beseech his Excellency from their Souls to mediate for a Suspension of Arms, since the Congress at *Baden* for a general Peace may still determine this Affair. They doubt not his Mediation would procure them Relief, since his Squadron is superior to that of the Enemy: which they hope his Excellency will not refuse them. If *Catalonia* has merited any thing by its Services and Conjunction with the *English* Nation, this was the Time to receive the Fruits of it: That it is worthy of his Excellency to comfort the Afflicted, and not to deny them this Favour in their great Necessity.

How Sir *James* was affected with this moving Letter, appears by his sending, without the Queen's Orders, a Part of his Ships, at the *Spanish* Secretary's Desire, to protect the *Spanish* Flota then coming home, because the *Spanish* Men of War were employed before *Barcelona*. *Append. Numb. 70.*

The *Catalans* thus abandoned contrary to Faith and Honour, appealed to Heaven, hung up at the High Altar the Queen's solemn Declaration to protect them, underwent the utmost Miseries of a Siege, where Multitudes perished by Famine and Sword; and how many have since been executed, and how many Persons of Figure are still kept in Dungeons, is too well known.

Thus was our Nation abused with repeated Assurances by our Ministry, that every Thing was doing for the Preservation of that unfortunate People, while at the same Time they were betraying them.

P. 52. It is observed that Abbot *Gaultier* is frequently mentioned, who without a Character was in *England* during most Part of the Negotiation, and often sent

sent backward and forward. He had not only a Share of the public Business, but of what required more than ordinary Privacy, and was transacted verbally; so that the *French* and *English* Ministers mutually refer to him. As nothing was more dangerous, and required greater Secrecy than the Pretender's Affairs, all this passed through his Hands, and was conveyed by *French* Couriers, who were continually going and coming.

Mr. *St. John*, in a Letter to M. *Torcy*, March 4, 1711-12, refers that Abbot to explain the Subject of Mr. *Harley's* Commission beyond Sea; and what the Queen hopes the *French* King would do, to co-operate with her.

Several Letters and Papers are wanting, which, by Circumstances of Time and Matters, appear to be of Moment and Consequence, and it is not to be expected that those who have been so careful to suppress Matters of less Importance, would leave any Thing behind them that was openly and directly for the Pretender; yet there are several Things which are a plain Indication of the Tenderness and Regard there was had to his Person and Cause: as follows.

There is a Paper found in Lord *Bolingbroke's* Closet, dated at *Versailles*, Sept. 24, 1711, endorsed as other Office-Papers usually are, signifying that the Pope's Nuncio, in an Audience from the *French* King, made this Declaration; 'That the Court of *Rome* being fully informed that *France* was endeavouring a Peace on the most advantageous Terms possible, and being persuaded that if Peace were made, *England* would not suffer the *French* King to keep the Prince of Wales in his Realms, the Court of *Rome* offered him an *Asylum* at *Rome*, or any other Part of the Ecclesiastical Dominions. To which the *French* King answered, That an *Asylum* for the Prince of Wales would be no Obstacle to the Peace; for in this Case an Article for the Prince of Wales would be inserted in the Treaty.'

June 7, 1712. The Bishop of *Bristol* writes to Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'That M. *Consbruck*, one of the Emperor's Plenipo's, told him, he took it for granted, that one great End of all this Management on our Part, was to bring in the Pretender: and the Apprehension of this, one of the *Dutch* Ministers owned in private Discourse, to have been the fundamental Reason of all their Conduct of late.'

All the Nation expected the Removal of the Pretender out of the Dominions of *France*, and the Queen declared this was taken care of, as an additional Security to the Protestant Succession; yet he was permitted to reside in *Lorain*, to the great Surprise of the Nation; upon which the Parliament addressed the Queen, that she would insist upon his Removal from *Lorain*, his Residence there being equally, or more dangerous to *Great-Britain*, than his Abode in *France*. Her Majesty's Answer, that she would repeat her Instances, occasioned in the House a becoming Resentment, that the Duke of *Lorain* should presume to entertain him, in Defiance to her Majesty's Application.

Yet it appears, that the Manner of the Pretender's Removal from *France*, and his settling in *Lorain*, was not only with the Approbation, but by the Direction and Appointment of the *English* Ministry: For Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to M. *Torcy*, May 24, 1712. O. S. says, He hopes, that with the general Repose, we shall see revived, in a few Weeks, a good Understanding betwixt the two Nations, which may become to each other the most useful Friends, for the same Reasons.

Reasons they have been *the most formidable Enemies*. The Queen commands me to tell you, that she hopes, when you send an Answer, we shall have an Account that the Chevalier had begun his Journey.

P. 53. M. Torcy replies, June 10. 'You may assure the Queen, the Chevalier is ready to depart at a Moment's Warning, did he but know where he was to go, and might be in Safety. I know no Prince who is willing to receive him, for Fear of displeasing the Queen, or other Powers. It will be absolutely necessary, that there should be some Explanation upon this Subject, which I desire you to make me by Abbot Gaultier, if you don't judge proper to do it yourself.'

June 7, 1712. Mr. St. John, in a private Letter to M. Torcy, says, 'The Abbot Gaultier will write to you about the Chevalier.' But in the Copy of the same Letter to Lord Strafford, there is no mention of the Chevalier.

June 22, 1712. M. Torcy writes two Letters to Lord Bolingbroke; in the publick Letter, there is nothing of the Pretender; but the private Letter concludes thus: 'I have the Honour to send you a Letter under the King's Hand for her Britannick Majesty, and I refer you to what Abbot Gaultier shall say about the Departure of the Chevalier.'

August 21. Lord Bolingbroke being then in France, to finish what of Consequence was undetermined, writes to Lord Dartmouth, 'That the Chevalier has fixed his Departure for the first of the next Month, N. S. he is to retire to Bar, and the Duke of Lorain is to ask of the Emperor, and other Princes, Security for his Person, while there.'

Yet it appears, that the Chevalier was still in France, December 28, 1712. N. S. for Mr. Prior writes then to Lord Bolingbroke thus; 'Another Point, on which the French Court is very solicitous, is, that the Chevalier's being in France, obstructs the Peace, yet he cannot go to Lorain, till the Emperor's Passports secure him there. Your Lordship, by the Perusal of the Papers, will see the State of that Case. The Court of France say, it is impossible on their Side, to do more than they have done; and hope we shall have Interest enough with the Emperor, to obtain such Passports as may secure the Chevalier, and the Duke of Lorain who is to receive him.'

Mr. Prior, on the 29th, writes to my Lord Treasurer on this Head, and says, 'The Monarch is much troubled, lest the young Man should fall into the Hands of Hussars or Barbarians; and M. D'Aumont, I presume, has Orders to speak to our Ministry upon it.' As to the Dowry, adds he, 'I shall not only be dunned to Death, but banged; for the Dowager sends Messengers to me, which you in England do not think extremely lawful to receive; but if it is to be paid, pray let it be done in an handsome Manner, that may shew the Charity of the Queen, and the Generosity of her Lord Treasurer.'

The Papers referred to in Mr. Prior's Letter, shew what the Duke of Lorain had done, at the Desire of the French King, to obtain Safe-guards from the Allies for the Chevalier: He says, 'The Queen already granted her Protection to him, and he believed, they had no more to do, but to apply to the Emperor and the States-General.'

Thus it is evident, Gaultier was to manage the Pretender's Affairs verbally with our Ministry, who did not think fit to commit it to writing, and that the Place where he might reside in Safety was to be prescribed by England; that this was

was not to be fixed till Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France*; and his Lordship writes from thence, that the Chevalier was to go to *Bar*; and this is agreed to by our Court.

P. 54. Nov. 6, 1713. Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to *Prior*, 'The Queen having repeated to the Duke of *Lorain* the Instances so often made to the *French King* to remove the Pretender out of his Dominions; I am directed to acquaint you with it, that you may speak to the Minister of *Lorain* and others, and let them know, that it is inconsistent with the Amity betwixt the Queen and their Masters, to receive, or protect in their Dominions, a Person who disputes her Majesty's Title: And that you may see this is the collective Sense of the whole Nation, as well as the Queen's Command, I send you the Addresses of both Houses.'

This was but a bare Compliance with the Addresses; for in four Days after, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior* by the Baron *de Forstner*, who he says had been twice at our Court, as Envoy from the Duke of *Lorain*, was extremely well with Mr. *Prior*'s Friends on this Side, and doubted not he would be a welcome Acquaintance to him. Lord *Bolingbroke* recommends the Interest of the Duke of *Lorain* to Mr. *Prior*'s Care, about the *Montferrat*, &c. since Mr. *Prior* was enough apprized of the Duke's Expectations, and of her Majesty's earnest Desire, by any Means she can, to contribute to the Advantage of a Prince who deserves much better Usage than he has on many Occasions met with.

It is observed, that the first Letter by Lord *Bolingbroke* for removing the Pretender from *Lorain*, was the 6th of *November*, and that the Parliament addressed for it in *July* 1713, which was four Months; and that there was little Effect to be expected from such Representations, which were known to be contrary to the Sense of our Court.

M. *Torcy* delivered a Memorial to Lord *Bolingbroke* at *Paris*, in *August* 1712, about *Dunkirk*; wherein he says, 'It may perhaps come to pass, for Reasons easy to be foreseen, that *England* shall repent having demanded the Demolition of a Place, and the Destruction of an Harbour, which might be of great Use in Conjunctures; which perhaps are not very remote.'

The Sense of this may be guessed at, if we observe, that immediately upon the Death of the late Queen, the Pretender published a Declaration, pag. 55, which the Duke of *Lorain* acknowledged in his Letter of *December* 6, 1714, he received from the Pretender himself, wherein is this remarkable Passage; 'Yet, contrary to our Expectations, upon the Death of the Princess our Sister (of whose good Intentions towards us, we could not for some Time past well doubt; and this was the Reason we then sat still, expecting the good Effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable Death) we found that our People, instead of taking this favourable Opportunity, had immediately proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, to our Prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable Law of Hereditary Right, which their pretended Acts of Settlement can never abrogate.'

Next comes the Earl of *Oxford*'s Letter, writ by his own Hand to the Queen, *June* 9, 1714, with a brief Account of Publick Affairs from *August* 8, 1710, to *June* 8, 1714. He says, this Account was given by the Queen's Command; and begins with his own Advancement to be Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, *Aug.* 8, 1710. He alledges, 'There was then no Money in the Treasury, the Bank

‘ refused to lend Lord *Godolphin* 100000 *l.* on very good Security; that there was
 ‘ eleven Millions owing to the Navy, and other Branches of Service; the Civil
 ‘ List was in Debt about 600000 *l.* and the yearly Income too little for the Ex-
 ‘ pence 124495 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.* at least.’

Pag. 56. ‘ That in a few Days the greatest Remittance was made to the Army
 ‘ that had ever been known, notwithstanding the Opposition of those in Office,
 ‘ that were Enemies to the Change of the Ministry; so that nothing but great
 ‘ Patience could have overcome those Difficulties.’

‘ As soon as possible (and notwithstanding the Clamours then raised, it was
 ‘ the only proper Time) a new Parliament is called, which met first, *Nov.* 27,
 ‘ 1710. And he had prepared the Funds before the Parliament met (as he did
 ‘ always after) not only for the Service of the Year, but to ease the Nation of
 ‘ above nine Millions of Debt. This gave great Reputation abroad, and enabled
 ‘ to treat advantageously of a Peace, but drew Rage and Envy upon him; and
 ‘ some of his Fellow-Servants told him, if he would not get Money himself, he
 ‘ ought to have let his Friends share 100000 *l.* which would not have been found
 ‘ out in nine or ten Millions.’

‘ To this Principle was owing the unhappy Expedition to *Canada*, which he
 ‘ opposed, but too late. *February* 1710-11, there began a Division among the
 ‘ Tories in the House, and Mr. Secretary *St. John* listed a separate Party for
 ‘ himself: But in a Meeting at Mr. *St. John*’s, with the Duke of *Shrewsbury*,
 ‘ Earl *Powlett*, and *Robert Harley*, Lord *Rocheſter* took Pains to calm the Spirit
 ‘ of Division and Ambition.’

‘ *Robert Harley* had then a violent Fever, and at his first coming abroad *May*
 ‘ 8, met with a Misfortune which confined him many Weeks; during which, the
 ‘ Transactions are too publick and black for *Robert Harley* to mention.’

‘ The close of *May* 1711, the Queen was pleased to confer undeserved Ho-
 ‘ nours on *Harley*, and the 29th put the Treasurer’s Staff into his Hands. The
 ‘ 4th of *June*, after he was sworn Treasurer, 28036 *l.* 5 *s.* was demanded of him
 ‘ for Arms and Goods to be sent to *Canada*: He scrupled it; but Mr. *St. John*
 ‘ and *Moor* came to him in a Passion about it; and in a Fortnight after Mr. *St.*
 ‘ *John* signified the Queen’s positive Pleasure to have that Money paid: And pro-
 ‘ ducing a Warrant signed by her Majesty, it was paid. *Robert Harley* disco-
 ‘ vered the Secret after the Return from that Expedition, viz. that the Publick
 ‘ was cheated above 20000 *l.* This was never to be forgiven the Treasurer; and
 ‘ Lord Chancellor told him, they said, No Government was worth serving, that
 ‘ would not let them make those Advantages, and get such Jobbs. The Treas-
 ‘ urer was forced to use all his Skill to keep the House of Commons from exa-
 ‘ mining this Affair.’

Page 57. *June* 12, 1712, ‘ The first Session of last Parliament ended. From
 ‘ this Time to the Beginning of next Session, the Treasurer was taken up in ne-
 ‘ gotiating the Peace in all Courts abroad, and calming Quarrels Mr. *St. John*
 ‘ had against Lord *Dartmouth*, Lady *Massham*, and the Treasurer himself.’

‘ The second Session of last Parliament began *December* 7, 1711, attended with
 ‘ great Difficulties and Dangers, by the Practices of the Discontented here, and the
 ‘ Designs carried on by Mr. *Buys*, Prince *Eugene* and *Bothmar*; in which concurred
 ‘ the Emperor, and other Princes and States who gained by the War.’

N. B. This was the Time when the Baron *de Bothmar* delivered his Memorial.

‘ This

‘ This, says Lord Treasurer, put her Majesty under a Necessity to preserve the whole, and to take a Method which had been used before, to *create some new Peers*. So many having been taken out of the House of Commons, who used to manage Publick Affairs, Mr. *St. John* was desired to stay in the House that Session, and the Queen would create him a Peer, and take care he should not lose his Rank.

‘ The second Session ended *June 21, 1712.* and notwithstanding *Bothmar’s* Memorial, and all other Attacks from abroad and at home, every Thing was put upon a good Foot, and the Malecontents began to despair, as appeared by the Duke of *Marlborough’s* retiring abroad, and other Particulars.

‘ The Session ended, the Queen made Mr. *St. John* a Viscount, as she had promised; which put him in the utmost Rage against the Treasurer and Lady *Masham*, without sparing the Greatest, though he was told how much he had got Place; for had he been created with the other Lords, he must have come after Lord *Trevor*. The Treasurer bore all the Storm with great Patience; Lady *Masham* was often Witness of *Bolingbroke’s* outrageous Speeches; and *Moor* told the Treasurer, that Lord *Bolingbroke* owed him a Revenge on that Head. Lord *Bolingbroke* was sent to *France*, though there was not much Occasion for it, to put him in good Humour; which it did till *Octob. 1712.* that new Knights of the Garter were made: This created a new Disturbance, and *Bolingbroke* uttered outrageous Expressions against all then made. He was much against Duke *Shrewsbury’s* going to *France*, for Reasons very plain, which were then in Negotiation.

‘ The third and last Session began *April 9, 1713.* which was as soon as the Peace was concluded, and could be proclaimed.

‘ During this whole Negotiation, the Treasurer was obliged by his own Hand and Charge, to correspond in all the Courts concerned, and often had the good Luck to set right several Mistakes, and to obtain some Things very little expected; but the only Merit of this belongs to her Majesty, the Credit of whose Favour brought it about, and gave Power to the Treasurer to act with Success.

‘ During this Session, the Lords of the Cabinet, and others, met every Saturday at the Treasurer’s to carry on the Queen’s Business, at they did the Year before on *Thursdays*. Many Offers were made, and repeated by the Treasurer in order to attack former Offenders, and quiet the Minds of the Church-party; and the only Reason for this failing was, because of the Project laid for their New Scheme, and putting themselves at the Head, as they called it, of the Church-party.

P. 58. ‘ This being the last Session of Parliament, and some Gentlemen fearing their Elections, and some for other Reasons, dropped the Bill of Commerce. The Treasurer improved this Opportunity to bring Sir *Tho. Hammer* and others into the Payment of the Civil-List Debts, incurred before the Change of the Treasury; though the present Treasurer was railed at, he chose to bear it patiently, rather than own the true Reason, that there was no Money to do it with, which would have ruined all at once. This Step of paying the Debts put the Malecontents into the utmost Rage, which they expressed in both Houses.

‘ The Peace with *France* being over, and it being necessary to put her Majesty’s Affairs into a more settled Regulation, and to ease the Treasurer of the Burden and Envy of such a Bulk of Business, her Majesty approved the Scheme of the Duke of *Ormond*’s staying here to attend the Army-Affairs at the Time of disbanding; that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* should go to *Ireland*, Lord *Findlater* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*, Lord *Mar* third Secretary, Lord *Dartmouth* Privy-Seal, Mr. *Bromley* Secretary of State, and Sir *William Wyndham* Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Queen remembers the Rage this caused, as perfectly defeating their Scheme. Lord Chancellor said it was against Law, did not treat Lord *Findlater* with Decency; and Lord *Mar* and Mr. Secretary *Bromley* met with much ill Treatment.

‘ But the Treasurer, to leave them without Excuse, and to make her Majesty’s Affairs and Servants easy, wrote a long Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, *July 25, 1713*, with a Scheme of the Queen’s Affairs, and what was necessary for him to do, as belonging only to his Province. Lady *Masham* came to visit Lord Treasurer when sick, saw this Letter, and thought it a very good one. I believe the whole, says Lord Treasurer, would be of Use to let her Majesty see into the Foundation of the Follies and Madness which have since appeared.

‘ The Treasurer put Lord *Bolingbroke* in mind of the Particulars which then required Dispatch, and solely belonged to his Province; among others, that of a Circular Letter upon the Addresses of both Houses relating to the Pretender. This was not done in three Months: His Lordship wrote Word it was done *July 27*. In the same Letter the Treasurer proposed that Care should be taken of *Newfoundland*, *Hudson’s Bay*, *Acadia*, *St. Christophers*, *Ashento*, and other Things contained in the Treaties of Commerce. These Particulars the Treasurer thought had been executed, until within a few Weeks he heard the contrary by Accident, and that the Time in the several Treaties was elapsed. On *June 2*, he told Mr. *Moor* of this, and that every Body in the Queen’s Service would be liable to Blame. Next Day Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to the Treasurer a Letter, which begins thus:

“ Mr. *Moor* has been with me this Morning, and put into my Hands a Paper, which he calls, I think not improperly, a Charge upon me.”

P. 59. ‘ This Paper contains the Neglect above-mentioned in the Treasurer’s Letter of *July 25, 1713*. eleven Months before; and yet these Faults are now charged upon the Treasurer.’

So ends the Lord Treasurer’s long Letter to the Queen.

The Committee observe next, that large Sums had been directed for special Services relating to the War by Signs Manual, and Warrants upon the same countersigned by Lord Treasurer; which were afterwards paid to his Lordship’s Order, and applied to his Lordship’s private Use, as appears by *page 91, &c.* of the *Appendix*.

The Committee observing several Transactions, Orders, and Directions given by the Ministry in the Queen’s Name, contrary to her Majesty’s Sentiments, expressed in several Messages to Parliament and Speeches from the Throne, concerning the Terms of Peace, which she communicated to both Houses; compared her Majesty’s Declarations with the Measures her Ministry presumed to take

take in carrying on these important Negotiations; the Substance of which is as follows.

The Queen first mentioned the Peace to the Parliament *December 7, 1711.* when nothing had been concluded betwixt us and *France*, but the Special Preliminaries signed by Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* for *England*, and M. *Mesnager* for *France*, *September 27, 1711. Append. Numb. 4.* and the General Preliminaries signed by *Mesnager* only, sent over by the Earl of *Strafford* as the Foundation of a General Peace; *Append. Numb. 7.* After these were signed, Mr. *St. John* pressed M. *Orcy*, that the Queen might have some Explication of the French King's Intentions in respect to the particular Interest of the Allies: and says, If *Gaultier* returns with these Marks of Confidence, you will see our Parliament as much inclined to Peace, as ever it was to War.

The French King's Explications are in the Answer *Gaultier* brought to the Memorial, *Nov. 1711. Append. Numb. 11.* Upon which, her Majesty told the Parliament, *Dec. 11, 1711.* 'That notwithstanding the Arts of those who delight in War, Place and Time are appointed for opening the Treaty of a General Peace. Our Allies, especially the States-General, whose Interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have by their ready Concurrence expressed their Confidence in me.'

Though the Queen was thus imposed upon, to think the States had readily concurred with her, the States remonstrated in the strongest Manner against the Propositions signed by *Mesnager*, as too general and uncertain, and dreaded the fatal Issue of opening the general Conferences before they knew what they were to have for their own Barrier and Commerce. This they told Lord *Strafford* in *Holland*, and sent M. *Buys* over to enforce their Representations in *England*.

P. 60. Instead of acquainting the Queen with this, or acting according to her Sentiments, Mr. *St. John* in a Letter, *Octob. 9.* to Lord *Strafford*, says, 'It is certain her Majesty is so far determined in her Measures, that those will deceive themselves, who imagine by Delays to break them.' And, *Octob. 29.* 'The Queen remains firm in her first Resolution of causing the Conferences to be opened on the Articles signed by *Mesnager*.' And, *Nov. 2.* 'That she will not finally concert a Plan with the States for prosecuting the War, till they agree with her to open the Conferences of Peace.' And, *Nov. 15.* Lord *Strafford* says, He had told them, by her Majesty's Order, that she would look upon any Delay as a Refusal to comply with her.' Thus the States were compelled by our Ministers Threats to consent to open the Conferences, though her Majesty was made to believe that they concurred readily.

The Queen declared her Interest to be inseparable from that of the States; but Mr. *St. John* writes to Lord *Strafford*, *May 29.* that *Britain* had gone so much too far in weaving her Interest into that of the Continent, that it would prove no easy Task to disentangle them, without tearing and rending.

The Queen said, 'The Princes and States engaged with us in War, being by Treaties to have their several Interests secured at a Peace, I will do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable Satisfaction, and unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the General Peace secure and lasting.'

But her Ministry, in the private Propositions as sent over by Mr. Prior, July 1, 1711. *Append. Numb. 2.* inserted an Article, *That the Secret should be inviolably kept, till divulged by the Consent of both Parties.*

And tho' France, in the first Propositions sent over by M. Torcy, April 22, 1711. *Appendix N^o. 1.* offered to treat with *England and Holland* either *separately*, or *jointly with the rest of the Allies*, our Ministers excluded the Allies, and insisted that it was absolutely necessary to remit the Discussion of the *particular Interests of the Allies to general Conferences.* And when Mr. St. John pressed M. Torcy to explain what the *French King* designed for the Allies, he assures him, if the King would offer Specific Preliminaries, *the Queen would never communicate it to her Allies.*

The Queen in her Message, Jan. 17, to the Parliament, declares her Plenipo's had begun, in Pursuance of their Instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a *just Satisfaction to her Allies, according to the Treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the Indies.* And in answer to the Address of the Lords, December 11, 1711, said, I should be sorry any one could think I would not *do my utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the House of Bourbon.*

But that her Ministers had no such Thoughts, is plain from every Part of the Negotiation; for in the first Propositions sent over by Mr. Prior, Demands are made of the King of *France*, to be performed by the King of *Spain*, which the *French King* was to engage for, and Mr. Prior had Orders to see if the *French Court* had full Powers from *Spain.* In the special Preliminaries signed by our Ministers, and M. Mesnager, it is said expressly, the *French King* promises, in the Name of the King of *Spain*, and according to the Powers which he had from him, that *Portmahone and Gibraltar* shall belong to us, and that we shall have the Assiento for thirty Years; *Appendix Numb. 4. Art. 4, 5, 6, 7.*

P. 61. These Steps had been taken by our Ministers, before the Queen made the above-mentioned Declarations; therefore it is concluded, that her Majesty knew nothing of them. Altho' our Plenipo's were obliged by their Instructions, *Appendix, Numb. 12.* to insist, that *Spain and the West-Indies* should not be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, yet on February 11, 1711½, when the Plenipotentiaries of *France* gave in their specific Explanation of the General Preliminaries, signed by Mesnager, the *French King* made his first Offers, in the Name and by Vertue of Powers from his Grandson, as King of *Spain.* March 4, 1711½, when the Confederate Ministers communicated their respective Demands, Count Sinzendorf insisted, that the Restitution of the whole *Spanish Monarchy* should be expressly mentioned. It appears by a Letter from the *English Ministers* of the 6th, that they were the only Ministers, that did not make any Mention at all of *Spain*; and all that ever they did for obtaining this great Point, was to demand Assurances, that the Crowns of *France and Spain* should never be united; neither the Method of preventing this, nor the Sense of *France and Spain* upon it, was ever asked until the End of March 1712.

Her Majesty added in her Message, 'The World will now see how groundless those Reports are, which have been spread by Men of evil Intentions, to serve

“serve the worst Designs, as if a separate Peace had been treated, for which there has not been the least Colour given.”

Her Majesty was advised to say this by her Ministers, to clear them from the just Suspicions which the World had conceived of the separate Measures they were engaged in; tho’ that they had given most just Cause for these Reports, is evident from what has been said. The Ministry had insisted, that the Secret should be inviolably kept betwixt *England* and *France*, exclusive of the Allies; a separate Negotiation had been carried on betwixt them by Papers backward and forward, and much Time spent in it, as is said in Lord *Strafford*’s Instructions; *Appendix* Numb. 12. Mr. *Prior* had been in *France*, and *Mesnager* in *England*, and no Communication given for five Months together to any of the Allies of these Transactions, which were depending from *April* 1711, to *September* following. When these General Preliminaries were signed, which were sent over as a Foundation for the General Conferences, a Set of special Preliminaries were signed betwixt *England* and *France*, which were concealed, publicly disowned, and never appeared ’till this Inquiry; and all these Transactions had passed before the Time that the Queen’s Ministers advised her to impose so grossly upon the Nation, as to declare in Parliament, there had not been the least Colour given for these Surmises. Her Majesty here declares, that the Report of a separate Peace’s being treated, proceeded from evil Intentions, and to serve the worst Designs; yet after this Declaration, her Ministers proposed to *France*, agreed with *France*, and sent repeated Orders to her Plenipotentiaries to conclude a Peace with *France*.

P. 62. The 20th of *June*, 1712. Mr. *St. John* acquaints M. *Torcy*, that the Queen will make no Difficulty to conclude immediately a separate Peace, and leave the Allies a Time to submit to such Conditions, as shall be agreed on betwixt her and the King. M. *Torcy* answers, *July* 5, 1712, that upon Condition she immediately makes a separate Peace, and keeps no Measures with her Allies, the King has determined to send Orders to permit the *English* Troops to enter *Dunkirk*. *July* 12, Mr. *St. John* thinks the Queen in a Condition not to lose a Moment in concluding a General Suspension of Arms by Sea and Land, and a Treaty of Peace betwixt her and *France*. *August* 4, 1712, M. *Torcy* writes, that the King consented the Duke of *Savoy* should have *Sicily*, upon certain Conditions, whereof this was one, that a Peace be concluded betwixt *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Savoy*; and when the Treaty drew to a Conclusion, and most of the Allies were ready to sign, positive Orders are sent to our Plenipo’s, *Feb.* 20, 1713, and repeated by Lord *Bolingbroke* the 28th, to conclude and sign with *France*. He adds, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* had declared, that they had Orders, in case the *French* complied, as they have now done, to sign a Peace without further Delay: That his Grace had also declared, that in this Case her Majesty would open the Parliament, by telling them she had made Peace with *France*. These two Considerations, says his Lordship, were perhaps the most prevalent Inducements to the *French* Court to come roundly into her Majesty’s Propositions.

Lord *Bolingbroke*, in a Letter to Mr. *Prior*, says, If such Overtures as these were not instantly accepted, our separate Peace would, sitting this Parliament,

be address'd for, made, approved, and the Cause of *France* for once become popular in *Great-Britain*.

The 6th of *June*, the Queen says to the Parliament, *I am now come to let you know upon what Terms a General Peace may be made.* That same Day Lord *Bolingbroke* acquaints M. *Torcy*, that tho' the *French* King had not answer'd the Queen's Demands, according to Expectation, the Queen would go that Day to Parliament, and make all the Declarations necessary to render the Nation unanimously inclined to the Peace.

The Queen said, *That Difficulties had been increased by other Obstructions artfully contrived to hinder this Great and Good Work*; whereas it is notorious, that the Ministers had but the Day before received the Account of King *Philip's* consenting to the Renunciation, upon which only, the Queen's speaking to the Parliament had been deferred.

The Queen said, *I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to our Allies, what is due to them by Treaties, and necessary for their Security.* Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Torcy* the same Day, that Lord *Stafford* was returning to *Utrecht* with Instructions, which would put our Plenipo's in a Condition to keep no longer those Measures to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit; but from henceforth they may openly join with those of *France*, and give Law to them who will not submit to just and reasonable Conditions.

The Queen says, *Nothing has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first Place, the true Interest of my own Kingdoms*; yet Lord *Bolingbroke*, on May 24, propos'd to Mr. *Torcy*, that the Queen being much more intent on the General Peace, than any particular Advantages, Commissaries should be appointed to settle, after the Peace, such Points relating to Trade, as required a longer Discussion than the present Crisis will admit.

P. 63. The Queen says, *That to prevent the Union of the two Crowns, she would not be content with what was speculative, but insisted on something solid*; tho' M. *Torcy* had before declared to her Ministers, that the Expedient they propos'd was a sandy Foundation.

The Queen says, *The Nature of the Proposal for a Renunciation is such, that it executes itself, and that France and Spain are thereby more effectually divided than ever*: but M. *Torcy* had assured our Ministers, that this Renunciation would be null and void by the fundamental Laws of *France*, and deceive those who accepted it as an Expedient to prevent the Union of the two Crowns.

The Queen says, *Provision is made that the same Privileges and Advantages, as shall be granted to any other Nation by France, shall be granted to us*: yet by Lord *Bolingbroke's* Letter in *January* following to the Duke of *Sbrewsbury*, it appears, that *France* refused to let our Trade stand upon the Foot of *Gens Amicissima*; declar'd the Tariff of 1664, which was granted to the *Dutch*, except the four Species, *was too beneficial for us*; and refused to grant it 'till another Tariff should be made in *Great-Britain*, exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby our Duties would be reduced, as theirs are in *France*, by that Tariff.

The Queen says, *June 6. Our Commerce with France was in a Method of being settled*; yet Mr. *Prior* says in *May* following, near a twelvemonth after, 'We had like to have made an *Athanasian* Business of it at *Utrecht*, by that

'Ex-

‘ Explanation, of our own Way of understanding our own Commerce. Their
‘ Letters to you, full of Surmises and Doubts that all was unhinged ; and their
‘ Letters to us again, that Explanations, however made, were only to save
‘ Appearances, and signified nothing : This *Melange*, I say, and my endea-
‘ vouring to understand it, had like to make me run mad, if the Duke of
‘ *Shrewsbury*’s extreme good Sense, and M. *Torcy*’s not only honest, but right
‘ Understanding, had not redressed us.’

The Queen says, *The French consented to deliver up Newfoundland and Placentia ; yet by the Preliminaries, signed in September before, Appendix Numb. 4. Art. 8. the French had reserved to themselves a Liberty of taking and drying Fish in Newfoundland.*

The Queen says, *An absolute Cession was to be made of Nova Scotia, or Acadia ; but Cape Breton, which was always understood to be part of Nova Scotia, and is so declared in her Instructions to the Duke of Shrewsbury, is expressly given up to France.*

The Queen says, *The Trade to Spain and the West-Indies, may in general be settled as in the Time of King Charles II. of Spain ; but when the Project of the Treaty of Commerce came from Madrid, Lord Bolingbroke says of it, they had sent a Blind, Lame, Mishapen, Indigested Monster, instead of that Fair Offspring which we had reason to expect from our Candour.*

If the other Parts of the Speech be strictly examined, it will appear that the Ministers did so grossly deceive the Queen, in order to impose on the Parliament, that there’s scarce a Paragraph which does not contain some unfair or equivocal Representation of the State of the Treaty : and when the Queen was advised to speak thus to the Parliament, it is evident the Ministers had no Assurance that *France* would make good what they prevailed upon her to declare in so public a manner. For, *June 11*, the Bishop of *Bristol* is directed by Mr. *St. John* to discourse with the Confederate Ministers according to the Plan in her Majesty’s Speech ; but first to know of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, if they were willing, and in what manner, to give this Communication to the Allies. The Bishop answers, *June 28*, the *French* Plenipotentiaries declared they had no such Orders, and without them they could not do it.

Pag. 64. And in this Refusal of owning the Queen’s Speech to contain the *French* King’s Offers, and in absolutely denying to treat upon it, the *French* Plenipotentiaries persevered, even after the *Dutch* had consented to treat upon that Plan, and to accept the Queen’s Speech *pro materia tractandi*.

The RESOLUTIONS, MEMORIAL, and VOUCHERS of their *HIGH-MIGHTINESSES*, shewing, That the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* are wrongfully charged (by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, and by the * Address of that House, presented on the Subject to her *British* Majesty) with having failed in several Respects during the Course of this present War, to furnish what they ought of their Quota or Contingent, according to their Engagements.

Printed by PAUL SCHELTUS, Printer in Ordinary to the High and Mighty Lords, *The States-General* of the *United Provinces*, Anno 1712. (By Authority.)

An Extraet from the Register of the Resolution of their High-Mightinesses the Lords the States General of the Provinces of the United Netherlands.

Friday, April 1, 1712.

MESSIEURS *de Brockhuysen*, and other Deputies of their High-Mightinesses for Foreign Affairs, (who in Pursuance and Execution of the Commissorial Resolution of the 12th past, examined, together with some of the Deputies of the Council of State, the Letter of M. *van Borselle*, Envoy Extraordinary from their High-Mightinesses to the Court of her Majesty the Queen

* *The Humble REPRESENTATION of the House of Commons to the QUEEN. With Her Majesty's Most Gracious Answer thereunto.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled, having nothing so much at Heart, as to enable your Majesty to bring this long and expensive War to an honourable and happy Conclusion; have taken it into our most serious Consideration, how the necessary Supplies

to be provided by us, may be best applied, and how the Common Cause may in the most effectual Manner be carried on by the united Force of the whole Confederacy. We have thought ourselves obliged, in Duty to your Majesty, and in Discharge of the Trust reposed in us, to enquire into the true State of the War in all its Parts; we have examined what Stipulations have been entered into between your Majesty and your Allies, and how far such Engagements have on each side been made good; we have considered the different Interest which the Confederates have in the Success of this War, and the different

Queen of *Great-Britain*, writ the 8th of the last Month, containing an Account of the Resolutions taken by the House of Commons of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*,
X 2

different Shares they have contributed to its Support; we have with our utmost Care and Diligence endeavoured to discover the Nature, Extent, and Charge of it, to the end that by comparing the Weight thereof with our own Strength, we might adapt the one to the other in such Measure, as neither to continue your Majesty's Subjects under a heavier Burden than in Reason and Justice they ought to bear, nor deceive your Majesty, your Allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than the Nation in its present Circumstance is able to perform.

Your Majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble Applications, to order such Materials to be laid before us, as have furnished us with the necessary Information upon the Particulars we have enquired into; and when we shall have laid before your Majesty our Observations and humble Advice upon this Subject, we promise to ourselves this happy Fruit from it, that if your Majesty's generous and good Purposes for the procuring a safe and lasting Peace should, through the Obstinacy of the Enemy, or by any other Means, be unhappily defeated; a true Knowledge and Understanding of the past Conduct of the War, will be the best Foundation for a more frugal and equal Management of it for the time to come.

In order to take the more perfect View of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the Whole before your Majesty in a true Light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the Beginning of the War, and beg Leave to observe the Motives and Reasons upon which his late Majesty King *William* engaged first in it. The Treaty of the Grand Alliance explains those Reasons to be for the supporting the Pretensions of his Imperial Majesty, then actually engaged in a War with the *French* King, who had usurped the entire *Spanish* Monarchy for his Grandson the Duke of *Anjou*: And for the assisting the States-General, who by the Loss of their Barrier against *France*, were then in the same or a more dangerous Condition, than if they were actually invaded. As these

were the just and necessary Motives for undertaking this War, so the Ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally Wise and Honourable: For as they are set forth in the Eighth Article of the same Treaty, they appear to have been, the procuring an equitable and reasonable Satisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, and sufficient Securities for the Dominions, Provinces, Navigation, and Commerce of the King of *Great Britain* and the States-General; the making effectual Provision that the two Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* should never be united under the same Government, and particularly, that the *French* should never get into the Possession of the *Spanish West-Indies*, or be permitted to sail thither upon the Account of Traffick, under any Pretence whatsoever; and lastly, the securing to the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* and the States-General, all the same Privileges and Rights of Commerce throughout the whole Dominions of *Spain*, as they enjoyed before the Death of *Charles* the Second King of *Spain*, by Virtue of any Treaty, Agreement, Custom, or any other Way whatsoever: For the obtaining these Ends, the three confederated Powers engaged to assist one another with their whole Force, according to such Propositions as should be specified in a particular Convention afterwards to be made for that Purpose: We do not find that any such Convention was ever ratified, but it appears, that there was an Agreement concluded, which by common Consent was understood to be binding upon each Party respectively, and according to which the Propositions of *Great Britain* were from the Beginning regulated and founded: The Terms of that Agreement were, That for the Service at Land, his Imperial Majesty should furnish Ninety Thousand Men, the King of *Great Britain* Forty Thousand, and the States-General One Hundred and Two Thousand, of which there were Forty Two Thousand intended to supply their Garrisons, and Sixty Thousand to act against the Common Enemy in the Field; and with regard to the Operations of the War at Sea, they were agreed to be performed,

tain, for continuing in the *Netherlands* this Year 1712. 1. The 40000 Men sent thither by her Majesty at the Beginning of the War. 2. The 10000 Troops

performed jointly by *Great Britain* and the *States-General*; the Quota of Ships to be furnished for that Service, being five Eighths on the Part of *Great Britain*, and three Eighths on the Part of the *States-General*.

Upon this Foot the War began in the Year 1702, at which time the whole yearly Expence of it to *England*, amounted to Three Millions, Seven Hundred and Six Thousand Four Hundred Ninety Four Pounds; a very great Charge, as it was then thought by your Majesty's Subjects, after the short Interval of Ease they had enjoyed from the Burden of the former War; but yet a very moderate Proportion, in Comparison with the Load which hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by Estimates given in to your Commons, that the Sums necessary to carry on the Service for this present Year, in the same manner as it was performed the last Year, amount to more than Six Millions, Nine Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds, besides Interest for the Publick Debt, and the Deficiencies accruing the last Year; which two Articles require One Million, One Hundred and Forty Three Thousand Pounds more: So that the whole Demands upon your Commons, are arisen to more than Eight Millions for the present annual Supply. We know your Majesty's tender Regard for the Welfare of your People will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a Pressure as this upon them; and as we are assured it will fully convince your Majesty of the Necessity of our present Enquiry, so we beg Leave to represent to you from what Causes, and by what Steps, this immense Charge appears to have grown upon us.

The Service at Sea as it hath been very large and extensive in itself, so it hath been carried on through the whole Course of the War, in a Manner highly disadvantageous to your Majesty and your Kingdom; for the Necessity of Affairs requiring, that great Fleets should be fitted out every Year, as well for maintaining a Superiority in the *Mediterranean*, as for opposing any Force which the Enemy might prepare, either at *Dunkirk* or in the Ports of *West France*, your Majesty's

Example and Readiness in fitting out your Proportion of Ships for all Parts of that Service, have been so far from prevailing with the *States-General* to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every Year to a great Degree, in Proportion to what your Majesty hath furnished, sometimes no less than two Thirds, and generally more than Half of their Quota. From hence your Majesty has been obliged, for the preventing Disappointments in the most pressing Services, to supply those Deficiencies by additional Reinforcements of your own Ships; nor hath the single Increase of such a Charge been the only ill Consequence that attended it; for by this Means, the Debt of the Navy hath been enhanced, so that the Discounts arising upon the Credit of it, have affected all other Parts of the Service; from the same Cause, your Majesty's Ships of War have been forced in great Numbers to continue in remote Seas, and at unseasonable Times of the Year, to the great Damage and Decay of the *British* Navy: This also hath been freighted in your Convoys for Trade, your Coasts have been exposed for want of a sufficient Number of Cruizers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoying the Enemy in their most beneficial Commerce with the *West Indies*, from whence they have received those vast Supplies of Treasure, without which they could not have supported the Expences of this War.

That Part of the War which hath been carried on in *Flanders*, was at first immediately necessary to the Security of the *States-General*, and hath since brought them great Acquisitions both of Revenue and Dominion: Yet, even there, the original Proportions have been departed from, and, during the Course of the War, have been sinking by Degrees on the Part of *Holland*; so that, in this last Year, we find the Number in which they fell short of their Three Fifths to your Majesty's Two Fifths, to have been Twenty Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Seven Men: We are not unmindful, That in the Year 1703, a Treaty was made between the Two Nations, for a joint Augmentation

Troops of Augmentation, which were agreed upon in 1703, and the 15178 Men which have been engaged in her Majesty's Service, since the Year 1703, but the

tation of Twenty Thousand Men, wherein the Proportions were varied, and *England* consented to take Half upon itself: But it having been annexed, as an express Condition to the Grant of the said Augmentation in Parliament, That the States-General should prohibit all Trade and Commerce with *France*; and that Condition having not been performed by them, the Commons think it reasonable, that the first Rule of Three to Two ought to have taken Place again, as well in that as in other subsequent Augmentations; more especially when they consider, that the Revenues of those rich Provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great Number of new additional Forces against the Common Enemy, notwithstanding which, the States-General have raised none upon that Account, but make Use of those fresh Supplies of Money, only to ease themselves in the Charge of their first established Quota.

As in the Progress of the War in *Flanders*, a Disproportion was soon created, to the Prejudice of *England*, so the very Beginning of the War in *Portugal*, brought an unequal Share of Burden upon us. For, altho' the Emperor and the States-General were equally Parties with your Majesty in the Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his Third Part of the Troops and Subsidies stipulated for, nor the *Dutch* consenting to take an equal Share of his Imperial Majesty's Defect upon themselves, your Majesty hath been obliged to furnish Two Thirds of the entire Expence created by that Service: Nor has the Inequality stopped there; for ever since the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Six, when the *English* and *Dutch* Forces marched out of *Portugal* into *Castile*, the States-General have entirely abandoned the War in *Portugal*, and left your Majesty to prosecute it singly at your own Charge, which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater Number of Troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time, your Majesty's generous Endeavours for the Support and Defence of the

King of *Portugal*, have been but ill seconded by that Prince himself: for notwithstanding that by his Treaty he had obliged himself to furnish Twelve Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Horse, upon his own Account, besides Eleven Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse more, in Consideration of a Subsidy paid to him; yet, according to the best Information your Commons can procure, it appears, That he hath scarce at any time furnished Thirteen Thousand Men in the whole.

In *Spain* the War hath been yet more unequal and burdensome to your Majesty, than in any other Branch of it; for being commenced without any Treaty whatsoever, the Allies have almost wholly declined taking any Part of it upon themselves. A small Body of *English* and *Dutch* Troops were sent thither, in the Year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a Regular War, or to make the Conquest of so large a Country, but with a View only of assisting the *Spaniards* to set King *Charles* upon the Throne, occasioned by the great Assurances which were given of their Inclination to the House of *Austria*: But this Expectation failing, *England* was insensibly drawn into an established War, under all the Disadvantages of the Distance of the Place, and the feeble Efforts of the other Allies. The Account we have to lay before your Majesty, upon this Head, is, That altho' this Undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest Request of the Imperial Court, and for a Cause of no less Importance and Concern to them, than the reducing the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*; yet neither the late Emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any Forces there on their own Account, till the last Year, and then only one Regiment of Foot, consisting of Two Thousand Men: Tho' the States-General have contributed something more to this Service, yet their Share also hath been inconsiderable; for in the Space of Four Years, from 1705, to 1707, both inclusive, all the Forces they have sent into that Country, have not exceeded Twelve Thousand

the latter on Condition that the *State* should on her Part maintain as many Troops in Proportion as Three to Two) have reported to the Assembly:

That

land Two Hundred Men; and from the Year 1708, to this Time, they have not sent any Forces or Recruits whatsoever. To your Majesty's Care and Charge, the Recovery of that Kingdom hath been in a Manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it: And the Forces which your Majesty hath sent into *Spain*, in the Space of Seven Years, from One Thousand Seven Hundred and Five, to One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eleven, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than Fifty Seven Thousand Nine Hundred Seventy Three Men, besides Thirteen Battalions and Eighteen Squadrons, for which your Majesty hath paid a Subsidy to the Emperor. How great the established Expence of such a Number of Men hath been, your Majesty very well knows, and your Commons very sensibly feel: But the Weight will be found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy Articles of unusual and extraordinary Charge have attended this remote and difficult Service; all which have been entirely defrayed by your Majesty, except that one of Transporting the few Forces which were sent by the States-General, and the Victualling of them, during their Transportation only. The Accounts delivered to your Commons shew, That the Charge of your Majesty's Ships and Vessels, employed in the Service of the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckoned after the Rate of Four Pounds a Man per Month, from the Time they sailed from hence, till they returned, were lost, or put upon other Services, hath amounted to Six Millions, Five Hundred and Forty Thousand, Nine Hundred and Sixty Six Pounds, Fourteen Shillings. The Charge of Transports, on the Part of *Great Britain*, for carrying on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from the Beginning of it till this Time, hath amounted to One Million, Three Hundred Thirty Six Thousand, Seven Hundred and Nineteen Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, and Eleven Pence. That of Victualling Land Forces for the same Service, to Five Hundred Eighty Three Thousand, Seven Hundred and Seventy Pounds, Eight Shillings,

and Six Pence; and that of Contingencies, and other Extraordinaries for the same Service, to One Million, Eight Hundred and Forty Thousand, Three Hundred Fifty Three Pounds.

We should take Notice to your Majesty, of several Sums paid upon Account of Contingencies and Extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making together the Sum of One Million, One Hundred and Seven Thousand, Ninety Six Pounds: But we are not able to make any Comparison of them, with what the States-General have expended upon the same Head, having no such State of their extraordinary Charge before us. There remains, therefore, but one Particular more for your Majesty's Observation, which arises from the Subsidies paid to Foreign Princes: These, at the Beginning of the War, were borne in equal Proportion by your Majesty and the States-General; but in this Instance also the Balance hath been cast in Prejudice of your Majesty: For it appears, That your Majesty hath since advanced more than your equal Proportion, Three Millions, One Hundred and Fifty Five Thousand Crowns, besides Extraordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not included in any of the foregoing Articles, which arise to Five Hundred Thirty Nine Thousand, Five Hundred Fifty Three Pounds.

We have laid these several Particulars before your Majesty, in the shortest Manner we have been able; and by an Estimate grounded on the preceding Facts, it does appear, That over and above the Quota's on the Part of *Great Britain*, answering to those contributed by your Allies, more than Nineteen Millions have been expended by your Majesty during the Course of this War, by way of Surplusage or Exceeding, in Balance of which, none of the Confederates have furnished any thing whatsoever.

It is with very great Concern, that we find so much Occasion given us to represent, how ill an Use hath been made of your Majesty's and your Subjects Zeal for the Common Cause, that the Interest of that Cause hath not been proportionably promoted by it,

That while they were examining the abovementioned Letter, they were informed, that the Earl of *Strafford*, Ambaffador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

it, but others only have been eased at your Majesty's and your Subjects Cost, and have been connived at in laying their Part of the Burden upon this Kingdom, although they have upon all Accounts been equally, and, in most respects, much more nearly concerned, than *Britain*, in the Issue of the War. We are persuaded your Majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some Resentment to complain of the little Regard which some of those, whom your Majesty of late Years entrusted, have shewn to the Interest of their Country, in giving way, at least, to such unreasonable Impositions upon it, if not in some Measure contriving them: The Course of which Impositions hath been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the Wealth of this Nation hath been exhausted, and the more your Majesty's Arms have been attended with Success, the heavier hath been the Burden laid upon us; whilst on the other hand, the more vigorous your Majesty's Efforts have been, and the greater the Advantages which have redounded thence to your Allies, the more those Allies have abated in their Share of the Expence.

At the first Entrance into this War, the Commons were induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary Manner they did, and to grant such large Supplies, as had been unknown to former Ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the Mischiefs of a Lingring War, and to bring that, in which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy Conclusion: But they have been very unhappy in the Event, whilst they have so much Reason to suspect, That what was intended to shorten the War, hath proved the very Cause of its long Continuance; for those to whom the Profits of it have accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them: And your Majesty from thence discern the true Reason, why so many have delighted in a War, which brought in so rich an Harvest yearly from *Great Britain*.

We are as far from desiring, as we know your Majesty will be from concluding, any Peace, but upon safe and honourable Terms;

and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible Supplies for an effectual Prosecution of the War, till such a Peace can be obtained. All that your faithful Commons aim at, all that they wish, is an equal Concurrence from the other Powers engaged in Alliance with your Majesty, and a just Application of what hath been already gained from the Enemy towards promoting the Common-Cause. Several large Countries and Territories have been restored to the House of *Austria*; such as the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, and other Places in *Italy*: Others have been conquered, and added to their Dominions, as the Two Elect-rates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, the Dutchy of *Mantua*, and the Bishoprick of *Leige*; These having been reduced in great Measure by our Blood and Treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great Reason, be claimed to come in Aid towards carrying on the War in *Spain*; And therefore we make it our earnest Request to your Majesty, That you will give Instructions to your Ministers to insist with the Emperor, that the Revenues of those several Places, excepting only such a Portion thereof as is necessary for their Defence, be actually so applied. And as to the other Parts of the War, to which your Majesty hath obliged yourself by particular Treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your Majesty, That you will be pleased to take effectual Care that your Allies do perform their Parts stipulated by those Treaties; And that your Majesty will, for the future, no otherwise furnish Troops, or pay Subsidies, than in Proportion to what your Allies shall actually furnish and pay. When this Justice is done to your Majesty, and to your People, there is nothing which your Commons will not cheerfully grant, towards supporting your Majesty in the Cause in which you are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the War, either at Sea or Land, we will effectually enable your Majesty to bear your reasonable Share of any such Expence, and will spare no Supplies which your Subjects

tiary of her said Majesty, had the Day before his going to *Utrecht*, which was *Monday* last, insinuated to some Persons, that he had received Orders by Mr. *St.*

Subjects are able, with their utmost Efforts, to afford.

After having enquired into, and considered the State of the War, in which the Part your Majesty has borne appears to have been not only superior to that of any one Ally, but even equal to that of the whole Confederacy; your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find Care had been taken of securing some particular Advantages to *Britain*, in the Terms of a future Peace; such as might afford a Prospect of making the Nation amends in time for that immense Treasure which hath been expended, and those heavy Debts which have been contracted in the Course of so long and burdensome a War. This reasonable Expectation could no way have been better answered, than by some Provision made for the farther Security, and the greater Improvement, of the Commerce of *Great Britain*: But we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these Hopes, that in a Treaty not long since concluded between your Majesty and the States-General, under Colour of a mutual Guaranty given for two Points of the greatest Importance to both Nations, the Succession and the Barrier, it appears, the Interest of *Great Britain* hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several Articles in the said Treaty are destructive to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom, and therefore highly dishonourable to your Majesty.

Your Commons observe, in the first place, That several Towns and Places are, by Virtue of this Treaty, to be put into the Hands of the States-General; particularly *Newport*, *Dendermond*, and the Castle of *Ghent*; which can, in no Sense, be looked upon as Part of a Barrier against *France*; but being the Keys of the *Netherlands* towards *Britain*, must make the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects in those Parts precarious; and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended Necessity of putting these Places into the Hands of the States-General, in order to secure to them

a Communication with the Barrier, must appear vain and groundless: For the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries* being not to remain to an Enemy, but to a Friend and an Ally, that Communication must be always secure, and uninterrupted: Besides that, in Case of a Rupture, or an Attack, the States have full Liberty allowed them to take Possession of all the *Spanish Netherlands*, and therefore needed no particular Stipulation for the Troops abovementioned.

Having taken Notice of this Concession made to the States-General for seizing upon the whole Ten Provinces, we cannot but observe to your Majesty, That in the Manner this Article is framed, it is another dangerous Circumstance which attends this Treaty: For had such a Provision been confined to the Case of an apparent Attack from *France* only, the avowed Design of this Treaty had been fulfilled, and your Majesty's Instructions to your Ambassador had been pursued: But this necessary Restriction hath been omitted; and the same Liberty is granted to the States to take Possession of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they shall think themselves attacked by any other neighbouring Nation, as when they shall be in Danger from *France*; so that, if it should at any time happen (which your Commons are very unwilling to suppose) that they should quarrel even with your Majesty; the Riches, Strength, and advantageous Situation of these Countries may be made use of against yourself, without whose generous and powerful Assistance they had never been conquered.

To return to those ill Consequences which relate to the Trade of your Kingdoms, we beg Leave to observe to your Majesty, That though this Treaty revives and renders your Majesty a Party to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, by Virtue of which, the Impositions upon all Goods and Merchandizes brought into the *Spanish Low-Countries* by the Sea are to equal those laid on Goods and Merchandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the Canals of *Sass* and *Swyn*, and other Mouths of the

St. John, Secretary of State, to declare to their High-Mightinesses, that they must make good their Quota of three Fifths, in Proportion to the above-mentioned

the Sea adjoining; yet no Care is taken to preserve that Equality upon the Exportation of those Goods out of the *Spanish* Provinces, into those Countries and Places, which by Virtue of this Treaty are to be in the Possession of the States. The Consequence of which must in time be, and your Commons are informed that in some Instances it has already proved to be the Case, that the Impositions upon Goods carried into those Countries and Places by the Subjects of the States-General, will be taken off, whilst those upon the Goods imported by your Majesty's Subjects remain; by which Means *Great Britain* will entirely lose this most beneficial Branch of Trade, which it hath been in all Ages possessed of, even from the Time when those Countries were governed by the House of *Burgundy*, one of the most ancient, as well as the most useful, Allies to the Crown of *England*.

With regard to the other Dominions and Territories of *Spain*, your Majesty's Subjects have always been distinguished in their Commerce with them, and both by ancient Treaties, and an uninterrupted Custom, have enjoyed greater Privileges and Immunities of Trade, than either the *Hollanders*, or any other Nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent Treaty of the Grand Alliance provides effectually for the Security and Continuance of these valuable Privileges to *Britain*, in such a manner, as that each Nation might be left at the End of the War upon the same Foot as it stood at the Commencement of it. But this Treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your Subjects Rights, surrenders and destroys them: For, although by the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, made between his Catholick Majesty and the States-General, all Advantages of Trade are stipulated for, and granted to the *Hollauders*, equal to what the *English* enjoyed; yet, the Crown of *England* not being a Party to that Treaty, the Subjects of *England* have never submitted to those Articles of it, nor even the *Spaniards* themselves ever observed them: But this Treaty revives those Articles

in Prejudice of *Great Britain*, and makes your Majesty a Party to them, and even a Guarantee to the States-General for Privileges against your own People.

In how deliberate and extraordinary a Manner your Majesty's Ambassador consented to deprive your Subjects of their ancient Rights, and your Majesty of the Power of procuring to them any new Advantage, most evidently appears from his own Letters, which, by your Majesty's Directions, have been laid before your Commons: For when Matters of Advantage to your Majesty and to your Kingdom had been offered, as proper to be made Parts of this Treaty, they were refused to be admitted by the States-General, upon this Reason and Principle, That nothing Foreign to the Guaranties of the Succession, and of the Barrier, should be mingled with them; notwithstanding which, the States-General had no sooner received Notice of a Treaty of Commerce concluded between your Majesty and the present Emperor, but they departed from the Rule proposed before, and insisted upon the Article of which your Commons now complain, which Article your Majesty's Ambassador allowed of, altho' equally foreign to the Succession, or the Barrier; and altho' he had for that Reason departed from other Articles which would have been for the Service of his own Country.

We have forbore to trouble your Majesty with general Observations upon this Treaty, as it relates to, and affects the Empire, and other Parts of *Europe*. The Mischiefs which arise from it to *Great Britain* are what only we have presumed humbly to present to you. As they are very evident, and very great; and as it appears that the Lord Viscount *Townshend* had not any Orders or Authority for concluding several of those Articles, which are most prejudicial to your Majesty's Subjects, we have thought we could do no less, than declare your said Ambassador, who negotiated and signed, and all others who advised the Ratifying of this Treaty, Enemies to your Majesty and your Kingdom.

tioned 15178 Men; otherwise her Majesty would cashier as many as was necessary to make just two Fifths to answer three Fifths, in Proportion to the Number of Troops which the *State* furnishes in the *Netherlands* to answer the said 15178 Men, which Insinuation was founded on this Supposition, That at the Beginning of the War the *States* had consented to furnish in the *Netherlands* 102,000 Men, viz. 42,000 for Garrisons, and 60,000 for the Field; and that *Great Britain* on her Part was not obliged to furnish more than 40,000 Men in the *Netherlands*. Since which the Troops were augmented in 1703 by 20,000 Men, that were to be paid, half by *Great Britain*, and half by the *States*. But as to the 15,178 Men furnished by her Majesty of *Great Britain* since 1703, the first Proportion of 60,000 Men to 40,000, or of three Fifths to two Fifths was to be observed.

That on this Occasion, they the said Deputies had also examined the Votes or Resolutions of the House of Commons of the Parliament of *Great Britain* of the 16th of *February* this Year, *N. S.* by which they charge this *State* with not having satisfied its Engagements in diverse Respects, as to the Troops which they were obliged to furnish according to their Quota for the War. And, that they had examined the Address presented to her Majesty on this Head; which Address, as well as the said Votes, have been Printed and Published every where.

That to demonstrate how little Ground there is either for the said Supposition, or for the Deficiency which the said Resolutions and Address charge upon the *State*, they have drawn up a Memorial, which they have at the same time laid before the Assembly, as it is here inserted at the end of these Presents.

Upon which the *States* having deliberated, it was judged fit, and resolved that they would send to the *Sieur de Borselle*, Envoy Extraordinary of their High Mightinesses to the Court of her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*, a Copy of the said Memorial, and of the Pieces hereunto joined; and that he shall be ordered to represent both *viva voce*, and by Writing, to her said Majesty, and otherwise where it might be useful, that the Insinuation of the said Earl of *Strafford*, importing that the *States* must furnish what is wanting of their three Fifths to answer the said 15,178 Men, or otherwise her Majesty would lessen the Number of hers to the Proportion of two Fifths to those of this *State*, has very much troubled them; and that likewise in their Judgment it is not well founded, since on the one hand it cannot be reasonably demanded of the *State*, which

Upon these faithful Informations and Advices from your Commons, we assure ourselves, your Majesty, in your great Goodness to your People, will rescue them from those Evils, which the private Counsels of ill-designing Men have exposed them to; and that in your great Wisdom you will find some Means for the explaining and amending the several Articles of this Treaty, so as that they may consist with the Interest of *Great Britain*, and with a real and

lasting Friendship between your Majesty and the States-General.

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Answer.

THIS Representation is a farther Instance of that Dutiful Affection to my Service, and Concern for the Publick Interest, which this House of Commons has always shewn.

You may be assured, that I will give such Orders, as shall effectually answer what you desire of me in every Particular.

which already bears so much Burden, that they should augment their Troops ; and that on the other hand, the Good of the Common Cause will not permit that her Majesty should lessen hers in the present Conjunction.

That the Supposition abovementioned, upon which this Insinuation is founded, cannot be admitted by their High Mightinesses ; and even though it were, all the Difference would then be no more than that the *State* had 4,303 Men too few, or that her Majesty had too many in the *Netherlands*. As to this, it would certainly be just to consider, and to account for, the Augmentation of the Troops which this *State* made at the Beginning of this War, before *Great Britain* made any considerable Augmentation on her Part, as well as those which the State has maintained over and above the 102000 Men, as is shewn by the above-mentioned Memorial. That for these Reasons the *Sieur van Borselle* shall request her Majesty not to demand of the State to augment their Troops, nor yet to diminish the Number of her own.

That further, the said *Sieur van Borselle* shall represent on this Occasion to her Majesty, that their High Mightinesses are very much grieved, to find that by the said Votes and Address, publickly printed and dispersed through the World, they are condemned without being heard, as if they had not fulfilled their Engagements, nor contributed as much as they ought, in proportion to her Majesty, towards the Charge of the War.

That their High Mightinesses, to clear themselves of this Charge, and to inform her Majesty of the Reasons which persuade them that they are wrongfully charged, have ordered him to present the said Memorial to her Majesty, and to add, that if her Majesty (as they hope she will) would make an equitable and favourable Reflection upon the Efforts which this *State* has made and continues to make in this present War, after having already gone through two others extremely burdensome ; and if she would duly consider that they begun this with 110,000 Men, so great an Effort, as they never made the like before ; that further from time to time they have considerably augmented the Number of their Troops ; to which must be added the Consideration of the Subsidies which they annually pay, and the naval Equipments they make, their High Mightinesses assure themselves, that not only her Majesty, according to her well known Equity, but also the whole World must necessarily be convinced, that the State in this present War has done as much and more than could have been expected in Reason and Justice of a good and faithful Ally, and that nothing but an Excess of Love for their Liberty and for their Religion, and an ardent Zeal to assist in warding off that Slavery with which all *Europe* is threatened, could have induced them to make such great Efforts, and to continue them so long. That they return Thanks to God, who by his Goodness has so blessed the Efforts they have made in Conjunction with her Majesty and their other Allies, that by comparing the present State of Affairs with what they were at the Beginning of the War, we may find a very happy Change ; so that to lay a just Foundation of Hope, that by a good Peace, we may obtain the End desired, there seems nothing to be wanting but the Preservation among the Allies of that same Firmness, Union and Vigour, with which the War was begun, and has been hitherto continued.

That their High Mightinesses have always considered a Union and good Harmony betwixt her Majesty and this *State*, and betwixt their Subjects on both Sides, as the strongest Support to the Common Cause, that they are still of the same Opinion, and believe this Union to be more necessary now than ever. That they have always carefully endeavoured, and will endeavour for time to come, to preserve her Majesty's Affection and Friendship, and to cultivate and increate the said Union and good Understanding betwixt the Two Nations; That there is nothing more grievous to them, than to be obliged to justify themselves against Censures so little deserved, considering that hereby the Enemy, to whom a Union betwixt her Majesty and the *State* must be formidable, may conceive hopes of a Coldness and Division betwixt Allies so strictly united, which cannot fail of being prejudicial to both.

That therefore their High Mightinesses wish this Stone of Stumbling had never been laid in the Way, and that it may be removed as soon as possible. That they hope chiefly from her Majesty's great Equity, and from her well known Zeal for the Common Cause, that she will not tack the Continuation of the Service of her Troops in the *Netherlands*, and particularly of the said 15,178 Men, to the Augmentation of those of this *State*.

That their High Mightinesses, on their side, will always contribute as much as lies in their Power or depends upon them, not only to advance as formerly the Welfare of the Common Cause, but also to concert with all possible Confidence in her Majesty the necessary Measures for that End, and to satisfy her Majesty by the real Effects, that they desire and infinitely esteem her Affection and Friendship, of which the *Sieur Van Borselle* shall give her Majesty the strongest Assurances.

There shall also be delivered a Copy of the present Resolution of their High Mightinesses, and one of the abovesaid Memorials to the Earl of *Strafford*, Ambassador Extraordinary, &c. of her Majesty, and his Lordship shall be desired to second the Intentions of their High Mightinesses by his good Offices.

Marked,

H. van Iffelmunde ut.

And a little lower,

This agrees with the said Register,

Signed,

J. Fagel.

The

The following Memorial was presented to the Queen on *Thursday April the 3d. 1712*, by the *Sieur de Borselle*, Envoy Extraordinary from the *States* to her Majesty.

A Memorial, shewing, That the States General of the United Provinces are wrongfully charged (by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, and by the Address of that House presented in this Subject to her Majesty) with having failed in several Respects, during the Course of this present War, to furnish what they ought of their Quota or Contingent, according to their Engagements.

THE Resolutions, or Votes abovementioned, are dated *Tuesday the 5-16th of February 1711-12*, and conceived in these Terms.

Resolved, That the *States General* have been deficient in their Quota's for Sea-Service, in Proportion to the Number of Ships provided by her Majesty, some Years two Thirds, and generally more than half of their Quota.

Resolved, That the Forces supplied and paid by her Majesty, for the carrying on the War in *Spain*, from the Year 1705, to the Year 1711 inclusive, amounted to Fifty Seven Thousand, Nine Hundred, Seventy-three Men, besides Thirteen Battalions and Eighteen Squadrons, for which her Majesty has paid a Subsidy to the Emperor.

Resolved, That the Forces supplied by the *States General* for the Service in *Spain*, from the Year 1705, to the Year 1708, both inclusive, have amounted to no more than Twelve Thousand, Two Hundred Men, and that from the Year 1708, to this present Time, they have sent thither no Forces at all.

Resolved, That her Majesty has not only furnished her Proportion of Twelve Thousand Men, according to the Treaty entered into for the Service of the War in *Portugal*, but has taken upon her the Emperor's Proportion, by furnishing two Thirds, when the *States General* only furnished one Third for that Service.

Resolved, That since the Year 1706, when the *English* and *Dutch* marched into *Castile*, and returned no more into *Portugal*, her Majesty has re-placed more than her Share, according to her Proportion, and the *States General* have not had any Troops in *Portugal*.

Resolved, That the first Proportion of three Fifths, or two Fifths, agreed upon between his late Majesty King *William* and the *States General*, for the Service of the War in *Flanders*, has not been observed by the *States General*.

Resolved, That the *States General*, during the Course of the War, have furnished less than their Proportion in *Flanders*, Twenty Thousand, Eight Hundred, Thirty-seven Men.

Resolved, That the Condition for prohibiting all Trade and Correspondence between *Holland* and *France*, on which the Troops of Augmentation were granted in 1703, and afterwards continued, has not been observed by the *States General*.

Resolved, That at the Beginning of this War, the Subsidies were paid in equal Proportions by her Majesty and the *States General*, but her Majesty has since

since paid more than her Proportion, Three Millions, One Hundred Fifty Thousand Crowns.

These Resolutions, or Votes of the House of Commons, are thus drawn up in Form of Decisions, as a Charge against the *States General*, who have the Honour to live with her Majesty of *Great Britain* in a full and perfect Amity, and to be engaged with her in the greatest Alliances. Besides, this is done at a Time when an Union and Harmony betwixt *Great Britain* and the *States* of the United Provinces is more necessary than ever, to obtain a safe and honourable Peace. They are also followed by an Address that was presented to her Majesty, which having been Printed and Published, as well as their Votes or Resolutions, must without doubt very much surprize those who have but the least Knowledge of the great and extraordinary Efforts which the *States* have made in this War, for the Support and Advancement of the Common Cause, and consider of what Consequence those Efforts have been to the said Cause.

But though it be impossible that the said Resolutions and Address should fail of making a disadvantageous Impression of the *State* upon those who have not an exact Knowledge of Affairs, yet they must lose very much of their Force, when it is considered that the Resolutions and Address were formed, and the *States General* so positively condemned by them, without having any Opportunity directly or indirectly to make known what they had to say on this Subject, or the least Knowledge of the Estimates, or Lists upon which those Votes were founded; in short, without having any way left them to remove, by Explanations and necessary Informations, the Prejudices that the House seems to have entertained against their Conduct; which Certainty is not consistent with the Rules of Equity and Friendship.

But as we have received, since those Resolutions were formed, a Copy from private Hands, of the Estimates laid before the House, which probably gave occasion to the said *Resolves*, and being thereby in some Measure informed of the Grounds on which they were founded, we are in a Condition to make some Remarks upon them, which we believe will be sufficient to take off all the bad Impressions, which may have been given of the Conduct of the *States General*, and to justify them entirely as to the Charge against them in the above-mentioned Votes and Address thereupon presented to the Queen. Our Remarks may be conveniently divided into four Heads, according to the Estimates or Lists laid before the Commons, and according to the Order observed in their Address, wherein they advance that the *States* has not answered their Quota of the Charge of the War in Proportion to what has been done by her *British* Majesty, viz.

- I. In the Charge of the Sea-Service.
- II. In the Number of Troops in *Flanders*.
- III. For the Service of *Spain* and *Portugal*.
- IV. In the Subsidies.

Before we enter upon the Discussion of each of those Heads, it is necessary to lay down as a Foundation, That after the King of *France* had seized the whole *Spanish* Monarchy for his Grandson, and by taking possession of the *Spanish Netherlands* had wrested from this *State* her Barrier, and that he had acknowledged the

the pretended Prince of *Wales* for King of *Great Britain*, all *Europe* finding themselves threatened with intollerable Slavery, his Majesty the King of *Great Britain* and their High Mightinesses, were obliged in 1702, for several known and lawful Reasons, but chiefly for the Defence of their own Liberty, and that of their High Allies, to take up Arms with them, and enter into a War against *France*. That the Alliances, and particularly that of the 3d of *March*, 1677-8, made with the late King *Charles II*, that of the 11th of *November*, 1701, made with the late King *William* the III^d, that of the 9th of *June*, 1703, by which the two preceding ones are confirmed and renewed, and which was concluded with her present Majesty; and lastly, the Treaty of the Grand Alliance made the 7th of *September*, 1701, oblige her Majesty and the *States General*, and every one in particular, to employ all their Force by Sea and Land, in order to obtain the End which was proposed in making the said Alliances, without stipulating either in them, or in any other Treaties now in being or subsisting, any fixed Proportion, according to which each of the High Allies of *Great Britain* and the *State* should carry on the War, and regulate their Efforts.

It is true, that by the 4th Article of the Grand Alliance, and by the 8th of that between the *State* and *Great Britain*, both made in the Year 1701, it was thought proper that some Number of Forces should be mentioned, but afterwards this Agreement was dropped without being put in Execution, either because it was found to be attended with too many Difficulties, or that it was reckoned superfluous, because all the Alliances imported, that each of the Confederates should make War with all their Forces by Sea and Land, and that it was believed they must rely upon one another's Fidelity.

The Foundation thus laid, *viz.* That according to the Alliances, *Great Britain* and this *State* are obliged each to employ all their Force in the War against the common Enemy, and that the Quantum which each ought to furnish, is not determined neither by the said Alliamment nor by any Agreement, and particular Convention, it follows necessarily and incontestably, that the only Rule of this Quantum ought to be the Power of each, and that no other Proportion between *Great Britain* and this *State* ought to be enquired into, or alledged, than that of their Ability; but that which soever of these two Potentates can prove, according to that general Proportion, or absolutely without making any Comparison, that it has employed all its Force in the present War, for the Advancement of the Common Cause, the said Potentate must be allowed to have satisfied all its Engagements, and cannot be charged to have been deficient therein.

Now it is evident, that the Strength of *Great Britain* is incomparably greater than that of this *State*. To be convinced of this, one need only consider the Extent of the Countries, Possessions and Commerce of *Great Britain*, with the Number and Wealth of its Inhabitants, and, in a Word, every thing which can contribute to make a *State* powerful.

This is also the Reason why in all the Treaties which have been made between *England* and this *State*, not only formerly in the time of the *Spanish* War, but also since, except in some particular Cases, it was always observed in mentioning the Number of Forces, so to proportion the Supplies of Troops on both

both Sides, as that those of *England* should be greater than those of the *States*. They have been often regulated on the Foot of two Thirds or three Fifths for *England*, against one Third or two Fifths for the *State*. And accordingly by the Treaty of perpetual Alliance of the 3d of *March*, 1677-8, *England* promised a Supply of 10,000 Men against 6000 which were to be furnished by the *State*. This plainly proves, that though it should be granted that *Great Britain* has contributed much more than this *State* to the present War, it will by no means follow, that the *State* has not fulfilled her Engagements, since her Forces are not equal to *Great Britain*, and that it is upon this Foot the Proportion ought to be regulated.

Besides, every one knows that the *States General* have abundantly answered all that could be expected from good and faithful Allies, whether the Efforts be compared with those of *Great Britain* and the other Allies, or considered in themselves without any such Comparison. Certainly Posterity will scarce believe that a *State* which maintained a very severe War in 1672, which she could not get out of but by very extraordinary Efforts; and without having time to recover her Strength, was obliged to carry on a second, by which she still remains charged with very heavy Debts; we say, it would seem incredible, that such a *State*, being again engaged in a third War, should be able still to make such great Efforts, and to continue them so long. Besides, the Inequality of Strength we have just now mentioned, there is this Difference betwixt *Great Britain* and the *State*: That *Great Britain* never felt the Burden nor the Calamities of the first War against *France*: That in time of Peace she keeps very few Troops on Foot; and, That after the Peace at *Ryswick*, she disbanded most of those at that time in her Pay, which was a very great Ease to her; whereas this *State* was obliged to maintain above 40,000 Men. Another considerable Difference is, that in 1702, the Dominions of the *State*, being the Seat of the War, suffered very much by it; one Part of their Country was overflowed by the breaking in of the Sea, and another Part was laid under Warer to defend it against the Enemy, not to mention the large Contributions we pay them annually, to none of which Inconveniencies *Great Britain* is subject. This being considered, together with her great Power, enables her to contribute much more to War than this *State*. Besides this, if we make the Reflection on the Taxes of all Sorts, which are raised on the Persons and Estates of our Subjects, which Taxes are more numerous and more heavy than in her Majesty's Kingdoms, or in any other State of the World. Then, if we consider the immense Sums which this *State* is obliged to borrow each Year in the two last Wars, and particularly in this, it will be owned that nothing but an extraordinary Love of Liberty, and an inviolable Affection to the Common Cause, could oblige them thus voluntarily to charge themselves till they are ready to sink under the Burden. Nor is there need of any other Evidence to prove, that the *States General* have fully and faithfully answered all their Engagements, nay, and that they have contributed above their Strength to the Charge of the War.

In general, this is sufficient to remove all the Prejudices that appear in the Resolves and Address of the House of Commons, and to efface all the disadvantageous Impressions which they might make on others. For though all

he Deficiencies they charge upon the *State* were fully proved, and though it were certain that the *States General* had contributed much less to the Charge of the War than her *British* Majesty, it would nevertheless be true, that according to their Treaties they have employed all their Strength in the present War, and by Consequence, that in Proportion to their Power, they have done as much and more than any of the Allies, *Great Britain* herself not excepted. Therefore the Commons have wrongfully, and without any Foundation, charged the *States* with not having answered their Engagements, and furnished their Quota.

We shall more particularly prove this, by examining one after another the four principal Parts of the Address and Resolution of the House of Commons; but in the first place think ourselves obliged to make some further Remarks on that Address. They acquaint her Majesty, when they enumerate the Motives which induced the late King *William* to enter into the War, that according to the Treaty of the Grand Alliance, those Motives were to assist the Emperor in his Pretensions to the *Spanish* Monarchy, and the *States General* in recovering their lost Barriers. They afterwards add, That in all Respects the Allies are equally interested with *Great Britain* in the Success of the War, and for most part a great deal more. Yet this very Treaty of the Grand Alliance on which they found their Proposition, sets forth expressly in the Preamble, that the *English* and *Dutch* were in eminent Danger of losing the Liberty of their Navigation and Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, the *Indies*, and other Parts; and that *France* and *Spain* were more and more united to trample upon the Liberties of *Europe*, and to ruin the Commerce; Motives which concerned *Great Britain* so directly and so nearly, that it is easy to infer from thence, that she carries on the War as much for herself as for the Emperor, the States, or the other Allies. This appears yet more plainly from the separate Article concluded the 12th of *April*, 1702, between the Emperor, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*, which ought to have the same Force as if it were inserted *verbatim* in the principal Treaty. For the Affront put upon the late King *William*, her present Majesty, and the whole *British* Nation, by owning the Prince of *Wales* for King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, being expressly set down in this Article among the Motives of the War, as well as in her Majesty's Declaration of War; which Motive could not have been inserted in the Address of the House of Commons, without too much weakening the above-mentioned Proposition, *viz.* That the Allies are on all Accounts equally concerned with *Great Britain* in the Success of the War, and for the most part a great deal more. Indeed it cannot be conceived upon what Principle this Proposition could be founded, nor in what Sense it can agree with the Demand of the Queen of *Great Britain* for Peace. Her Majesty demands, That the Most Christian King should acknowledge her; That he likewise owns the Succession in the *Protestant* Line of the House of *Hanover*, as it is established by Acts of Parliament; That he refuse all Manner of Aid and Assistance to the Pretender; That he make a Treaty of Commerce with *Great-Britain*; That he demolish the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and fill up the Harbour; and, That he yield to her Majesty the Islands of *St. Christopher* and *Newfoundland*, with *Acadia*, and other Countries in *North America*. Now it is

plain, that these Demands are not of such a Nature, that they concern the other Allies as much or more than *Great Britain* herself.

As to the Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, it cannot be said with the least Colour of Reason, that all the Allies have an equal Interest in it with *Great Britain*, since it is known and incontestible, as well with regard to Commerce in general, as particularly to the Vent of Woollen Manufactures in *Spain*, the Ports of the *Mediterranean*, and especially in *Turkey*, that *Great Britain* is much more interested in it than the *State*, the only one among all the Allies which the Commerce in the *Mediterranean* most concerns.

We come now to examine those Articles by which it is pretended, that the *States General* have not furnished their Quota towards the Charges of the War. The first relates to the Sea-Service. On this Head, it is advanced, that for some Years the *States General* have not furnished two Thirds, and generally not half their Contingent for that Service. This is a very general Proposition, and another general one to the contrary might perhaps be sufficient to answer it, after which it might be left to the Judgment of those who know the present Posture of Affairs, whether of those two general Propositions is the most probable. It would also have been very difficult to answer it otherwise, if there had not been imparted to us by private Hands, a Copy of the Paper delivered into the House of Commons, by the Commissioners of the Admiralty of *Great Britain*, in which are specified the Ships of the Line that were furnished Year after Year by her *British* Majesty, and on the Part of the *States General*, to act jointly in the *Channel* and the *Mediterranean*. It is inserted at the End of this Memorial, and marked Numb. I. and it was doubtless on this Paper, that the Resolutions of the House of Commons are founded.

It is there laid down as a Certainty, that the Quota of the *States* in Naval Armaments with respect to *Great Britain*, is three to five, and they found this on the Agreement on the 27th of *April*, 1689. But on this Occasion it must be observed, that the 7th Article of the Treaty of the 9th of *June*, 1703, by which the said Agreement was renewed, imports, that the entire Quota of Ships of War, which each were to furnish by Virtue of that Agreement, should be regulated every Year, and that the Rendezvous as well as the respective Stations appointed for the said Ships, should likewise be agreed upon at the same time. In pursuance hereof, Her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*, thought fit to send hither one of her Admirals almost every Year. The necessary Conferences were held with them, in which the Number of Ships to be fitted out, and the Places where to be employed, were the chief Points considered. Upon this it commonly happened, that the Projects exhibited on the part of her *British* Majesty, proposed a greater Number of Ships than those of the *State*, and much more Regard was had to the Security of the *Channel*, than to that of the *North Sea*. It is likewise to be observed, that the Paper of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, does not say a Word of the Ships employed in that Sea, which is partly the Cause why they reckoned the Quota furnished by the *State* so low. The Sentiments of the *States General* upon this Subject have always been, that the Number of Ships which was to be equipped every Year in common, ought to be regulated according to a reasonable

sonable Estimate of the Enemy's Force, and of the Ships which he could send into the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, or the *North Sea*; so that there was always a moral Certainty that the Fleets and Squadrons of *Great Britain*, and this *State*, whether they acted in Conjunction or separately, would be superior to those of the Enemy. The Terms in *Conjunction* or separately were used, because it was ever the Opinion of the *State*, that the Ships of her Majesty and the *States General*, which should be sent to *Portugal* and the *Mediterranean* ought to act in Conjunction, that the Security of the *Channel* ought to be left to her Majesty's particular Care, and that of the *North Sea* to the *States General*. The Reasons assigned for this, were, because *Great Britain* had a greater Interest in Point of Commerce, in the *Channel*, and could by its Situation and the Conveniency of its Harbours, send and keep Ships there more easily than the *State*; and on the other hand, the *State*, for the very same Reasons, could send and keep her Ships in the *North Sea* with more Conveniency than *Great Britain*. But Cases of Necessity were always reserved, in such manner, that if the Enemy, contrary to all Expectation, should make any extraordinary Armament, and send any Fleet or Squadron into the *Channel* or *North Sea*, then the Squadrons on both Sides should join, in whole or in part, in the *Channel* or in the *North Sea*, as Occasion should require. It was not believed, that for some Years past, it was necessary to keep a Squadron before *Dunkirk*, Experience having shewed us oftener than once, that there was very little Advantage to be reaped by it, and that it was almost impossible so to block up that Harbour, as to hinder Ships from getting out of it. Besides, the last Year, most of the *Dunkirk* Ships having sailed to other Places, there was not enough left there to form a Squadron.

As these Sentiments were well founded, they were for the most part followed, and with good Success. The Proof of this is evident; for since the Loss sustained by *France* at *Vigo*, in 1702, and that which she suffered in the Sea Fight near *Malaga*, in 1704, she has not been in a Condition to put any considerable Fleet to Sea; the only one they have since, was in the *Mediterranean*, Anno 1704, to support the Siege of *Barcelona*; but so inconsiderable, that they retired upon the Sight of the Confederate Fleet, without daring to hazard a Battle.

After having thus shewn on what Foundation this *State* did annually regulate their Naval Equipments, it is proper to examine if it has furnished its Quota in Proportion to that of her *British* Majesty, which certainly it has not done, if we may believe the Paper of the Commissioners of the Admiralty of *Great Britain*. But in the first place, suppose there were nothing to be objected to the List of the Ships which they say were furnished by her Majesty, and that we take it on Trust as they have set it down in their Paper; yet we may ask, Whether all the Ships which they set down as employed in the *Mediterranean* and the *Channel*, were really needful there? A Question which would not be altogether improper; for there were some Years wherein the Number of Ships employed in that Service, did very much exceed what her Majesty herself did propose. For Instance, they reckon 74 Ships for 1704, and 79 for 1705; yet the Proposals made by Admiral *Mitchel* for those Years demand only 24 Ships from the *State* to answer 60 of her Majesty's, both for the Service of

172 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, and the *North-Sea*. How comes it then that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty do now reckon for her Majesty's Quota 74 and 79 Ships for the Service only of the *Mediterranean* and the *Channel*, and that they demand as the Quota of this State 44 Ships for one Year and 47 for another? We leave it to every Man's Judgment, whether this Number of Ships would not have been too great for the Service we were to expect from them, and to the Force which the Enemy could then put to Sea. The Sentiments of the *States* were, that 24 Ships on their Part, and 40 on that of her Majesty, would have been enough for the Service of those Years.

It must be observed further, that of all the Ships which the State has furnished, there is no Notice taken in this Paper of any but such as jointly served with those of her Majesty in the *Mediterranean* or *Channel*, and not the least mention of the *North-Sea*, the Care and Security of which were left almost entirely for some Years to the *States*. We are not to wonder after this, that the Number of Ships furnished by the *States-General* appears so small in the Paper of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, when compared with those of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, since they cut off all that served in the *North Sea*, and mention only such as acted in Conjunction with her Majesty's Ships.

This Omission, no doubt, gave occasion to those injurious Resolutions of the House of Commons; and we have reason to think, they would never have come into them had they known the Reasons of the *States*. We may judge of this by the following List, that contains the true Number of Ships which the *States* have employed during this War for the common Cause in the *Mediterranean*, the *Channel*, and the *North Sea*. They are all Ships of the Line, without reckoning Frigats, or other lesser Ships.

In 1702	_____	55
In 1703	_____	50
In 1704	_____	56
In 1705	_____	56
In 1706	_____	54
In 1707	_____	49
In 1708	_____	53
In 1709	_____	50
In 1710	_____	43
In 1711	_____	40

All this is Fact, and can be proved by good and authentick Vouchers: So that it is wrong, and without any Foundation, that they charge the State with not having furnished its Quota for the Sea-Service.

The second Head relates to the Troops in *Flanders*, as to which it is complained, that the *States-General* have not observed the first Proportion of three to two, which they agreed upon with the late King *William*; that they have furnished 20837 Men less than their Quota; and that they have not fulfilled the Condition for prohibiting Commerce and Correspondence with *France*, on which the Troops of Augmentation were granted in 1703. For the clearing of this Head, we thought it would not be improper to subjoin to this Memorial the

Estimate

Estimate (marked N^o. II.) of the Forces, as well of the Queen as the *States-General*, that was delivered in to the House of Commons, and upon which, as far as we can judge, they founded their Resolutions.

Our first Remark on this Estimate of the Forces is, that here they confound in a general Article the 44992 Men which the *States* kept in Pay after the Peace of *Ryswick*, with the 34866 Men, whom they took again into their Service immediately after the Death of King *Charles II.* of *Spain*; and that in the Year 1702, they have likewise mixed the Troops which the *States* took into Pay that Year, with those they had hired from several Princes the Beginning of the Year before. Had not these things been confounded, it would have clearly appeared, that the *States* had augmented their Troops with 50000 Men, long before *Great-Britain* made any considerable Augmentation; which certainly ought to have been allowed for in the Account, considering the Expence that the *States* had been at in maintaining many Troops alone.

We shall not insist on other particular Mistakes in the said Estimate, but content ourselves to shew, that it does no way prove what they pretend to prove by it. For Example, it does not thereby appear that the *States* furnished 20837 Men too few, or that the Queen of *Great-Britain* had 13892 too many for the War in *Flanders*. It is certainly very surprising, that such a Conclusion should be drawn from an Estimate, by which on the contrary it appears very plain, that the *States* of the *United Provinces*, though much inferior in Power and Strength to *Great-Britain*, did not only furnish and keep in Pay from the Beginning of the War to this present time as many Troops as that Crown, but a great many more. From hence we may easily perceive, that this strange Conclusion was not naturally deduced from the Premises; but that to make it out, they were forced to suppose two Propositions.

I. That at the Beginning of the War, the *States* obliged themselves to furnish in *Flanders* 60000 Men for the Field against 40000 to be furnished by *Great-Britain*, and that the *States* should over and above maintain 42000 Men in Garrison.

II. That the *States* were obliged to contribute according to this Proportion of 60 to 40, or 3 to 2, towards the Expence of the Troops, which have since been taken into the Service of her Majesty of *Great-Britain* and the *States*.

But we cannot see by this Estimate of the Troops, on what it is they pretend to found the second Proposition. As to the first, it seems to be founded on a verbal Message which King *William* of glorious Memory sent to the Parliament in 1702, by Mr. Secretary *Vernon*; and in the Address of the House of Commons, they suppose that an Agreement was concluded on that Head, and we presume that they pretend to draw the second Proposition as a Conclusion from the first.

It is certainly very strange, that they should make no Scruple to charge the *States* without first hearing them, with so considerable a Deficiency, and upon no other Proofs than a verbal Message or an Agreement, which is supposed to have been concluded, but without any Ground, themselves having owned a little before, that it was never yet ratified. It is true, the *States* were obliged to hold their Peace, though *Great-Britain* at the Beginning of the War furnished no more than 40000 Men in the *Netherlands*, which was so great a Disproportion to what was furnished by this State, but it is no less true, that the *States* were obliged

obliged to submit to it, not by virtue of any Agreement or Convention, or because it was reasonable, but because the Parliament did not grant any more. The Reasons of which are known to all the World, and several Persons may still remember them. This Disproportion was sufficiently complained of by the *States*, but they were obliged to have Patience and to comfort themselves with Hopes, that if the War continued, it would be afterwards redressed.

But now to shew that these two Propositions are very ill grounded, we shall only say that we are very well assured it can never be proved on the Part of *Great-Britain*, that the *States-General* obliged themselves to maintain 60000 Men in the Field, and 42000 in Garrison, nor that they owned, which is the essential Point, that *Great-Britain* would answer all her Engagements, by furnishing only 40000 Men for 102000 furnished by the State, nor that in short they ever agreed to observe this unequal Proportion for the time to come, in maintaining the Troops with which the Army in the *Netherlands* might afterwards be reinforced.

Nor was there indeed the least Reason for this; *Great-Britain* and the *States* are equally obliged by the 6th Article of the Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1678, and by the 7th Article of the Treaty of the 11th of *Nov.* 1701, to assist one another mutually *with all their Strength, and all their Forces by Sea and Land*; and by the 4th Article of the Treaty of the Grand Alliance, they are likewise engaged to support one another with all their Strength. *Great-Britain* was then, as she is at present, beyond all Contradiction much more powerful than this State, and since she could not in the Beginning of the War make good in *Spain* or in *Italy*, what was wanting of her Troops elsewhere, as she has been able to do since, it is evident, that in order to fulfil the abovementioned Treaties of the 3d of *March*, 1678, of the 11th of *November*, 1701, and of the Grand Alliance; she ought necessarily to have augmented her Troops in *Flanders* considerably, and to have maintained an Army there far more numerous than that of the State. It was the only Place then where the two Potentates had Armies, and if they would have observed any reasonable Proportion, that was the Place where it ought to have been done.

As to the nature of this Proportion, if they would have followed by Land that which was established by Sea, and which had actually been observed in the Number of the Troops mutually stipulated by the said Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1678, in the first separate Article, it ought to have been five to three; that is to say, that *Great-Britain* ought to have furnished 170000 Men against 102000, which it is pretended the *States* obliged themselves to maintain in *Flanders*, for the Field and in Garrisons. When we say 170000 Men, we comprehend the Guards and Garrisons necessary in *Great Britain*, otherwise the Proportion might have been reduced to 100000 Men, against 60000 of the State, which they pretend ought only to be reckoned in the Proportion, though without any Foundation, as we shall see afterwards; but if they would follow the Proportion of two thirds to one third, which has been done on several other Occasions during the War. In that Case *Great-Britain* should have brought to the Field 120000 Men against the said 60000, or rather she ought to have furnished 204000 Men against 102000 of the State, including the Guards and Garrisons.

In short, if instead of seeking for the Proportion in the Augmentation of the Troops of *Great-Britain*, with relation to those of the State, they had rather

chuse to seek it in the Reduction of the Troops of the State with relation to those of *Great-Britain*, it will be found that the *States General* were not obliged to furnish on the foot of three to five, any more than 24000 Men, and on the foot of one to two, only 20000, which would have fully answered their Proportion to the 40000 Men of *Great-Britain*; whereas according to their own Estimate laid before the House of Commons, they did not furnish only 60000 Men, but indeed 68242 Men, besides the 42000 for Garrisons. By which it is evident, that the *State* had no Reason to submit to a Proposition so unreasonable as that before-mentioned, or to be satisfied with it.

Suppose now that the *State*, conniving at such an excessive Disproportion had engaged, as is pretended, at the Beginning of the War, to furnish in the *Netherlands* 60000 Men for the Field, and 42000 for Garrisons against 40000 furnished by *Great-Britain*; it will by no means follow from thence, that she ought to submit to the same Disproportion with relation to the Troops where-with the two Potentates have since thought fit to augment their Forces, in order to push on the War with more Vigor in *Flanders*.

On the contrary, one would think that *Great-Britain*, considering the Excess of this Disproportion, and the Good-will of the *State* to make the greatest Efforts at first, in order to animate others by her Example, would have been induced voluntarily to take upon herself the sole Burden of such new Expences as might be judged necessary for the Advantage of the common Cause, whether with respect to the *Netherlands*, or other Countries, 'till that Disproportion had been entirely made up.

And though, when it was resolved to augment the Army in the *Netherlands* with 20000 Men, in the second Year of the War, *Great-Britain* would not be prevailed with to take upon herself the whole Charge of that Augmentation, yet she never pretended either then or since, that the *State* was obliged to bear more than a Moiety.

The Distinction made between the 60000 Men, which it is pretended should have served in the Field, and the 42000 applied to Garrisons, well deserves a particular Remark. It is pretended, that the 60000 Men only, ought to be considered in the Proportion to be observed between the Troops of her *British Majesty* and those of the *States-General*, as if the keeping of 42000 Men was only a private Charge, which ought not to be computed amongst those of the War.

But what is more unreasonable than this Pretension, the *State* was in a manner blocked up, at the Beginning of the War, by the Troops of *France*, which put her under a Necessity of reinforcing her Garrisons, as is supposed, to 42000 Men, while *Great-Britain*, by her happy Situation, could do with a far less Number. Where is there any Ground, what Reason is there to pretend that the *State* should not bring those Troops into the Account with those of her *British Majesty*? if not all of them, at least so many of them, as exceed the Number of Guards and Garrisons in *Great-Britain*. It cannot be denied, that when two Allies of equal Power, engage to make War in common with all their Forces, *omnibus viribus*, and that for instance, when one of the two finds occasion for 20000 Men more than the other, for his Garrisons; in this case it would be neither reasonable nor possible, that the one should take the Field with as many Troops as the other. How much less then when this Case falls out between two Allies of unequal Ability?

lity? and when he who has need of 20000 Men more for his Garrisons, is very much inferior to the other in Power?

But suppose that the Garrisons of the Places belonging to the *State* ought not to be set down, neither in whole nor in part, in the List of the Troops furnished against the Enemy, it would still be a great Mistake to compute them at 42000 Men for every Year of the War. It is true, that the List of the Garrisons, which is made out yearly before the taking of the Field, has amounted some Years to 40000 Men; but it is very well known, that as soon as the Army was formed, immediately part of the Garrisons of the Places which it covered, was drawn out; and that the rest, except a few Regiments, were always ordered to be in Readiness to march at the first Command, to replace such Regiments, as should suffer most in Sieges and Battles, which has been the Case almost every Year: So that their High Mightinesses have been obliged to be at the Charge of Recruits and Waggon for a great Part of the Regiments that were in Garrison, as well as for those that were in the Field.

It is as well known, that 'till the Reduction of *Brabant* and *Flanders*; that is to say, 'till 1706, a flying Camp was formed annually in *Flanders* out of the neighbouring Garrisons, which emptied all those Garrisons in general above a full third Part of their Men: That this Camp obliged the Enemy to keep a much greater Number of Troops in the Country of *Waes*, and along the Canal of *Bruges*; and that since 1706, it is so far from being true, that the Garrisons of the *States* took up above 42000 Men, that they never amounted to the third of them: All the rest are sent to the Field, and this was the Cause why the Dominions of the *States* were invaded oftener than once; which would not have happened, had their Garrisons been stronger.

'Tis true, that part of the *State's* Troops have been employed in the *Spanish* Garrisons; but so have those of her Majesty; and there they now actually serve as well as those of the *States-General*. And if, since the reducing of *Lille*, *Tournay*, and other Places that have been conquered in *French Flanders* and *Artois*, we have obliged to put Garrisons into them, those of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which they now cover, have been considerably lessened. Besides, the Enemy has been thereby reduced to a Necessity, for the Security of his Frontiers, to double his Garrisons in those Places, and to extend them as far as the *Soame*. It is wrong then to pretend, that the Army was weakened by putting Garrisons in the conquered Towns; but especially to affirm, as the Commons have done, that the *States* do at this very time employ above 42000 Men in those Garrisons.

From all this it is easy to judge who is most in the right, those who alledge, that during this whole War the *States* have had 20837 Men too few in the *Netherlands*, and that *Great-Britain* has furnished 13892 too many; or those who maintain on the contrary, that *Great-Britain* has not furnished the Moiety of what she ought to have done in the *Netherlands*, even though it should be granted, as it is not, that the 42000 Men, which are supposed to be employed in Garrisons, are not to be allowed a Place in the Account. The former go directly against the Treaties of the 3d of *March*, 1678, and of the 11th of *November*, 1701. and of the *Grand Alliance*. The latter ground themselves upon those Treaties, and follow the literal Meaning of them: the former reject the Proportion heretofore received, and the latter abide by it: the former have no re-

gard to the Difference betwixt the Strength of the two Nations, and the latter believe, that according to the Tenor of the Treaties, their Strength is the Rule of Proportion. The former, in short, ground themselves upon a mere verbal Message sent to the Parliament, without the Knowledge or Consent of the *States*; the latter abide by the Treaties, and by what Reason and the Strength of the one and the other State do plainly dictate.

We agree that the Queen of *Great-Britain* has, except in the *Netherlands*, and particularly by Sea, in *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, made greater Efforts than those of the *States-General*; but we deny that therefore *Great-Britain* has Reason to accuse the *States* of not having performed their Engagement, at least till such time as they prove to us, that their greater Efforts elsewhere have exceeded their Deficiencies in the *Netherlands*.

And since the Earl of *Strafford*, Ambassador-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her Majesty of *Great-Britain*, has notified, that as to the Troops by which the Army in the *Netherlands* has been augmented since 1703, her Majesty expects that the *States-General* should reinforce their Quota to the Proportion of the Fifths against the 15128 Men she has actually there in Pay, or that otherwise she will lessen the Number of them to the Proportion of two Fifths, against those of the *State*: We have thought proper, for the better understanding of that Matter, to subjoin here the following Account of the State of those Troops.

The Troops in the Pay of <i>Great-Britain</i> , which serve in the <i>Netherlands</i> , amount, according to the List laid before the Parliament in <i>February</i> , 1712, to	65197
We must deduct one Battallion of <i>Palatines</i> , inserted in the List of the Troops for the <i>Netherlands</i> , under the Year 1702, and which never served there	600

64597

The Troops in the Pay of the <i>State</i> , which serve in the <i>Netherlands</i> , amount, according to the foresaid List, to	122458
But under the Year 1701, too many are reckoned, by	1949

120509

On the other Side, under the Year 1702, they have omitted	1092
And under the Year 1706, too many are deducted for the Troops of <i>Italy</i> , by	1538

123139

The Troops of <i>Great-Britain</i> and of this <i>State</i> amount together to	187736
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According to what is pretended by <i>Great-Britain</i> , this <i>State</i> engaged, in the Beginning of the War, to furnish	102000
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178 A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.

Great-Britain	_____	_____	40000	
In the Year 1703.				
Great-Britain	_____	_____	10000	
This State	_____	_____		10000
Since the Year 1703, Great-Britain and this State took into Service 25736 Men, of which this State, as is pretended by Great-Britain, ought to pay three Fifths, or				15442
Great-Britain two Fifths, or			10294	
			60294	127442
Great-Britain pays in all, as above			64597	60294
Ergo, too much by	_____		4303	187736
This State pays in all, above		_____		123139
Ergo, too little by		_____		4303

It appears by the Account as above, first, that *Great-Britain* has furnished 14597 Men over and above the 40000 and the 10000, and not 25178 as is pretended. Secondly, that though we should grant the mistaken Propositions of *Great-Britain*, to wit, that at the Beginning of the War the *State* had agreed to furnish in *Flanders* 102000 Men against 40000, that *Great-Britain* by furnishing the said 40000 had performed her Treaties, and that the *State* ought to pay three Fifths of the Troops of Augmentation since 1703, and *Great-Britain* two Fifths; even then the Disproportion so much complained of would be reduced to 4303 Men.

As to which Equity would oblige them to consider, 1. That the *State* had augmented her Troops with above 50000 Men, long before *Great-Britain* made any considerable Augmentation on her Part; and 2dly, That according to the said List, the *State* has paid for some Years 8242 Men (or the Errors of the List being corrected) 7385 Men, above the 102000, which they pretend by Mistake the *State* was obliged to furnish as her Quota, and above the Moiety of the 20000 Men taken into Pay in 1703. So that even though we should take all the Pretensions of the House of Commons to be well founded, as they are not, the pretended Disproportion in Question would be so much ballanced by the two Articles above-mentioned, that it would vanish entirely, and not so much as deserve to be thought on.

This is enough fully to confute the Resolutions and Address of the House of Commons upon this Head. All that remains, is, to answer the Reproaches therein cast upon the *State*, as not having performed the Condition for prohibiting Commerce, upon which the Augmentation of 20000 Men was granted in 1703. In order to confute this Objection also, it will be sufficient to premise, that before it can be affirmed, as is done, that the *States* has been deficient in that pretended Condition, it must be proved that she accepted it, which she can never be proved

to have done longer than for one Year. The *State* consented to that Prohibition notwithstanding the Hardships they found in it, and which had no Place in *England*, because Commerce with *France* was in a manner prohibited there, even during the Peace. But their Engagement was only for a Year, by way of Trial, and by no means as a Condition to which the Augmentation of the Troops was annexed, and it was only out of pure Deference to the Sentiments of her *British* Majesty, who desired it, and had caused Instances to be made on that Subject. The Agreement was exactly observed all the Time it lasted, and after its Expiration, the *States General* notified to her Majesty, the Reasons they had against prolonging it. These Reasons were acquiesced in, there was no more Talk of the Prohibition of Commerce, the Augmentation of 20,000 Men was continued, and the House of Commons granted every Year the necessary Subsidies for the Proportion which *Great Britain* was to contribute thereto, without ever making the least Objection as to the Prohibition or Condition. Is it not then very strange, that after so long a Space of Time, this Matter should now be revived again, and a Pretence drawn from it to charge the *State* with not having performed a Condition which it did not accept, or only accepted for a Year?

There is also in the Address of the Commons an Assertion in Fact, which might give occasion to a great Mistake, if it was passed by without an Answer. They therein assert, That by the War in the *Netherlands*, the *State* has made great Acquisitions, as well in Revenues, as in Territories and Dominions. That out of the Revenues of those rich conquered Provinces, she might raise and maintain a considerable Augmentation of Troops against the Common Enemy, if they were duly applied for that End; But that the *State*, instead of employing them for that Use as they ought, had diverted them to her own Ease, and for the maintaining her Quota, as the same was regulated from the Beginning.

All the World knows, and it cannot be unknown in *England*, that since the Battle of *Ramelies*, *French Flanders*, and *Artois* have been the Theatre of the War; That two Armies, far more numerous than those of any of the preceding Years, have acted and subsisted there. That the Enemy continually raised Contributions from them, and that the open Country is so ruined by Forragings, raising of Pioneers, Waggon, Horses, and still more by Ravages, Plunder, demolishing of Houses, felling of Trees, the Fright and Mortality of Men and Cattle, &c. that it will require a very long Time, to restore it to a tolerable Condition. The Inhabitants of the Towns have also their Share in all these Calamities. They are oppressed with numerous Garrisons, to which they are obliged to furnish Lodging, Fire, and Candle. Instead of making any Profit by their Lands, they are obliged to maintain their Peasants at their own Charge, because otherwise they would starve with Hunger, or abandon the Farms. The Commerce and Manufactures, which were heretofore the principal Riches of *Lisle* and *Tournay* are quite lost, the Workmen lay down their Employ, or are obliged by their extreme Poverty to list themselves in the Army. A Country so miserable must be very unable to furnish the *State* wherewith to maintain a great Number of Troops against the Common Enemy, especially if we reckon the ordinary and indispensable Charges,

such as the repairing of Fortifications and Buildings, ruined or very much damaged by Sieges, and the filling of Magazines exhausted by the long Defence of Places, and other the like Charges at the Expence of the *State*.

But not to dwell upon general Arguments, it will be proper to take notice, that from the Year 1706, that is to say, since the taking of *Menin*, the *States* have received by those Conquests (which it is pretended brought them in so much Wealth) no more than 1590916 Livres; a Sum so small in Comparison of the Charges which they were obliged to be at for repairing the Fortifications, and filling up the Magazines of *Menin*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Doway*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, and for the other Reparations made within six Years Time, to all the Places, Forts, and Cittadels of those Countries, that certainly none can assert with Justice, that the same has not been laid out in that Country.

It is plain, that in *England* they have conceived such an Idea of the Revenue of the Conquests in *Flanders*, as is very remote from the Truth. The Town and Castellany of *Lisle*, with *Doway*, *Orchies*, and its other Dependencies, is without Contradiction the richest Conquest that has been made in the *Netherlands*. Yet the most Christian King never raised from it in Time of Peace, above 3 or 400,000 Livres *Flemish* Money, (which is 12 *per Cent.* less in Value than that of *Holland*) whether under the Name of Aids, Domains, Fortifications, or other ordinary Imposts, except only the Duties of Import and Export, of which, though a just Estimate cannot be made, because they are included in the general Farm of the conquered Countries, yet it is certain they are at present upon a very indifferent Foot. The extraordinary Subsidies and the Capitation by which the Revenues of the King of *France* have been augmented to support the War, did not bring him in 400,000 Livres *per Annum*, *Flemish* Money, from the beginning of this War to 1704, about which Time it was augmented with 82,540 Livres *per Annum*, but under an express Condition on the Part of the *States*, and a Promise on the Part of the Court, that for this Augmentation, the Province should be free from all other kind of Imposts, and that the same should cease, as well as the Capitation and other extraordinary Aids, the very Day the Peace should be proclaimed. This was all that the King of *France* could raise continually out of the Country. Not but that at several Times he has actually drawn several other considerable Sums from it, by the Creation of a great Number of Officers very burthensome to the Estates, Magistrates and Communities, or the Country, some having been made Hereditaries, and others redeemed again by the Estates and other Communities. But without examining whether such Means be lawfully used in a Country, where the Sovereign can levy no Money without the Consent of the Estates, it will be sufficient to say, that those Methods can be but once made use of.

We may see by this, whether the House of Commons had any Ground to suppose in their Address, that the *State* drew from her Conquests in the *Netherlands*, such an Augmentation of Revenues as could maintain a great Number of Troops, but that she applies it for her own Ease, toward the furnishing her Quota.

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The 3d Article is no better founded than the Two preceeding ones : They therein complain, that the *State* has not furnished what it ought for the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and give Estimates thereof, which are subjoined at the End of this Memorial, and marked Numb. 3, and 4.

If they have the least Equity, and any ways consider the great Efforts, above-mentioned, which have been made by the *State* in the *Netherlands*, they will agree no doubt, that it was not reasonable to pretend that the *States General* should still contribute to this other War, an equal Share with her *British Majesty*, and that indeed it is not possible for them to do it, *Great Britain* being much more powerful than this *State*, and she having nevertheless contributed a great deal more than *Great Britain* to the War in the *Netherlands*, it was but reasonable and just, that *Great Britain* should make some Compensation elsewhere. If then she has contributed more than this *State* to the Affairs of *Portugal* and *Spain*, this Overplus ought to be considered as a Supplement to make up what was wanting on her Part towards the War in the *Netherlands*, and not as a Deficiency of the *States* towards the War in *Spain* or *Portugal*.

By the Treaty concluded in 1703, the *States* obliged themselves to send thither, and to maintain there 4000 Men, being the third Part of 12,000 promised by that Treaty. They actually sent them thither, and kept them compleat till 1706 : That the Theatre of the War was changed, and transported from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to the Kingdom of *Valencia* and *Catalonia*. This Change was made without the Knowledge of the *State*, and the only Share she had in it was the doubling of her Expence, to send the Reinforcements that were designed for *Portugal* to *Spain*. The Number of Troops which the *States* have sent to *Portugal* or *Catalonia*, since the Treaty was concluded, amounts to 15724 Foot, 3120 Horse, and 4563 Recruits, in all 23807 Men, as appears by the List hereunto annexed, and marked Numb. 5. The Recruits which have been sent from hence to the Troops of the *State*, and those which have been levied in the Country, by lifting *Flemings*, *Walloons*, and *Germans*, that deserted from the Enemies Army, were so considerable, that the Troops of the *State* were generally more compleat, and fitter for Service, than any of the other Allies.

We agree, That by the Treaty *Great Britain* was not obliged to furnish above one Third of those 12,000 Men, and that the Emperor was to make good the other Third ; but it is known, that from the Beginning her *British Majesty* took upon herself the Emperor's whole Quota without any Concurrence on the Part of this *State* : So that it is contrary to Reason, that this Article should now be brought into the Account against the *States*, among the Efforts which her Majesty has made out of the *Netherlands*. The Treaty with *Portugal*, obliges the *States General* only to one Third of the 12000 Men, and they made them good. After this, they did not oblige themselves to any other Proportion than that of the Grand Alliance, and of the Treaties of the 3d of *March*, 1671, and of the 11th of *Novemb*, 1701, which oblige them to make War with all their Forces, and to procure to the utmost of their Power a reasonable Satisfaction to the Emperor as to the Succession of *Spain*. This they have also faithfully executed, so that they cannot without In-

justice

justice be denied the Testimony of having in this War made their greatest Efforts, equal unto, and beyond their Allies. Further, though it should be allowed, that the *State* ought to have sent more Troops to *Catalonia*, and also to have replaced in *Portugal* those which marched out of it in 1706, to *Spain*, it must nevertheless be certain, according to all the Rules of Equity, that the considerable Efforts she has made in the *Netherlands*, over and above what *Great Britain* has done, would abundantly make up those pretended Deficiencies.

Upon this it is fit to observe, That in the Address of the Commons, they reckon the extraordinary Charge of the War of *Spain* and *Portugal* to a very great Sum; but as to that of the *Netherlands*, they say no more, than that the extraordinary Charges of the War there came to above 1,107,096 *l.* Sterling; and that the House of Commons could not make a Comparison betwixt that Sum and what the *State* had laid out for the same End in the *Netherlands*, because the Estimate of it was not communicated to them. But we may supply that Defect, by telling them here, That if *Great Britain* laid out very great Sums for the Extraordinaries of the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, the *States General* have also laid out very great Sums for those of the War in the *Netherlands*, viz. 65,861,821 *Livres*; so that they exceed those of *Great Britain* 53,683,765 *Livres*, reckoning Eleven *Dutch* Guilders for one Pound Sterling.

Perhaps it will be alledged here, That the *States* have raised great Sums by Contributions, Passports, the Subsidies of *Liege* and *Limbourg*, and the Revenues of a Part of the Upper Quarter of *Guelderland*, that is in their Possession; But these Advantages speedily vanish, when ballanced by the Contributions that are paid by the Inhabitants of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, subject to the *State*; by Part of those who inhabit Two of the Seven Provinces; by the Expence of the Fortifications and Magazines of *Huy*, *Limbourg*, *Ruremond*, *Tenlo*, *Stevenswaert*, *Bon* and *Traerbach*; by the new Works which they have added to several of these Places for the Good of the Common Cause; and by the Expence of the Artillery and Ammunition of War for all the Sieges that have been made during this long and burdensome War, none of which are reckoned in the 65,861,821 *Livres* abovementioned; and in fine, the Winter Quarters which the auxiliary Troops of *Prussia* have taken each Year in the Upper Quarters of *Guelderland*; and the continual Marches of other Troops to and fro through the said Country, have so ruined the Inhabitants, that they are no longer able to pay their Taxes.

The fourth and last Head which remains to be examined, relates to the Subsidies which, during the first Year of the War, were paid in equal Shares, and afterwards unequally by *Great Britain* and the *State*; the Estimate of it, which was laid before the Commons, is the Paper annexed, marked Numb. 6. Upon which we shall observe,

1. That this Estimate takes no Notice of the 40,000 Crowns *per Annum*, which the *States General* pay alone to the Bishop of *Munster*; nor of the 100,000 Crowns, which they have paid in the like manner annually to the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, from the Year 1704, to the Year 1709. Nor do they take notice of 400,000 Crowns, which the *States General* were obliged to pay to facilitate the Treaty with the King of *Denmark*, for two stated Obligations of a greater Sum

Sum that ought to have been restored to the said King against an unstated Pretension, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty concluded with his *Danish* Ministry, the 15th of *June*, 1701. Which Sum of 400,000 Crowns might very well have been brought here to account on the Part of the *State*, for several good Reasons.

2. That by the Treaty with *Portugal*, *Great Britain* is charged no higher than the *State*; only that in the same Manner, and for the same Reasons that her Majesty thought fit to take upon herself the Emperor's Quota of the 12,000 Men, she likewise charged herself with his Quota and the Subsidies. This Third may indeed be placed to the Emperor's Account, but not to that of the *States General*; and if this be deducted, as it ought to be, the Article of the Subsidies paid to the King of *Portugal* by *Great Britain*, in Opposition to those of the *State*, will be reduced to half, which makes a Diminution of 2722222 Crowns, so that the Difference of the Payments between *Great Britain* and the *State*, will be nothing so great, as it is made in the Estimate laid before the House of Commons.

3. Supposing nevertheless, that laying aside those just Considerations, we agree that *Great-Britain* has paid during the Ten Years War, 3155032 Crowns and a half more than the *State*, which will be little more than 300000 Crowns *per Annum*, this Overplus must be owned to be very inconsiderable, with Respect to the Difference there is between the Ability of the one and the other *State*. It must likewise be granted, that the *States*, by paying the Moiety of the Subsidies to *Denmark* and others, are in Proportion more burthened by the Payment of that Money, than *Great-Britain* is by what she has paid over and above upon this Article.

Nor ought we to pass over in Silence, that this *State*, by charging herself at first with the Moiety of the Subsidies promised to the King of *Denmark* and other Princes, has done more than ought to have been demanded from her; but what she did in this Case, should not have been drawn into Consequence for the other Treaties that were afterwards to be made, and she never obliged herself to pay indifferently the Moiety of all the Subsidies which should be promised afterwards on the Account of the War. We may justly say on the contrary, that she had very good Reasons not to engage herself after that manner, if we consider that she is much inferior in Ability to *Great-Britain*, and the Treaties made in the preceding War with the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Princes; by which it appears, that the Proportion in the Payment of Subsidies granted for carrying on the War any where else than in the *Netherlands*, was for the most Part adjusted at two thirds for *Great-Britain*, to one third for this *State*: So that consider the Matter which way you please, *Great-Britain* has no Cause of Complaints in this Respect. We must likewise observe that formerly, even in *England*, they very well understood that this Proportion in the Subsidies and other Charges of the War out of the *Netherlands* was not unreasonable; since not only her Majesty took upon herself the Emperor's Share, in the Treaty of *Portugal*, but likewise in the Treaty which the Emperor made with the Duke of *Savoy*, long before the *States* entered into it, her Majesty willingly charged herself two thirds of the Subsidies which were to be paid to that Prince.

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This evidently shews, that tho' the Inequality in the Payments of the Subsidies, and of other the Expences which her Majesty charged upon herself, should be contrary to Proportion, as it is not, *Great-Britain* could not with any Ground now make it a Cause of Complaint against this *State*, since her Majesty did voluntarily charge herself with those Payments.

The Result of all that we have now said is this, That according to Treaties and Alliances, *Great-Britain* and this *State* are each of them obliged to employ all their Strength, in the present War: That since the Quantum or Quota of the one and the other has not been regulated by any Convention or Agreement, their Proportions neither ought nor can be regulated, but upon the Foot of their respective Abilities: That *Great-Britain* is incontrovertibly more powerful than this *State*, and that from this Principle we have likewise an incontrovertible Right to conclude, that she ought to contribute more to all the Charges and Expence of the War: That in every Respect the *State* has fulfilled her Engagements with relation to *Great-Britain*: That if in some Places it has not contributed so much as she, it has in others contributed a great deal more: That in general we can truly say, that in Proportion to her Strength, she has done as much, at least, as *Great-Britain*, or any other of the Allies: That as *Great-Britain* deserves high Commendation and a grateful Acknowledgment for her general Efforts, in Favour of the Common Cause, and for the good Effects, which by the Blessing of God have followed upon them: We likewise trust, that every one who looks with an equitable and impartial Eye upon the Efforts which the *States-General* have made on their Part, both before the War, and since it began, to this very Day, they will do them the Justice to own, that they no way deserve what they are charged with by the Resolutions and Address of the House of Commons; and that in short, it can neither with Reason nor Justice be demanded of the *States*, that notwithstanding the Expences they are at in the *Netherlands*, which are incomparably greater than those of *Great-Britain*, we should contribute equally with her in other Countries, and that *Great-Britain* should only contribute to the Charge of the War by Sea, in Proportion of five to three, and not do the like in other Cases.

We do not believe that we ought to take for a Reflection on the *State*, what 'the House says in their Address, ' That those who have all the Profit of a ' War, cannot easily be disposed to deprive themselves of it, and that the true ' Reasons, why so many People delight in War, which brings annually from ' *Great-Britain* a rich Harvest into their Granaries, are easy to be guessed at. For besides that those Words cannot be applied to the *State*, with the least Shadow of Reason, we are able to prove uncontrovertibly, by a great Number of the Queen's Speeches to her Parliament, and by the Addresses of both Houses, that *Great-Britain*, as well as this *State*, thought it was absolutely necessary to push on the War with Vigour. The *States* could not desire the Continuation of a War, the Expence of which she is scarce able to bear, and from which she reaped no Advantages capable to make up her Losses by it; on the contrary, she had always wished, and does now wish from the Bottom of her Heart for such a Peace, as may in some Measure compensate the Treasure and Blood it has cost her, as may answer the Blessings which God Almighty has been pleased so abundantly to give to the Arms of the Confederates, and as may, humanly speaking, after-

ascertain the Peace of *Europe*, against the exorbitant Power of *France*, without which, we fear the War has been begun and carried on to little Purpose.

We might also prove here by very good Arguments, that the abovementioned Address, in the Reflections upon the *State* on the Head of the Barrier-Treaty, contains very false Propositions; but besides that, we have a Right to stand by that Treaty which was concluded and ratified with all the due Formalities, we do not think it to the Purpose to enter at present into the Discussion of that Matter, and so much the less, because there is a Negotiation on Foot, to see if by any Explanation or otherwise, the Objections which at present seem to be made against it on the Part of *Great-Britain* can be removed.

N^o. I.

By the Lords Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c. and of all her Majesty's Plantations, &c.

HER Majesty's Pleasure having been signified to us, by Mr. Secretary *St. John*, that we should (in Pursuance of an Address from the House of Commons) prepare an Account of the Quota's of her Majesty's Ships and those of her Allies, during this present War, and what Agreements and Conventions have been made for the said Quota's, and how the same have been observed, we do in Obedience to her Majesty's Command humbly report :

That by the Treaties between the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, their Proportion of the Ships of the Line of Battle, to act in Conjunction with those of this Kingdom in the *Channel*, and in or about the *Mediterranean*, ought to be 3 to our 5.

That since the Commencement of this present War, not only Sir *David Mitchell*, but Sir *James Wisheart* have been appointed by her Majesty's Command to go to *Holland*, and to adjust with the *States-General* or their Deputies, the Quota's of their Ships of War, to act in Conjunction with those of her Majesty, as aforesaid ; and what was done in Pursuance of those Treaties, was sent to her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, to which we do humbly refer.

And as to the Number of Ships of the Line of Battle, which the *States-General* have each Year, during the War, joined to her Majesty's on the fore-mentioned Service, the same will appear by the following Account, which has been computed with as much Exactness as the nature of the thing will bear, *viz.*

In the Year 1702, her Majesty had 44 Ships employed in the *Channel* and *Soundings*, of the Line of Battle, and 30 in and about the *Mediterranean*, making in the whole 74, and they were joined with no more than 33 of the *States-General*, whereas they should have been 44.

1703. Seventy-nine of her Majesty's Ships were employed in the aforesaid Services, and but 22 of the *States-General*, which should have been 47.

1704. There were 74 of the Queen's Ships, and 18 *Dutch*, which should have been 44.

1705. Seventy-nine of her Majesty's Ships were employed as aforesaid, and 20 *Dutch* instead of 47.

1706. There were but 15 Ships of the *States-General*, acted in Conjunction with 78 of the Queen's Ships, whereas they should have been 46.

1707. To 72 Ships of her Majesty's, there was no more than 27 of the *States-General*, instead of 43.

1708. The *States-General* joined 25 Ships of the Line to 69 of her Majesty's, instead of 43.

1709. No more than 11 Ships of the *States* were joined to 67 of the Queen's Ships, instead of 42.

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 187

1710. Her Majesty had 62 Ships employed on the aforesaid Services, and the *States-General* appointed no more than 13, to act in Conjunction with them, instead of 37.

1711. There were no more than 12 *Dutch* Ships instead of 35, appointed to act with 59 of the Queen's Ships, which, as well as those in the preceding Years, were employed in the *Mediterranean*, and not so much as one Ship allotted by the *States-General* to act in concert with those of her Majesty's, against the Enemy's Ships before *Dunkirk*, and in the *Channel*.

Signed by

James Wisheart,
George Byng,
William Drake,
George Clark.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 21.
1711-12.

By Order of their Lordships,

Signed,

John Burchett.

N^o. II.

Estimate of the Forces which the Queen furnished from Time to Time for the Service in Flanders, since the Beginning of this War.

Years	Nations.	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons.	N ^o . of Soldiers	By what Treaties.	Years
1701	English	12		10000	Treaty betwixt England and Holland, dated the 3d of March, 1677.	
Total				8459		
1702	English	12	17		According to the Votes and Address of the Lower House to regulate her Majesty's Quota at 40000 Men; which Votes passed on a Message from the late King by Mr. Secretary Vernon, who declared, that his Majesty had ordered him to lay before the House the Quota which was to be furnished by his Majesty, the Emperor, and the States-General.	
	Danish	4	10½			
	Prussians	5	2			
	Hanoverians	2½	14	21612		
	Hessians	8	7	600		
Total				40671		
1703	English	35	50½		In Pursuance of the Treaty betwixt England and Holland, of March 15, 1703, about a common Augmentation of 20000 Men.	
	Holstein Gottorp	2	4			
	Saxe-Golba	1	3			
	Leigois	1	2			
	Munsterians	1½				
	Hessians	1½		10000		
	East-Friesland	½				
	Osnabrug	½				
	Palatines	2				
Total				50671		
Total		45½	59½			

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.

189

1704	-	-	-	-	45½	59½	2000		
1705	-	-	-	-	45½	59½			
1706	Palatines	-	-	-	2½	2			
	Total				48½	61½	52671		
1707	Saxons				2	4	2319		
	Hanoverians					2	400		
	Total				50½	67½	55390		
	Troops drawn off for Italy				1	3	2600	Deduct	
	Saxe-Gotha				2				
	Palatines								
1708	English under General Erle				47½	64½	52790	Remains	
	English				5		4500		
					1		938		
1709	Saxons				53½	64½	58228		
	Prussians				2	2			
	Treeves				5	14	9471		
	English Guards				1				
1710	Saxons				62½	80½	67699		
					2		1548		
	English				64½	80½	69247		
						2	450		
	Total				64½	82½	69697	Deduct	
	English drawn off to Canada				5		4500		
	Remains				59½	82½	65197	Remains	

Note, There are 9 Battalions and 21 Prussian Squadrons, 3 Battalions, and 2 Hessian Squadrons, for whom her Majesty pays nothing but Bread and Forage in Conjunction with the States, and are not specified in this List.

Her

Her Majesty's Half.

Prussians	4½	6	10½	11½	7000
Hessians	1½	—	1	—	—
So that her Majesty has for her effectual Quota in Flanders	65½	—	—	—	—
			94		72197

Quota agreed at the Hague in 1701, to serve against France.

By the Dutch —
Deduct. for Gar. —120000
42000Remains for the Field
By England60000
40000But Holland has augmented her Troops
to —

Deducted for Garrisons

129458
42000Remains for the Field
England has augmented her Troops to87458
72197

Total for the Field

159655

England has no more to furnish to augment her Troops in Proportion than

58305

So that England has furnished more than her Quota —

13892

72197

N. B. As the Number of Garrisons is augmented by the Conquests made in the *Netherlands* during this War; so they have been obliged to employ more Troops in them than the first 42000 Men, which by Consequence lessens the Troops designed for the Field, and so the Number of Troops which *England* has furnished must rise much higher than the said

13892

And the Deficiency of the *Dutch* Troops must be greater than the said

20837

Estimate of the Forces furnished by the States-General from Time to Time, for the Service in Flanders, from the Beginning of this War.

Years	Nations.	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons.	N ^o . of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1701	Dutch	75	73	79858	
Total					
1702	Anspach	75	73		In Pursuance of an Agreement made with <i>England</i> , to bring 60000 Men into the Field, and leave 42000 in Garrisons..
	Mecklenburg	2	4		
	Hanover and Zell	2			
	Hesse-Cassel	6	11		
	Palatines	3	8	30384	
	Danes	7	10½		
	Munsterians	5	2		
	Prussians	2	2		
	Hessians	2½	7		
		107	117½	110242	In Pursuance of a Treaty between <i>England</i> and <i>Holland</i> , about a common Augmentation of 20000 Men.
1703	Englisch	2			
	Holstein Gottorp	1	4		
	Saxe-Gotba	1	3		
	Leigeois	1½	2		
	Munsterians	1½			
	Hessians	1½		10000	
	East-Friesland	1½			
	Osnabrug	1½			
	Palatines	2			
	Danes 260				
Total					
		117½	126½	120242	

Years	Nations.	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons.	N ^o . of Soldiers
1704	- - - - -	117½	126½	
1705	- - - - -	117½	126½	
1706	Palatines	1½	1	1000
	Total	118½	127½	121142
1707	Dutch Cavalry			1160
	Saxons	2	4	2319
	Hanoverians		2	400
	Total	120½	133½	125121
	Troops sent to Italy			
	Dutch	3	10	
	Saxe-Gotba	1	3	
	Palatines	9	8	12850
1708	Remains	107½	112½	112271
	The Switzers and Grisons	107½	112½	112271
	augmented			1144
	Wirtemberg	5	4	
	Wolfenbuttle	2	2	
	Saxons	2		
	Holsteiners	1		
	Munsterians	1		
1710	Total	118½	118½	122458
1711		111½	111½	
		118½	111½	

Note, There are 9 Battalions and 21 Squadrons of Prussians, 3 Battalions and 2 Squadrons of Hessians, to whom her Majesty, in Conjunction with the States General, paid nothing but Bread and Forage, and which are not specified in this List.

The Half for the States is

Prussians	Batal- lions.	Squa- dron.
Hessians	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
So that the States-General have in Flanders for their Share of Effective Men	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
	124 $\frac{1}{2}$	130

Quota agreed at the Hague, 1701, to act against France.

By England	—	—	40000
By Holland	—	102000	—
Deducted for Garri- sons	—	42000	—

Remains for the Field — 60000 Men.

But England has encreased her Troops to	—	10000
And the Dutch to - 129458	—	—
Deducted for Garri- sons	—	42000

Remains for the Field	87458
Total of Forces	159655

If the Dutch had augmented in Proportion, they must furnish for the Field — 108295
So that the Dutch furnished less than their Proportion — 20837

Remains as above	87458
No.	193

This Estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it, and taken out of the Books which was found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State and War, and likewise out of Accounts given by those who were employed in this Service.

Signed,

H. St. John.

N^o. III.

Estimate of the Forces which the Queen furnished from Time to Time for the Service in Spain, since the Beginning of the War.

Years	Nations.	Batallions.	Squadrons.	N ^o . of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1705	English	6	2	5000	
1706	English	5		4170	
	English	7	4	8152	
	French Refugees	3			
	Total	21	6	17322	
1708	Germans	6		4360	
	Italians and Germans	6	7	5480	
	Portuguese	2	21	5569	
	Palatines	2		1300	
	Total	37	34	34031	
1709	English	9	2	7904	
	Germans and Italians	5		3180	
	Total	51	36	45115	
1710	Germans and Italians	4		3000	
	Portuguese	1		845	
	Total	56	36	48960	
1711	English	9		7013	
	Imperial Dragoons		12	2000	
	Total	65	48	57973	

The Difference on the Part of the Queen is 55 Battalions and 52 Squadrons.

} These Troops, in June 1711, were reduced to 3493 Men, in 15 Squadrons and 2 Battalions.

Note, The Body of *English* and *Dutch* Troops, which in 1706 marched out of *Portugal* into *Spain*, and have served there since, are not contained in these Lifts.

Note, Notwithstanding the Reductions made of the Queen's Troops in *Spain*, the Reinforcements which were sent thither every Year afterwards were so considerable, that they much exceeded the Reductions. So that there still remains in *Spain* 24 Battalions, and 14 Squadrons of *English* Troops; of whom there were made Prisoners of War in the Battle of *Bribeuga* 8 Battalions and 11 Squadrons. Besides, there are still 87 Battalions, and 52 Squadrons of Auxiliary Troops in the Queen's Pay, including the 13 Battalions and 18 Squadrons of the King of *Spain*, for which the Queen pays Subsidies; and those are not contained in these Lifts.

Estimate of the Forces furnished from Time to Time by the States-General for the Service in Spain, since the Beginning of the War.

Years	Nations.	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons.	N ^o . of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1705	Dutch	4		2500	
1706	Dutch	6		4000	
Total		10		6500	
1708	Palatines	4	8	5700	
Total		14	8	12200	

These *Palatines*, with the Remains of the *Dutch*, made, after the Battle of *Almanza*, a Body of 6 Battalions and 14 Squadrons; and this was near upon the Number of Troops which the *States-General* had in *Spain* before the said Battle; after which, they sent no more Troops to that Kingdom.

Note, In the Beginning of 1711, the Emperor sent a Regiment of 2000 to *Spain*; and upon the manifold Representations of the *Imperial* Ministers, that nothing was wanting to finish the War in *Spain*, but an Augmentation of 2000 Horse, the Queen took into her Pay two *Imperial* Regiments amounting to that Number; the *States-General* promised at the same Time to send 4 Battalions thither, but have not yet done it.

The *States-General* have at present in *Spain*, 6 Battalions and 14 Squadrons.

This Estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it, and taken out of the Books which were found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State and War; and likewise out of the Accounts given by those who were employed in this Service.

Signed,

H. St. John.

N^o. IV.

Estimate of the Forces which the Queen furnished from Time to Time for the Service of Portugal, since the Beginning of this War.

Years	Nations.	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons.	N ^o . of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1703	English	8	6	8000	Treaty betwixt the Emperor, England, Holland, and Portugal, of the 16th of May, 1703.
1704	English	2	2	1810	Note, These Troops were sent to make good the Loss sustained in the Beginning of 1704, before <i>Castele de Vide</i> , and in <i>Portugal</i> .
Total in 1704		9	8		Note, One of these Batallions, that suffered much at the above-mentioned Places, was sent to <i>England</i> to recruit.
1706 Formed out of Prisoners		2			

Note, The same Year the whole Body of the English and Dutch marched with the Portuguese Army into Castille; but instead of coming back again to Portugal, the whole Army was obliged, at the Close of that Year, to retire to Valencia.

The

The King of *Portugal* having desired a new Supply of Troops for the Security of his Kingdom, her Majesty not only sent some of her own Troops thither, but also levied others there at her own Charge, as follows.

Years	Nations	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons,	Nº. of Soldiers
1707 <i>English</i>		4		2900
1708 <i>English</i>		2		1710
<i>Portuguese</i>		1		876
Formed out of Deferters		1		845
1709 <i>English</i>			5	912
<i>Portuguese</i>			10	1615
1710 Formed out of Deferters			4	646
		8	19	9504

Which Troops were actually in *Portugal*, at her Majesty's Charge, in 1711, except the Battallion of Deferters, who were taken Prisoners of War, and cashiered in 1710.

Estimate

Estimate of the Forces which the States-General furnished from Time to Time for the Service in Portugal, since the Beginning of this War.

Years	Nations.	Batal- lions.	Squa- drons.	Nº. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1703 Dutch		6	4	4000	Treaty betwixt the Emperor, England, Holland, and Portu- gal, of the 16th of May, 1703.
1704 Dutch		2	—	1200	N. B. These Troops were sent to make good the Damage sustained in the Beginning of the Year 1704.

Note, The States-General maintained their Quota of One Third 'till the Battle of Almanza, but sent not one Man to Por-
tugal since that Time; so that the Queen alone sent thither, and levied at her own Charge, 8 Battalions and 19 Squadrons.

Note, The King of Portugal was obliged by the Treaty of the 16th of May, 1703, to maintain at his own Charge in the
Field 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse.

And in Consideration of a Subsidy of a Million of Rixdollars per Annum, of which her Majesty paid Two Thirds, and the
States-General One Third, that King obliged himself to furnish 13000 Men more: But the whole Body of those Troops never
amounted to the last mentioned Number.

This Estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it from the Books that were found in the Offices of the Secretaries of
State and War; and likewise out of the Accounts given by those who were employed in that Service.

Signed,

H. St. John.

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Anchor, in Pall-mall.

Of the abovementioned Twenty Three Battallions, those that follow were commanded Home, or incorporated with others in Spain, having suffered so much, that it was not possible to recruit them in Portugal and Spain, and they were all immediately recruited and compleated at Home.

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.

Nº.

1704	—	—	—	2	—	1320
1707	3 Batal. at	792	2376	—	—	—
	4 at	660	2640	—	—	—
	2 at,	600	1200	9	—	6216
1711	—	—	—	2	—	1200
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	13	—	8736
The Palatine Foot was, in 1709, reduced to 3300 Men, of whom the States paid 2591, making up four Battallions; so that the Quota of the States was lessened —						
	—	—	—	2	—	1877
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	15	—	10613
So that the States, in 1712, paid in Spain, including the Regiment of Diesbag —						
	—	—	—	3	18	5111
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	23	18	15724
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	3120
	—	—	—	—	—	3120

N^o. 6. ESTIMATE of the SUBSIDIES annually granted by Parliame
with them, since the

To whom the SUBSIDIES are paid.

	1701.		1702.	
	England.	Holland.	England.	Ho
	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Cr
To the King of Denmark in Bank Money	75000	75000	150000	15
To the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel			50000	5
To augment his Troops and march them to Italy				
To the Elector of Triers				
To the Duke of Savoy				
To the King of Portugal				
To the King of Prussia				
For Bread and Forage for 12000 Men in Flanders				
To the Elector Palatine				
Total	75000	75000	200000	20
	1707.		1708.	
To the King of Denmark	150000	150000	150000	15
To the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel	25000	25000	25000	2
To augment his Troops and march them to Italy	33333 $\frac{1}{2}$	16666 $\frac{2}{3}$	66666 $\frac{2}{3}$	3
Bread-Waggons, Forage and for Hospitals of his Troops in Italy	46666 $\frac{2}{3}$	23333 $\frac{1}{3}$	107374 $\frac{1}{2}$	5
To the Elector of Triers	25000	25000	25000	2
To the Duke of Savoy	640000	320000	640000	32
To the King of Portugal	666666 $\frac{2}{3}$	333333 $\frac{1}{3}$	666666 $\frac{2}{3}$	33
To the King of Prussia	200000	100000	200000	10
For Bread and Forage for 12000 Men in Flanders	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	15
To the Elector Palatine	20000	20000	20000	2
Total	1962118 $\frac{1}{3}$	1168784 $\frac{2}{3}$	2056159 $\frac{2}{3}$	121

N. B. The Sum of 50000*l.* was yearly granted to the King of Spain, by the Parliament, since 1707, inclusive, for his own Maintenance, and that of his Troops, besides what was given above, according to this Account.

N. B. Besides the Subsidies to the King of Prussia above-mentioned, his Prussian Majesty requested of the Queen, as her Quota, Two Thirds of 70000 Crowns to recruit his Troops in Italy, that the same might be in a Condition to act there in 1710, and 1711. And this Sum was granted by an Act of Parliament.

N. B. Besides the ordinary Subsidy for the Duke of Savoy of 640000 Crowns *per Annum*, there was granted him for the Year 1706, 50000*l.* And for the Year 1709, 1710, and 1711, 100000*l. per Annum*, for the extraordinary Charges of the War in Italy.

N. B. By the Treaty with the King of Prussia, of the 20th of November, 1704, that a Body of 8000 Men of his Troops, should act in Italy; it was stipulated, That he should have 300000 Crowns *per Annum*; one Half to be paid by England, and the other by the Dutch. But notwithstanding this Treaty is only signed by England,

This Estimate is as exact as I could possibly make of the Secretaries of State and War, and like this Service.

liament, so as the same are paid to Foreign Princes, in Pursuance of the Treaties made the Beginning of this War.

1702.	1703.		1704.		1705.		1706.	
Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.
Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.
150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000
50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	25000	25000
							47124	23562
	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000
	160000	80000	64000	32000	64000	32000	64000	32000
	111111	55555 $\frac{1}{2}$	66666 $\frac{1}{2}$	33333 $\frac{1}{2}$	66666 $\frac{2}{3}$	33333 $\frac{1}{2}$	66666 $\frac{2}{3}$	33333 $\frac{1}{2}$
					194520	67260	200000	100000
			20000	20000	20000	20000	82973	82973
							20000	20000
200000	496111	360555 $\frac{1}{2}$	1551666 $\frac{2}{3}$	898333 $\frac{1}{2}$	1746186 $\frac{2}{3}$	995593 $\frac{1}{2}$	1856763 $\frac{2}{3}$	1079868 $\frac{1}{2}$
1708.	1709.		1710.		1711.		Total.	
150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	1575000	1575000
25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	350000	350000
33333 $\frac{1}{3}$	66666 $\frac{2}{3}$	33333 $\frac{1}{3}$	66666 $\frac{2}{3}$	33333 $\frac{1}{2}$	66666 $\frac{2}{3}$	33333 $\frac{1}{3}$	347124	173561 $\frac{1}{5}$
53687 $\frac{1}{3}$							154041 $\frac{1}{3}$	77020
25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	225000	225000
320000	640000	320000	640000	320000	640000	320000	5280000	2640000
333333 $\frac{1}{3}$	666666 $\frac{2}{3}$	333333 $\frac{1}{3}$	666666 $\frac{2}{3}$	333333 $\frac{1}{3}$	666666 $\frac{2}{3}$	333333 $\frac{1}{3}$	5444444 $\frac{1}{2}$	2722222 $\frac{1}{5}$
100000	200000	100000	200000	100000	200000	100000	1394020	697060
155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	155451 $\frac{2}{3}$	860231 $\frac{1}{3}$	860231 $\frac{1}{2}$
20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	160000	160000
1215805 $\frac{2}{3}$	1948785	1162118 $\frac{1}{3}$	1948785	1162118 $\frac{1}{3}$	1948785	1162118 $\frac{1}{3}$	15790361	9480296

the it is not doubted but the *Dutch* will agree to it. In the mean Time, we see, as above, ops, that *England* has paid her Two Thirds.

N. B. The Two Thirds of the Subsidy of a Million of Rixdollars for the King of *Portugal* have always been paid by *England*; tho' it appears by the Vth Article of the Offensive Alliance, that this Sum ought to have been paid by the *Emperor*, *England* and *Holland*.

N. B. In the Beginning of this War, the Subsidies were equally divided betwixt *England* and *Holland*.

But it appears by the Sums above specified, that the
Share of *England* amounts to 15790361
And that of *Holland* to 9480296

25270657
Both together
The Half of this Sum for *England* 12635328 $\frac{1}{2}$
So that *England* paid more than her Share 15790361
3155032 $\frac{1}{2}$ } as above.

make it; and taken out of the Books which were found in the Offices
likewise out of the Accounts given by those who were employed in

Signed,

H. St. John.

As the same are paid to Foreign Princes in the Treasuries made
 Payment of this War.

1701		1702		1703		1704		1705		1706		1707		1708		1709		1710		1711		1712		1713		1714		1715		1716		1717		1718		1719		1720		1721		1722		1723		1724		1725		1726		1727		1728		1729		1730		1731		1732		1733		1734		1735		1736		1737		1738		1739		1740		1741		1742		1743		1744		1745		1746		1747		1748		1749		1750		1751		1752		1753		1754		1755		1756		1757		1758		1759		1760		1761		1762		1763		1764		1765		1766		1767		1768		1769		1770		1771		1772		1773		1774		1775		1776		1777		1778		1779		1780		1781		1782		1783		1784		1785		1786		1787		1788		1789		1790		1791		1792		1793		1794		1795		1796		1797		1798		1799		1800		1801		1802		1803		1804		1805		1806		1807		1808		1809		1810		1811		1812		1813		1814		1815		1816		1817		1818		1819		1820		1821		1822		1823		1824		1825		1826		1827		1828		1829		1830		1831		1832		1833		1834		1835		1836		1837		1838		1839		1840		1841		1842		1843		1844		1845		1846		1847		1848		1849		1850		1851		1852		1853		1854		1855		1856		1857		1858		1859		1860		1861		1862		1863		1864		1865		1866		1867		1868		1869		1870		1871		1872		1873		1874		1875		1876		1877		1878		1879		1880		1881		1882		1883		1884		1885		1886		1887		1888		1889		1890		1891		1892		1893		1894		1895		1896		1897		1898		1899		1900		1901		1902		1903		1904		1905		1906		1907		1908		1909		1910		1911		1912		1913		1914		1915		1916		1917		1918		1919		1920		1921		1922		1923		1924		1925		1926		1927		1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937		1938		1939		1940		1941		1942		1943		1944		1945		1946		1947		1948		1949		1950		1951		1952		1953		1954		1955		1956		1957		1958		1959		1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971		1972		1973		1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1985		1986		1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992		1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016		2017		2018		2019		2020		2021		2022		2023		2024		2025		2026		2027		2028		2029		2030		2031		2032		2033		2034		2035		2036		2037		2038		2039		2040		2041		2042		2043		2044		2045		2046		2047		2048		2049		2050		2051		2052		2053		2054		2055		2056		2057		2058		2059		2060		2061		2062		2063		2064		2065		2066		2067		2068		2069		2070		2071		2072		2073		2074		2075		2076		2077		2078		2079		2080		2081		2082		2083		2084		2085		2086		2087		2088		2089		2090		2091		2092		2093		2094		2095		2096		2097		2098		2099		2100		2101		2102		2103		2104		2105		2106		2107		2108		2109		2110		2111		2112		2113		2114		2115		2116		2117		2118		2119		2120		2121		2122		2123		2124		2125		2126		2127		2128		2129		2130		2131		2132		2133		2134		2135		2136		2137		2138		2139		2140		2141		2142		2143		2144		2145		2146		2147		2148		2149		2150		2151		2152		2153		2154		2155		2156		2157		2158		2159		2160		2161		2162		2163		2164		2165		2166		2167		2168		2169		2170		2171		2172		2173		2174		2175		2176		2177		2178		2179		2180		2181		2182		2183		2184		2185		2186		2187		2188		2189		2190		2191		2192		2193		2194		2195		2196		2197		2198		2199		2200		2201		2202		2203		2204		2205		2206		2207		2208		2209		2210		2211		2212		2213		2214		2215		2216		2217		2218		2219		2220		2221		2222		2223		2224		2225		2226		2227		2228		2229		2230		2231		2232		2233		2234		2235		2236		2237		2238		2239		2240		2241		2242		2243		2244		2245		2246		2247		2248		2249		2250		2251		2252		2253		2254		2255		2256		2257		2258		2259		2260		2261		2262		2263		2264		2265		2266		2267		2268		2269		2270		2271		2272		2273		2274		2275		2276		2277		2278		2279		2280		2281		2282		2283		2284		2285		2286		2287		2288		2289		2290		2291		2292		2293		2294		2295		2296		2297		2298		2299		2300		2301		2302		2303		2304		2305		2306		2307		2308		2309		2310		2311		2312		2313		2314		2315		2316		2317		2318		2319		2320		2321		2322		2323		2324		2325		2326		2327		2328		2329		2330		2331		2332		2333		2334		2335		2336		2337		2338		2339		2340		2341		2342		2343		2344		2345		2346		2347		2348		2349		2350		2351		2352		2353		2354		2355		2356		2357		2358		2359		2360		2361		2362		2363		2364		2365		2366		2367		2368		2369		2370		2371		2372		2373		2374		2375		2376		2377		2378		2379		2380		2381		2382		2383		2384		2385		2386		2387		2388		2389		2390		2391		2392		2393		2394		2395		2396		2397		2398		2399		2400		2401		2402		2403		2404		2405		2406		2407		2408		2409		2410		2411		2412		2413		2414		2415		2416		2417		2418		2419		2420		2421		2422		2423		2424		2425		2426		2427		2428		2429		2430		2431		2432		2433		2434		2435		2436		2437		2438		2439		2440		2441		2442		2443		2444		2445		2446		2447		2448		2449		2450		2451		2452		2453		2454		2455		2456		2457		2458		2459		2460		2461		2462		2463		2464		2465		2466		2467		2468		2469		2470		2471		2472		2473		2474		2475		2476		2477		2478		2479		2480		2481		2482		2483		2484		2485		2486		2487		2488		2489		2490		2491		2492		2493		2494		2495		2496		2497		2498		2499		2500		2501		2502		2503		2504		2505		2506		2507		2508		2509		2510		2511		2512		2513		2514		2515		2516		2517		2518		2519		2520		2521		2522		2523		2524		2525		2526		2527		2528		2529		2530		2531		2532		2533		25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Of the Soul of the World; and of particular Souls: In a Letter to Mr. *Lock*, occasioned by Mr. *Keil's* Reflections upon an Essay lately published concerning *Reason*.

By the Author of that Essay.

Veritas obvia, sed requirentibus. Minut. Fæl. in Octav.

Verborum umbris territamur, quum in Re nihil sit absurdi. Eras. in Hyperaspist. l. 2.

S I R,

IT may seem an improper Way of making Satisfaction for a former Trouble, to give a new one: Yet since you have pardoned the Confidence that made a Present to you of my *Essay* concerning Reason, and that some very sharp Reflections have been published on a Part of that Essay, I hold myself obliged to send you my Defence of it.

My Intention in this Address is not to engage you in the Protection, or to the Countenance of any *Opinion*, further than as Reason allows it; nor is it to insinuate that you are of mine, to gain it the more Authority: For though I could not procure a greater Advantage to any *Opinion* I own, than to have others persuaded that you are of it; yet I must do you the Justice to profess that I am wholly ignorant what yours is, as to the Point in Debate.

I only appeal unto you now, as I did at first, as to an *Arbiter* or Judge, for which your excellent penetrating Understanding highly qualifies you, without inviting you as a Party to come to my Assistance, which at this Time I hope I shall not need.

Mr. *Keil*, in the Introduction to his Examination of Dr. *Burnet's Theory of the Earth*, hath done me the Honour (though I am not sure he designed it for one) to mention me with several very celebrated Persons; but he doth it in that Manner, and with that Abatement, that I have no great Cause of being exalted on that regard.

After he had instanced in *Spinoza*, Dr. *More*, and Mr. *Hobbs*, as Authors of great Discoveries, which might well demand Esteem and Veneration, if they were real, he picks out some of their Opinions, which he believed the most obnoxious, that by them his Readers may see how well they deserve such a Character. He then adds, "But a new Philosopher (naming me, who am not ambitious of that Title) "has much out-done any I have yet mentioned, in a Book lately printed concerning Reason; there he assures us, that there is but one universal Soul in the World, which is omnipresent, and acts upon all particular organized Bodies, and makes them produce Actions more or less perfect, in Proportion to the good Disposition of their Organs. So that in Beasts that Soul is the Principle of the sensitive and vital Functions: In Men it does not only perform these, but also all other rational Actions: Just as if you would suppose a Hand of a vast Extension,

“*sion, and a prodigious Number of Fingers, playing upon all the Organ-pipes in*
 “*the World, and making every one sound a particular Note, according to the Dis-*
 “*position and Frame of the Pipe: So this universal Soul, acting upon all Bodies,*
 “*makes every one produce various Actions, according to the different Disposition and*
 “*Frame of their Organs.* This Opinion he as confidently asserts to be true, as
 “other Men believe that it is false; though it is impossible he should any other
 “Way be sure of it but by Revelation; and I believe he will find but few that
 “will take it upon his Word.”

Mr. Keil, I hope, will give me Leave to tell him without Offence, that the Representation of my Opinion, had he pleased to make it in my own Terms, would have been less invidious, and withal more just than it appears in his. However, since he hath endeavoured by a *Comparison* to illustrate, or else to expose [for I cannot well resolve which it is] the Sentiment I own, and that this Comparison is capable of being applied unto it to good Purpose, I will myself make use of it my own Way.

But first I must give a Plan of my true Notion; which in short is this: That the Mosaical Spirit (called *Gen. i. 2.* the Spirit of God) being a Spirit of Life, and present every where, in all the Parts of the Universe, is the Original of all the Energy, Motion, and Action therein, especially of that which is Animal. And that particular *Souls* [for such I acknowledge there be] are Portions of that Spirit acting in the several particular Bodies in which they are, according to the Capacities, Dispositions, and Qualities of those Bodies. A Sentiment conformable to two received Maxims: *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad Modum recipientis. Actus activorum sunt in Patientie dispositio.*

To make it imaginable, let us suppose a vast Organ, consisting of innumerable Pipes of different Sizes and Fabric, and this Organ to be filled with Wind blown into it, and the Wind to be received, and some Portion of it appropriated by each particular Pipe: Imagine also innumerable Fingers playing upon those several Pipes; for then each particular Pipe being played upon will, by means of the Wind, be made to sound a particular Note, differing from the Notes of all the other Pipes, according as its Qualities, Dispositions and Fabric differ.

The World is as such an Organ [an orderly Aggregate] and the several Sorts of Bodies that compose it are as the several Pipes of that Organ; the Mosaical Spirit, present every where throughout the whole World, is as the Wind (which is) blown into the Organ. This Spirit is received and apportioned by the several particular *Bodies*, as the Wind in an Organ by the several particular *Pipes*; and as *these*, inspired with Wind, being played upon, do sound different Notes or Tunes, so *those*, animated with their respective Portions of the Mosaical Spirit, being impressed and acted upon by Objects, do perform their several vital Functions, according to their several Dispositions and Fabric.

Thus far the Comparison plainly holds; but it may be carried a greater length, and made serve to illustrate what I say in my *Essay* concerning the Nature of Animals, of Spirits, and of Souls. For it may be added, that as the Power of making an Organ sound at all, or the Power of making a particular Pipe to sound a particular Note, arises not solely from the Frame of the Organ, or from that of the Pipe; for the Organ sounds not at all, if it be not inspired
 with

with Wind; and tho' inspired with Wind, and consequently though it gives a Sound, yet it will not sound to such and such a particular Tune, if it be not play'd upon with the Fingers. In like manner, the Power of making a Body live, or of any particular Instrument of it exercise any particular Action of Cogitation, as of Seeing, or of Hearing, arises not solely from the Frame of the Body, or from that of the particular Instrument the Eye, or the Ear: For the Body lives not, if it be not animated with some Portion of the Mosaical Spirit; and if it be animated, and consequently hath Life, as the inspired Organ hath Sound, yet it doth not exercise that Life in this or that particular Manner of Cogitation, by its several Instruments, as in seeing by the Eye, or hearing by the Ear, if it be not acted upon, and impressed by Objects, any more than an Organ which is only inspired, though it sound, will sound to this or that particular Tune, if it be not played upon with the Fingers. Thus Life originally comes from the Soul: I say comes *from* the Soul; for that, speaking properly, it is not *in* the Soul, consider'd as a Soul, any more than Motion is, which properly is not *in* the Soul, but *from* it. And as Life, so Cogitation, which is a Species of Life, proceeds from the Soul; but the Specification of it from the Body. And for the actual Exercise of Cogitation in its several Species, whether of Sensation or of Intellection, it comes originally from the Impressions and Operations of Objects. For *Images* and *Ideas*, that is to say, the Sentiments of the Sense, and those of the Mind or Understanding (they) are nothing but different Modifications of Cogitation; the former Modifications of Sensation, the latter of Intellection; after the same Manner as different Notes or Tunes are but different Modifications, or diverse Modulations of Sound.

In this Way of conceiving, the Production of *Images* and *Ideas* is more perspicuous and intelligible, as well as more con-natural, than in that of *Malbranch*; which, methinks, in Things of Nature, instead of having recourse to natural Causes, doth a little too unphilosophically, too soon repair unto the first Cause, which is the Author of Nature. But (as I said) in the Way before set out, the Conception of it is very easy: For *Images* and *Ideas* being but the Modifications of Cogitation, they are made by Impressions, and made different by different Impressions of Objects upon the Faculties; as Notes and Tunes are made by the playing, and different Notes and Tunes by the different playing of the Fingers upon the several Pipes of an Organ.

This Comparison of the World animated with the Spirit of God, to an Organ filled with Wind blown into it, cannot but be acknowledged to have much of Resemblance and Agreeableness; and the more, if we consider that this Spirit of God is called *Ruach* in Hebrew, a Word signifying Wind; and likewise that pneumatical or wind Instruments of Music are said (though but metaphorically) to be animated, as I think they are in *Psalms* cl. 6. For here it is said, *Let every thing that hath Neshamah*; the same Word that is used for the Soul of Man, *Gen.* ii. 7. when God is said to breathe into him the Breath of Life: So here, *Let every thing that hath Neshamah*, every thing that is animated with Wind, let every wind Instrument (for the Coherence plainly carries it unto musical Instruments) *praise the Lord*. And as *Neshamah* comes from *Nasham*, *anbelare*, to pant or breathe, so likewise *Nephefch*, another Word in Hebrew

for a Soul, derives from a Root of the like Signification, and often stands for Breath, as well as for a Soul.

Nor was this a particular Sentiment only of the *Jews*, but both the *Greeks* and *Romans* were in the same: For in *Greek* the Name for Spirit is πνεῦμα, and πνεῦμα comes from πνέω to blow; and ψυχή, the Word for Soul, derives from ψύχω to breathe. With the *Romans*, the Word for Soul is sometimes *Anima*, sometimes *Animus*; Words that come from ἀνεμος, which signifies Wind, as in like manner *Spiritus* does from *Spiro*.

When I affirm that [*Anima*] and [*Animus*] are often used promiscuously in *Latin* Authors, I have good Authority to support it, since *Cotta in Cicero*, l. 3. de Nat. Deor. saying, *Quī magis quam præter Animam, unde Animantium quoque constet Animus, ex quo Anima dicitur*, intimates the same: For there he calls the vital Principle of inferior Animals *Animus*, and in Effect says, both that it consists of *Anima* or Breath (which is inspired Air or Wind) and that for this Reason the Breath is called *Anima*, because it is to inferior Animals what the *Animus* is to Man; [*Animus ex quo Anima dicitur.*] *Anima* is *Animus* with a little Distinction; *Anima* is the *Animus* or Soul of Brutes, and *Animus* is the *Anima* or Soul of Men; as in the Holy Scripture, where St. Paul speaks of Body, Soul, and Spirit, what he means by Soul may be expressed by *Anima*, what he intends by Spirit by the Word *Animus*; the former Word importing the sensitive Principle, which is common to Beasts, the latter the rational or intellectual, which is proper to Men.

To clear this Passage further, which I have quoted out of *Cicero*, and the Sense I have given of it, we ought to consider that the *Stoicks* held an Opinion that all Souls were Fire; and *Balbus* (who was one of them) taking it for granted, is told by *Cotta* that he was too forward in assuming so much; for, says he, 'tis the probable Opinion that the vital Principle or Soul is not Breath only as most think, or Fire only as *Stoicks* think, but a Complex or Result of both: *probabilius videtur, tale quiddam esse Animum, ut sit ex igne atque anima temperatum.*

It is true *Julius Scaliger*, in his 107th Exercitation against *Cardan*, is extream severe upon that wonderful knowing and learned Man for saying but by Implication, that other Souls besides the human were called *Animi*. For *Cardan* having said, *Animi vires præcipue humani*, &c. *Scaliger* replies upon him, *Quasi vero alius sit Animus ab humano*. Insinuating thereby, that to hold that every (or indeed that any) Soul might be called *Animus* is very absurd, as in Truth it would be, if what he says was well grounded, to wit, that all wise Men did ever understand by *Animus* a Faculty of the human Soul, which he says; though at the same Time he confesses *Cicero* (who, it seems, for this Reason he thought not very wise) to be in a different Opinion: *Nam tametsi Cicero* (says he) *Animal ab Animo dictum scribit, tamen hominis proprium Animum, id est, Animæ vim, sapientes omnes intellexerunt.*

And to lessen *Cicero's* Authority in this Particular, he impeaches him of Inconstancy, telling us that at another time, speaking of *Apronius*, he uses such Expressions as do evidently so distinguish between *Anima* and *Animus*, that no room is left to imagine but that he took the latter for only a Power or Faculty of the former. At (says *Scaliger*) *non servabit [Cicero] constantiæ opinionem in-*
vitis

vitæ doctis viris, ejus enim verba de Apronio sunt, qui non modo Animum integrum, sed ne Animam quidem puram conservare potuisset, ubi aperte Animæ facultatem innuit Animi appellatione.

But our Hypercritic has not exercised his Talent to Advantage in this Place: For though it must be acknowledged that *Animus* is very often used for a Faculty of the Soul, and not always taken for the Soul itself; yet when *Cicero* says of *Apronius*, that he could not *conservare animam puram*, he does not mean by *Anima* his Soul (of which the *Animus*, that he distinguishes from it, should be a Faculty) but he understands his Breath, which was impure, foul, and stinking. This is evident from the Orator himself, who in *Verrem, lib 3.* describing this *Apronius*, says of him, that his Breath was so fetid, that, as some affirmed, the very Beasts could not endure its Stink: *Ut odor Apronii terribilissimus oris & corporis, quem, ut aiunt, ne bestia quidem ferre possent.*

In truth, nothing more surprises me on this Occasion, than to find *Scaliger* (a very extraordinary Man, and a great Critic) so positive in this Opinion, that none of the Ancients who had any Wit, ever denominated the Souls of inferior Animals *Animi*, or even that of Man *Animus*. For *Seneca, Epist. 113.* tells it to *Lucilius*, as the Opinion of the Ancients, that the *Animus* is an Animal, for that it makes us Animals; and that *Animals* receive their Name from *ANIMUS*: *Quæ sint* (says he) *quæ Antiquos moverint dicam; Animal constat Animum esse, cum ipse efficiat ut simus Animalia, & cum ab illo Animalia nomen hoc traxerint.*

However (to note it by the bye) it must not be said neither, that the Ancients never gave the Name [*Anima*] to the Soul, or that *Anima* of old did only signify the Breath: For though *Anima* was used to signify the Breath, it was so but in a secondary Sense, the Breath being therefore called *Anima*, because the *Anima* or Soul was generally understood to be contained therein, or to consist thereof. This is manifest not only from what is said already, but (to omit others) from a Passage in *Seneca, L. de Provid.* where as he says, *Sive haustus ignis cursum Animæ remeantis interfecit, &c.* where [*Anima remeans*] signifies Respiration or Breathing: So he likewise says, *Id quod vocatur MORI, quo Anima discedit a corpore, &c.* For here [*Anima*] is taken for the Soul. But to put it out of question, that even the human Soul is called *Anima* by ancient Authors, I need to cite but *Seneca's 117th Epistle*; where, writing of the Immortality of Souls, and saying that the Consent of *Mankind* in that Point is a cogent Argument for the Truth thereof, he uses the Word [*Anima*] not [*Animus*] for a Soul; *cum de ANIMARUM æternitate differimus*, says he, *non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium Inferos, aut colentium.*

I have a fruitful Subject before me, and could add a great deal more, if I believed it proper; but it may suffice at this Time to have shewed that both *Anima* and *Animus* are Names for a Soul, and that both derive from a Word that signifies Wind or Breath: For this evinces that the Comparison I have made between the animated World and an inspired Organ, is not any remote one, or (as we usually speak) far-fetch'd, but very fitting and agreeable.

However, though this Comparison between the World and an Organ is well enough imagined, and carries much Resemblance; yet since an Organ is but a Machine,

Machine, and only artificial, and that Animals are Works of Nature, and more than mere Machines, I chose in my *Essay* to illustrate and set out my Notion by Comparisons taken from Nature, as from Sound and Echo, from Light and Colours; but more particularly from our own Souls, and their different Operations in the several Organs of human Bodies, by means of their several Faculties.

In that Treatise I have shewed at large, *that there is* a universal vital Principle diffused throughout the World; and withal have shewed *how* that Principle comes to be singularized, and individuated, so as that there be particular Souls. I have also endeavour'd to satisfy Objections, and have instanced in the *Theodosian* and *Scotish* Monsters, as sensible Demonstrations of the Truth of what I affirm in Reference to this Subject.

I have shewed likewise, that the *Jewish* Doctors, many Philosophers, some Fathers, and several Schoolmen, were in the same Sentiment as to the main: For though, perhaps, they all agreed not either with each other, or with me, as to particular Explications; yet all held a vital Principle that doth permeate the whole World; and that, unto the Universe, is what the Soul of Man is to the Body. And if common Language does signify a common Sentiment, this must be owned to be one. For why else is Man called a Microcosm or little World, but because he is like the great, and has Soul and Body? And though this Expression is appropriated unto Man, yet if we believe *Galen*, the Ancients held that every *Animal* is a Microcosm, a World in little; and then surely, in their Opinion, the World itself is, after a Sort, an *Animal* in great.

Upon the whole it is evident, that for any to imagine I exclude particular Souls, because I do affirm a general (one) is to do me Injury; and in effect, the same as to infer that I deny there are Colours, because I affirm there is Light; or that I deny there is Echo, because I affirm there is Sound. In sum, he might as fairly conclude that all those deny the Powers of Seeing, of Hearing, of Feeling, &c. to be in any *Animal*, who do affirm that the *Animal* has a Soul which is the Principle of those Powers: for those Powers in divided Bodies would be so many Souls, that in the same Body are only so many Faculties of one Soul. This way of Reasoning goes on the same Ground that *Seneca's* does, when, in another Case, he says, *Epist.* 113. *Animal sum & Homo, non tamen duos esse dices: Quare? quia separati esse debent. Ita dico, alter ab altero debet esse diductus, ut duo sint.*

Yet, after all, it has pleased Mr. *Keil* to make a sharp Reflection upon me for this Opinion (but with how much Equity or Candour, our Readers must determine) and he doth it in these Terms:

"This Opinion he as confidently asserts to be true, as other Men believe it is false; though it is impossible he should any other way be sure of it but by Revelation; and I believe he will find but few that will take it upon his Word.

First he says, *I confidently assert, &c.* As for Confidence, I acknowledge that a Confidence like his in this Reflection, that does only assert but not prove, cannot merit any great Commendation: But otherwise I know no Fault in being confident of any Opinion, or in a confident Asserting of it (which however I am no way conscious of) if there is Reason for that Confidence, and that the Opinion be well-grounded.

But

But this he supposes mine is not ; for he says, *I confidently assert, &c. though it is impossible I should any other way be sure of it but by Revelation.* If he mean it is impossible I should be absolutely sure of it but by Revelation, and that for this Reason it is a Presumption in me to assert the Opinion, since I am not assured of it that way, he must excuse me if I differ from him. For, in the first Place, I will take the Liberty to tell him what I believe most others (who consider) would upon occasion, that there are many Degrees of a just Confidence, that yet do all fall much beneath Infallibility, or absolute Certainty. Besides, methinks it should content him, as being a sufficient Ground of asserting any Opinion, even with Confidence, that there is Reason for the Opinion, though he that asserts it cannot be absolutely sure of it without a Revelation ; especially since Mr. Keil himself, I dare say, will not affirm he had a Revelation for all he confidently asserts in his Book, of which yet he cannot be absolutely sure without one ; but what there is of Revelation in the Question between him and me, he may be told hereafter, and might have learned somewhat of it from the Essay, where also he might have seen that there was some Reason for the Opinion.

And whereas he says, that *I as confidently assert my Opinion to be true, as other Men believe that it is false* : If I should yield him so much, what would follow but this, That if this be all, it is only Confidence on either Side ; I confidently assert it to be true, other Men *as* confidently believe that it is false ? And when equal Confidence and nothing else is in both the Scales, what shall turn them ? But certainly though other Men (if but *other Men*) believe an Opinion to be false, that any one affirms to be true, it will not necessarily follow that it is false indeed ; for if it should, Mr. Keil himself, who writes in opposition to *other Men* (and those very worthy Men) must believe himself in the wrong Box, till he can convince them, ay, and all the rest of Mankind that think otherwise than he does ; for till then other Men will believe that what he says is false. Indeed, if my Opinion went contrary to common Sense, and that all other Men, or but all considerate, wise, and thinking Men were in another Belief, I should be very apt to suspect I was imposed upon by false Appearances ; but there is nothing of this in the Matter, as will be manifest presently.

Mr. Keil closes up his Censure (for all he says against me is Censure only, not Argument) with telling his Readers his Belief, which is, that *I will find but few that will take the Opinion upon my Word.* In truth it is not my Desire, as it is not Reason any should ; nor, as it falls out, is there any need they should : For if a Revelation in the Holy Scriptures, if the Authority of some of the most thinking and sagacious Philosophers, and if Reasons taken from the *Phænomena* of Nature, can put any Sentiment beyond the Misfortune of being precarious, mine is safe enough from that Imputation.

As for Revelation, what Interest it hath in this Opinion, I have shewed in my Essay from *Genesis* i. 2. compared with *Psalms* cxlvii. 15, 16, &c. which I will not repeat, only I will add that I think it abundantly confirmed by an Evidence I find in the Book intituled *The Wisdom of Solomon*, where it is said, Ch. i. 7. *The Spirit of the Lord filleth all the World ; and the same that maintaineth all things hath Knowledge of the Voice.*

This

236 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

This Spirit, as it hath in the Holy Scriptures the Denomination of the Spirit of God, because it comes from him, and is his Hand in all his Influences upon the World; so it hath that of the Spirit (or Soul) of the Creatures, whether these be Plants, Sensitives, or Men, as being that vital Principle that acts and actuates them all. Thus in *Psalms* civ. 29. that which is called the Breath of the Creatures, or the immediate Principle that makes them live, and is their Soul, upon whose Departure they are said to die, and to return to their Dust, is, in the 30th Verse of the same *Psalms*, called the Spirit of the Lord, which being sent into them, makes them live: *Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, and they live; and thou renewest the Face of the Earth.*

This is particularly affirmed as to Man by *Elibu*, *Job* xxxiii. 4. *The Spirit of God hath made me, and the Breath of the Almighty hath given me Life: By Job* himself, Chap. xxvii. 3. *All the while my Breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my Nostrils:* And by *Elibu* again more comprehensively, *Job* xxxiv. 14, 15. *If he set his Heart upon Man* (to take notice of him, and remark his Iniquities) *and (consequently) gather unto himself his Spirit and his Breath; all Flesh shall perish together,* and Man shall turn again unto Dust. Plainly intimating, that the Spirit of God (as if it were a common Soul) is the original Principle of Life and vital Operation in Man, as well as in all Things else that have Life. See *Isa.* xlii. 5.

The prophetical Scheme in *Ezek.* xxxvii. concerning the dry Bones, is very pertinent, and full to the same Purpose: For when the dry Bones are to be made to live, God is introduced saying to them, ver. 5. *Behold, I will cause Breath to enter into you, and you shall live.* And he effects it by the same Steps, and in the same Manner as he created Man at first. For first he organized the Bodies, ver. 7, 8. *The Bones came together, Bone to his Bone, the Sinews and the Flesh came upon them, and the Skin covered them above.* But though the Bodies were organized, yet being not inspired (*for there was no Breath in them*) they were not made to live as yet; and therefore to make them living Bodies, and put Soul into them, the Prophet had a Commission to the MUNDANE SPIRIT to come and animate them, ver. 9, 10. *Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the Wind, prophecy, Son of Man, and say to the Wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four Winds, O Breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live: So I prophesied, as he commanded me, and the Breath came into them, and they lived.* Where it may be observed, that the Spirit that quickneth and giveth Life to those Bodies is compared to inspired Wind or Breath; that this Spirit of Life or quickening Breath is diffused throughout the Universe in all the Quarters thereof; and that it is intirely at the Command and Beck of God: For it is Breath is called upon, to come and quicken those Bodies; and it is called upon to come and quicken them from the four Winds; and it is no sooner called upon, but it comes forthwith, and quickens them.

It may also be observed, that the Breath or common Spirit of Life, that blew upon those Bodies, as it came upon them all, so it was apportioned by each; for the Breath must be in them: And where the Breath is in all, each hath his Portion of it in particular, and then may say as *Job*, xxvii. 3. *All the while*

while my Breath is in me, and the Spirit of God is in my Nostrils, &c. So long his Breath is in him, as the Spirit of God is in his Nostrils.

Thus every Man hath his own Soul, but this Soul is only a Portion of the Spirit of God that (as a Soul) does permeate the Universe; so that it is (as in *Pythagoras's* Expression, which I find in *Lucretius*) Ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος, a Spark of Ether; or as others chuse to express it, *Particula Auræ Divinae*: which, according to the Grounds that I have laid in my Essay, I would render a Portion of Mind in Matter. So much for my Opinion from the *Authority* of Revelation.

As for *that* of Philosophy, I produced in my Essay, as Vouchers of my *Hypothesis*, not only the great Philosopher last named, who was Founder of the *Italick* Sect, but also *Zeno*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Apuleius*. To all which, from as many as would fill a Volume, I will add a few more:

Thales, the Father of the *Ionick* Sect, held (as *Laertius* tells us) that Water was the Principle of all Things, and that the World was animated [ἐμψυχον] in which Doctrines (as is very probable) he was instructed by the *Mosaic* Tradition [of the Waters, and the Spirit that moved upon them] for unto this his *Dogmata* are very conformable.

There are in *Plato* so many Testimonies of a Mundane Soul, and his Opinion is so generally known, that it were to overdo to instance Particulars.

I have mentioned *Zeno Citricus* in my Essay; but seeing he was Founder of the *Stoick* Sect, and that I find in *Laertius*, who wrote his Life, a fuller State of his Opinion, and in more Particulars consonant to mine than what I have mentioned already, I will produce him again: He then, as *Laertius* tells us, asserted a Mind that permeated every Portion of the World, after the same manner that the Soul in us doth permeate the Body: εἰς ἅπαν αὐτῷ [κόσμου] μέρος διήκοντος, καθάπερ ἐφ' ὑμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. But through some more, through others less, ἀλλ' ἥδη δι' ὧν μὲν μαλλον, δι' ὧν δὲ ἥττον. For Instance, some, he says, it pervaded only as a Habit [ὡς ἑξίς] as through the Bones and Nerves; but through others as a Mind [ὡς νῦς], as through the Understanding or rational Part [ἥς διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς].

This Sentiment of a Divine Virtue that pervaded the whole Universe, was in ancient Time so generally received, that even the Tyrant *Phalaris*, in an Epistle Consolatory, written by him to the Children of *Stesichorus* (if indeed he was the Author of those Epistles passing in his Name) mentions it as such an one; ἡ γὰρ ἀθάνατος τῆ Θεῆ μοῖρα, says he, πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔσα, αὐτῇ, &c. which his honoured and very learned Translator renders thus: *Immortalis quippe Dei vis, quæ per universum diffunditur, mihi nihil nisi hæc ipsa harmonia videtur*. He is also understood, by that excellent Person in his Annotations, to mean the Mundane Soul of the *Pythagoreans*, when in his 104th Epistle, which is to the Inhabitants of *Catana*, he says, εἰγεθείας τυχῆς, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς φύσεως σοιχεῖα, &c. *Si enim Divinae sortis, quemadmodum cætera naturæ elementa, &c.*

And even *Aristotle*, though a great Opposer of the Platonic Soul (yet) being prevailed upon by irresistible Experience (he) in a Paragraph quoted out of him by *Julius Scaliger*, in the 26th Exercitation against *Cardan*, comes somewhat near to my Opinion: For there he affirms, γίνεται δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ὑγρῷ καὶ τὰ ζῶα κατὰ φύτα, διὰ τὸ ἐν γῇ μὲν ὑπαρκεῖν ὑγρὸν, ἐν δὲ ὕδατι πνεῦμα, ἐν

238 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

δὲ τῷ παντί θερμότητα ψυχικὴν, ὡς τρόπον τινα πάντα ψυχῆς εἶναι πληρῇ. That both Animals and Plants are produced in the Earth and in the Waters, for that there is, as in the Earth Moisture, so in the Water Spirit, and throughout the Universe an animating [vivific] Heat; insomuch that after a Sort [it is true that] all Things are full of Soul.

To those Philosophers I will add the well-known Testimony of a philosophical Poet, *Virgil, Æn. 6.*

*Principio cælum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per Artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

Rendered by Eugenius Philalethes thus :

The Heavens, the Earth, and all the liquid Main,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars *Titanian*,
A Spirit within maintains, and their whole Mass
A Mind, which through each Part infus'd doth pass,
Fashions and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Universe.

I begin to be fatigued with the unpleasant Drudgery of quoting and transcribing; and therefore wholly omitting modern Testimonies, I will add but one more of the ancient, and that shall be from *Cicero*, who, *L. 2. de Natur. Deor.* introduces *Balbus* demonstrating that all Things in the World are subject to a sentient perceptive Nature, and are administered and governed by it. This he evidences by shewing, that particular Works of Nature have infinitely more of the Beauties of Art and Contrivance than the most noble Productions of human Skill, and yet that no particular Operation of Nature (for Example, the Production of a Vine, of a Tree, or of that of the Body of any *Animal*) can shew, as to Conformation, Order, and Situation of Parts, or as to Adjustment and Fitness of them for Ends and Uses, that wonderful Sagacity, that Subtlety of Invention, or that wise Contrivance that shines with great Brightness in the general Frame of the World; whence he confidently but justly infers, that the whole World is under the Conduct and wise Administration of a sentient and perceptive Nature, or else that nothing at all is so. *Aut igitur, says he, nihil est quod a sentiente Natura regatur, aut mundum regi confitendum est.*

This last Testimony as it is an Evidence, so it is also an internal Argument; and being taken from the *Phænomena* of Nature, reminds me of what I undertook to do in the third Place, which was to shew that my Opinion had Reasons for it in Nature, and grounded upon Things themselves: And these I will now produce.

The first is taken from the Uniformity even in Deformity, the mutual Relation and the Harmony of Parts that is in the World in its general Fabrick, if it may be allowed to make a Judgment of the whole Frame by that of a particular

particular System, which we ourselves belong unto: But I will not now insist any longer on this Argument, because it is set out at large in my Essay in many Instances, and the learned Reader will find more in *Nemesis de Nat. Humana*.

Again, this *Hypothesis* accounts for another *Phænomenon* that cannot be so well accounted for any other way, that whenever any Matter becomes disposed for *Animal* Life, this is presently afforded to it; which how it should come to pass, is easily conceived, on Supposal of a Mundane Soul, or a Principle of vital Energy diffused every where; but otherwise one must imagine particular Souls, and those too to be Spirits (that are) always every where in waiting for an Office, which is hard to be admitted: I say [and those too to be Spirits] for that it is certain that mere corporeal Souls (as some call them) suffice not for animal Operations, even though we should conceive them (as those do) to consist of *Flame* for vital Actions, and of *Light* for the sensitive ones: For if Matter be not radically *vital*, and so there be no need at all of Spirit or Mind, and then there is no such thing, it will be absolutely inconceivable how Flame and Light (which are only Matter under greater Commixture of its Parts of a particular Texture, and in rapid Motion) can of themselves be vital and perceptive, or make other Things become so. But to return.

Mr. *Lewenhoeck's* Experiment of pepper'd Water, every Drop whereof affords (as he says) so many Thousands of Animalcules, is a sensible Demonstration of an omnipresent vital Principle that acts as Occasion is; and a sensible Demonstration too of spontaneous *equivocal* Generations: For so I call the Productions of *Animals* that do not come from Seeds in the common Acceptation of this Word. I acknowledge it almost a Scandal but to name *equivocal* Productions at this time, they are now so generally disbelieved and exploded; but for my Part, I am not ashamed to confess that as yet I have not observed so much said by the excellent *Redi*, or by any other Author against the Reality of them, as to oblige me to depart from a Sentiment that hath been the common Belief of most Inquirers into Nature, in all Ages before this last. And the *Hypothesis* of a Mundane Soul will make Productions of that kind conceivable; without which indeed it will be hard to apprehend how they can be.

Dr. *Cox*, in a Process of extracting volatile Salt and Spirit out of Vegetables, which is described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, intimates this Observation; That many of the Herbs, putrefied and fermented after his way, did swarm with Maggots, especially at the Bottom, and in the Middle, where (he tells us) Flies and other Insects could have no Access to deposite their Eggs, and where (he tells us) Flies and other Insects could have no Access to deposite their Eggs, and where the Heat is so violent that they could not possibly subsist. Some Years after that learned Person, I find another, the experienced *Juncken*, in Processes of much a like Nature, making the like Observation, that in the Putrefaction and Fermentation of the Vegetables, great Numbers of Insects and little Animals were generated, though (as he says) the Vessels were never so close stopped: And indeed it is commonly observed, that Putrefactions do terminate in Animals of one Sort or another.

The Relations of Barnacles, that are said to be Birds arising out of the putrefied Relicks of shipwreck'd Planks, which Relations have been confirmed to

me by an Eye-witness of unsuspected Credit, are further confirmed by the Testimony of an Eagle-eyed Philosopher, who tells us he hath seen a Creature of that Kind; for so I understand *Julius Scaliger*, when in his 59th Exercitation against *Cardan* he says, *In Oceano Britannico magis mireris ignotam Avem, Anatis Facie, Rostro pendere de Reliquiis putridis Naufragiorum, quoad absolvatur, atque abeat quæsitum sibi Pisces, unde alatur: hanc quoque vidimus nos.*

To the former Story, *Scaliger* in the same Exercitation adds another, which he calls miraculous; it is of an Oyster-shell not very great, that was presented unto *Francis*, King of *France*, and contained in it a little Bird, almost finished with Pinions, Feet, and the Bill, sticking to the Extremities of the Shell. This Bird, he says, some learned Men believed a Transformation of the Oyster. His own Words are these, *Singularis nunc Miraculi subtexenda Historia est, ubi de Aquis agimus. Allata est Francisco Regi opt. max. Concha non admodum magna, cum Avicula intus pene perfecta alarum Fastigiis, Rostro, Pedibus, hærente extremis Oris Ostraci. Viri docti mutatum in Aviculam Ostreum ipsum existimarunt.*

My Lord *Bacon*, in his Natural History, Century 4th, Exp. 228. tells us, That if the Spirits be not merely detained, but protrude a little, and that Motion be confused and inordinate, there followeth Putrefaction, which ever dissolveth the Consistence of the Body into much Inequality, as in Flesh, rotten Fruits, shining Wood, &c. and also in the Rust of Metals; but if that Motion be in a certain Order, there followeth Vivification and Figuration, as both in living Creatures bred of Putrefaction, and in living Creatures perfect: But if the Spirits issue out of the Body, there followeth Desiccation, &c.

In Experiment 339, his Lordship further tells us, that all Moulds are Inceptions of Putrefaction, as the Mould of Pyes and Flesh, the Moulds of Oranges and Lemons; which Moulds afterwards turn into Worms, or more odious Putrefactions, &c.

And methinks the Production of *Plants* without Seed affords a very weighty Argument for the like Production of *Animals*. My Lord *Bacon* gives us many Instances of the former in the 6th Century of his Natural History, where he tells us, *Experiment 563*, that it is certain that Earth taken out of the Foundation of Vaults and Houses, and Bottoms of Wells, and then put into Pots, will put forth sundry Kinds of Herbs: But some Time is required for the Germination; for if it be taken from a Fathom deep, it will put forth the first Year; if much deeper, not till after a Year or two. And, in the 565th *Experiment*, he adds, that the Nature of the Plants growing out of the Earth so taken up, doth follow the Nature of the Mould itself; as, if the Mould be soft and fine, it putteth forth soft Herbs, as Grass, Plantane, and the like; if the Earth be harder and coarser, it putteth forth Herbs more rough, as Thistles, Furze, &c.

Scaliger, in his 323d Exercitation against *Cardan*, speaking of the Production of Frogs, that sometimes have been rained in great Abundance, of which there he gives several Instances, tells *Cardan*, who affirmed them to be bred of Frogs-Eggs or Spawn, that they were spontaneous or equivocal, as being Productions of a general Nature, and not seminal ones; which Kind of animal Productions he evinceth to be possible the same Way that I have, by shewing that there are the like in *Plants*. *Quid multa*, says he, *nonne quotidiana fatura celestis Genii, quæ Natura est Potentiam declarant Plantæ, nullis ortæ Seminis?*

My

My Lord *Bacon* assures us for a certain Truth, that *Toads* have been found in the middle of a Free-stone, where it cannot be imagined that an *Animal* of that Kind should come and lay her Eggs; and I have been credibly informed, that very lately a living Toad was found in the Heart or Middle of a large Oak when it was felled.

The *Animation* of Horse-hairs lying in the Summer-time in Pools, has been observed of many, some of whom I have discoursed concerning it; and an understanding Man of my Acquaintance assured me, that more than once he hath made an Experiment which very much confirms the Truth thereof. He takes a Hair with the Root, pluck'd from the Mane or Tail of a Mare that is proud, and in a warm Season puts it into a wooden Dish full of Water, where letting it lie two or three Days, the Hair in that Space will, for the most Part, become quickened with a strong Motion, and a Head like that of a Serpent grow out of its Root.

The infectious Water of the Showers that accompany the Tornadoes on the *African* Coast, standing any where, do (as Mr. *Terry* tells us in his Relation of a Voyage to *East-India*) presently bring forth many little offensive Creatures; which is likewise affirmed by Mr. *Herbert*.

The *Vermination* in human (as well as other animal) Bodies, of which there are innumerable Instances in medical Writers, as in *Bartholinus's* Centuries, in *Borellus's*, in *Tulpius's* Observations, &c. is another weighty Argument for spontaneous Generations; but I will mention only one: A Worm of an unusual Figure, with the Head of a Serpent, found in the left Ventricle of the Heart of a Gentleman, whose Name was *John Pennant*. The Relation well attested, together with the Figure of the Worm, was in the Year 1639 printed at London, by one *George Miller*, to which Relation I refer the Reader. This *Phænomenon* of Vermination is a good Evidence of SPONTANEOUS GENERATION; and this, a weighty Confirmation of the Existence of a *Mundane Soul*.

Another Argument for it may be taken from the Difficulties that the Admittance thereof will remove, as to the Production of human Souls; which some conceive to come, as they express it, *ex traduce*; not indeed by way of Education from the Power of the Matter, for they acknowledge no such Power therein, but by Propagation. But others think them immediately created by God, either all at once, as those do who hold the Doctrine of Pre-existence, or (as most imagine) on Occasion, according to the Exigence of Matter.

As for the first Opinion, that of Traduction, I find it in *Nemesius, Lib. de Nat. Human. Cap. 2.* where he tells us, it was the Sentiment of *Apollinarius*, that Souls do propagate Souls, as Bodies do Bodies; and *Julius Scaliger* concurs with him, affirming that Souls may come from Souls, *ut Lumen de Lumine*, that is, that Souls do propagate one another, after the same Manner as Candles light one another. *Poiret* believes, as the two former, that Souls are propagated, but extends the Business of Propagation somewhat further than they do, and upon other Grounds: For in his *Cogitat. Rational. l. 1. c. 5. in Annotat.* he affirms, that all Things are prolific, and that as Matter produces Matter, and Motion is productive of Motion, so in like Manner one Soul or Spirit may generate and produce another.

But

But there are many Difficulties in this Opinion; of all which I will insist on this only: That a Soul, if it be an immaterial Substance (as most conceive it to be) is as incapable of Propagation (otherwise than by a Metaphor) as it is of Discerption or actual Division. For even the Propagation of Light is by Discerption; some *Effluvia* or Emanations of the enlightening Candle passing into that which is lightened. And for the Propagation of Motion, the Way thereof is so obscure, it cannot afford Light to this Subject: Only this is certain, that in local Motion derived from Body to Body, so much of it as is imparted unto one, departs from the other; which (I suppose) will not be admitted in the Propagation of Spirits. And as to the Prolifickness of Matter, I should think but few will allow thereof, who consider that there is no more of Matter in the World now than ever was, and that Matter is ingenerable and incorruptible, being a *Subject* of all substantial Mutations, but not the *Term* of any: So that if the Generation of Souls has no other or no better Foundation than this, That Soul is productive of Soul, as Matter is of Matter, I conclude the Belief thereof will never become general with knowing Men.

As for *Creation* of Souls (an Opinion generally held by Divines, and among our late Philosophers particularly embraced by *Des Cartes*) many Objections lie against it, of which I will touch but one or two, as sticking most with me.

The first is, That it seems a little unphilosophical to call in a supernatural Agent for a Business and Work of Nature, such as is (if any is) the Propagation of Kind: My full Consent is with *Julius Scaliger*, when he says, *Nihil quod est in Natura præter Naturam est*: Nothing is in Nature that hath not a Cause in Nature.

Again, it may be further argued, that if human Souls are immediately created by God, it must be admitted that those of Beasts are so too, since nothing can be clearer, even to Sense, than that Men and Beasts do propagate their Kinds the same Way, whether that Way be by Creation, by Traduction, or by any other whatever. There is in Mankind, as well as in the kinds of Beasts, a Distinction of Sexes for the Business of Generation; a Furniture and Disposition of Organs for it in both; and in both a like Use and Application of Organs. All Men and Beasts are alike conceived in their respective Wombs, alike nourished and augmented, and both come out in the same Manner: And therefore there being the same Evidence, it is but Reason to make the same Conclusion for both.

I know this Argument will have but little effect upon *Cartesians*, who, against the Testimony of Sense, believing that Beasts are only Machines, without any conscious Perception or Knowledge, do not own them to have Souls as Men have, in the proper Sense of the Word. But yet it cannot want its due Weight with all others, who, believing their own, refuse not Senses unto Beasts; as thinking they have Reason to conclude that Beasts see and hear, &c. as Men themselves do, because they have Eyes and Ears, &c. as Men themselves have, and, to all Appearance, make the same Use of them upon Occasion, as Men themselves upon the like Occasion would do. And all these will find the same Reason to infer that Men and Beasts beget their like the same Way, because there are the same Appearances to make us think they should.

These

These Appearances are obvious, and they ought to be considered ; nor are they capable (I think) of being solved, or the other Difficulties, that do lie in both the Ways of Creation and Traduction, capable of being removed otherwise than on the *Hypothesis* I have proposed, by acknowledging a Mundane Soul, that, according to the Exigence and Disposition of the *Matter*, is always ready with a Portion of itself to animate and actuate *it* ; so that there is no Need of any new Creation, of *Præ-existence*, or of any Traduction of particular Souls. But to proceed :

There is another *Phænomenon* very obvious, that is better solved on this Hypothesis of a Mundane Soul, than it can be on any other ; to wit, that certain *Animals* do move and stir, and give other Tokens of Life and Sensation, though cut in several Pieces, such as Eels, Snakes, Earth-worms, Butter-flies, &c. This in the common Way is hard to be conceived, since it must infer either that there is a Discription and actual Division of Souls, of which, if Souls be immaterial, they are absolutely incapable ; or else that vital Effects may remain in Being after that the Soul, which is the next immediate Cause of those Effects, is departed ; contrary to the Maxim, *Sublata causa, tollitur Effectus*.

But the Reason of this *Phænomenon*, if we suppose an universal Mundane Soul, will be very plain : For since the Parts of those divided Animals do retain for some time the same Qualities and Dispositions that they had before their *Separations*, there not being in them, as in *those* of other Animals, that sudden Dissolution of the Texture, or of the Spirits ; it follows that they must receive the same Influences which they had before from the Mundane Soul, and consequently, that for some Time they must continue to live, and in convenient Circumstances would longer ; for like Reasons as the Parts of Vegetables do, which, though separated from their Wholes, yet continue to live in Slips, in Buds, in Grafts, when inserted into other *Wholes*. Nor do I see but that the Parts of *Animals* might be inoculated, or ingrafted into Animals, as well as those *Vegetables* are into Vegetables, if the Qualities and Dispositions of Animal Parts, when separated, could be as well preserved as those of Vegetables, and a Coalition of them as well made : A Sentiment that is confirmed by the Experiment of *Taliacotius*, and by all the others that the *Chirurgia Curtorum* affords.

Thus I have instanced in a few *Phænomena* of Nature, to which I might have added many others of a higher Quality ; but these sufficiently confirm my *Hypothesis*, against which I cannot imagine any Objection of Moment, capable of being raised, except this, that it does seem to render the Distinction between human and inferior Souls less conceivable, and in Consequence the Immortality of the former.

But this Objection will soon vanish, if we but suppose there is a firm and indissoluble Union between the Spirit of God and its Vehicle in *Man*, and that there is not the like Union between it and its Vehicle in *inferior Animals*. And this Supposal is not without Ground : For such a firm indissoluble Union betwixt the Spirit of God and its Vehicle, must be admitted to be in *Angels*, if they are (as they are) immortal ; and then the Ligament or Bond of that Union, provided it be natural, must consist in a natural, but a naturally immutable, Congruity. Now the System of Spirits, that in Man is the Vehicle of the Mundane

244 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Mundane Soul, must be owned to have more Alliance unto that of Angels than the Vehicles of it in inferior Animals have, if we consider the Advantage the human Understanding hath in Excellency of Operations, above the Imagination of Beasts; and also consider that the Souls of Men are capable of the Divine Image, which those of Beasts are not: For thence it will evidently follow that the former have more of a natural Congruity to the Spirit of God, which is the Soul of the World, than the latter have; those as to their Vehicles being of a celestial, but these of a terrestrial and elementary Matter. No wonder then if the Spirit of a Man, when he dies, goes upward, but that of a Beast goes downward.

Thus, Sir, I think I have evinced from the holy Scriptures, and from several *Phænomena* of Nature, that there is a Principle of Life diffused throughout the Universe; and I have likewise evinced that it was the Sentiment of many great Philosophers: So that though I am not very fond of any Opinion, I hope I may say of this, without Injustice to Mr. Keil, that what he hath offered in Contradiction to it, does in no Degree impeach its Credit, or lessen mine for asserting it. However, I do own I am obliged to that ingenious Gentleman for the Occasion he hath given me of further explaining and confirming my *Hypothesis*, and thereby too of professing a second Time before the World, that I am, with the greatest Respect,

June 13,
1698.

S I R,

Your devoted humble Servant,

Rich. Burthogge.

From the Collection of Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart. of Rookby-Park in the County of York.

An ESSAY towards the HISTORY of the last Ministry and Parliament, containing Seasonable Reflections on *Favourites, Ministers of State, Parties, Parliaments, and Publick Credit.* 1710.

Postquam Respublica in paucorum Potentium jus, atque ditionem concessit, semper illis Reges, Tetrarchæ vestigales esse; Populi, Nationes, stipendia pendere; Ceteri omnes strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si Resp. valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis Gratia, Potentia, Honos, Divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi esse volunt: Nobis reliquerunt pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini?—Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant; postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trabunt, vexant: tamen summa lubricine Divitias suas vincere nequerunt.
Sallust. de Bello Catill.

THE late Changes in the Ministerial Part of the Government, and the Dissolution of the last Parliament, having occasion'd various Speculations and Censures; and the Party, who for some Time have strenuously opposed these Alterations, infusing now, with great Industry, strange Fears

Fears and Jealousies into the Minds of her Majesty's Subjects: The Writer of these Papers, who had ever the true *Interest, Peace and Welfare* of this flourishing Nation in his View, thought it his Duty to bestow some leisure Hours on these important Matters, and to communicate to the Public the following *ESSAY*; wherein he hopes he has traced these *Changes* to their true Causes, and given sufficient Reasons for the same: Heartily wishing, that these his Endeavours, by setting Things in a *fair Light*, may, in some Measure, contribute to the allaying the present *Heats and Animosities*.

It is a received Maxim that *Kings are the common Fathers of their Country*, and that *'tis below their high Dignity to be Kings of no more than one Half of their People*; which, at last, becomes the Case of Princes, that bestow all their *Favours* on some Persons only. Their paternal Care and Affection ought therefore to reach to all their Subjects; for as in a private Family the fond Partiality of Parents to one Child begets Envy and Hatred among the Brothers and Sisters; so in a Nation, to see a Set of Men engross all Places of Profit; enrich themselves with the universal Spoils of the Publick; riot in Wealth; and raise sumptuous, I had almost said, *insulting Palaces*, whilst their Fellow-Subjects groan under heavy Burdens; cannot but raise the *Indignation* of a *Free People*, and produce *Murmurs and Discontent*.

Not that the People should repine at the Prince's having some *Bosom Friends* with whom he may communicate his most secret Thoughts, and unbend his Cares; nor to see such FAVOURITES the better for his Bounty: For in this, Princes do but enjoy the common Privilege of all Mankind; and this Practice of theirs is warranted by the Example of the best Kings and Emperors. But the People cannot behold, without a just Resentment, two, three, or more Persons exalted high above all the rest; who abuse the Prince's Favours, whose Ambition is not satisfied with any Honours, and whose Avarice is not satiated with multiplicity of profitable Places, nor with repeated Gifts and Grants; who keep an open Market of Civil and Military Employments; who by false Representations traduce all others, that they may engross the Prince to themselves; and who, in Return to his Kindness and Munificence, put continual *Slights and Affronts* upon him, and keep him in an inglorious Dependance on their Wills, in the Disposal of All. 'Tis such a Sort of *Favourites and Ministers* that the People hate, and exclaim against; and whom Men of Birth and superior Merits endeavour to get removed. They may, indeed, maintain their Ground, whilst by a Multitude of Dependants they keep the Throne so closely beset, that the Murmurings of the People cannot reach it; but when either the loud Cries, or his own Indignation at the Indignities that are put upon him, have awaken'd a good Prince, he does not think it derogatory from his Royal Dignity and Honour, to banish such false and unfaithful Friends from his Presence.

I own that Princes, whose Titles are *disputable* and *precarious*, may fear *Idols* of their own making, and stand in awe of Men become terrible only by Greatness derived from them. They may be afraid of pulling down *Favourites and Ministers* grown formidable by the united Strength and Counsels of their Faction, and so bear tamely *daily Insults*, and let Male-Administration go on: But neither the *Cabals* of a *Party*, nor the *Difficulties* which their *combined Malice* may, for a while, bring upon his Affairs, will deter a *rightful and lawful*, wise and

stout Prince, who has the Hearts of his People, from vindicating his own Honour, and reforming Abuses in the State. It was never heard that a Tumult was raised to restore an *insolent* and *rapacious Favourite* in Disgrace; on the contrary, to see ambitious Upstarts engross all Favours, and invade all Offices and Employments, has been the Occasion of many popular Seditions; which wise Monarchs have either prevented, or appeased by a just and *seasonable Sacrifice*.

'Tis true, a Prince who for some Time has been kept in mean Dependence on a Party by *insolent Favourites*, and who would set himself *Free*, and reform the State for the general Ease and Benefit of his Subjects, must expect to meet with some Difficulties, especially if those he would throw off have many Confederates: For the Fears of such, as may be called to an Account, will make them set all Engines at Work, and lay all Sorts of Obstacles in the Way. In the first Place they will set a high Value on their own Deserts, and if a War has been successfully carried on, assume to themselves the whole Honour of it. They will extol the great Services of the GENERAL that upholds their Party, and under the Shadow of his Laurels make bold Advances towards the invading even Sovereign Authority and Royal Prerogatives; they will arrogate to themselves the Merits of the many Millions which the whole Kingdom has freely granted; and propagate a wild Notion, That the CREDIT of the *whole Nation* resides in themselves, and must stand or fall with them. They will try to give all Things a false Turn, and to fill every Place with unfair Suggestions. Sometimes to prevent National Enquiries into their own *Mismanagements*, they will impeach innocent Persons; that so by raising an empty Clamour, and putting the People upon a wrong Scent, they may avoid the Pursuers, and go unpunished: And thus, perhaps, an *unwary Divine* was lately accused, and prosecuted with uncommon Violence, with Design only to prevent Disquisitions, which might have ended in the Impeachment of a Great Minister.

Moreover, that the Knowledge of their ill Conduct may not reach the Prince's Ears, they will endeavour either to engross him to themselves, or, if they cannot compass that, to blast the Reputation of all such as are willing and able to administer good Advice; insinuating, That they are either Enemies to his Person and Government, or actuated by private Malice and selfish Ends: Thus the *best Patriots* have been branded with the odious Appellations of *Tories* and *Jacobites*, and charged with Designs of bringing in the *Pretender*, and with him, *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; than which nothing can be suggested more monstrous or chimerically extravagant.

At other Times, they will boast of the Number of their Friends and Adherents; fondly presuming to awe the Court with an Opinion that their Party is too strong to be opposed; and that they alone are able to carry on the Business of the Public: And thus we have seen what great Combinations have been made to prevent the Removal of a Lord *Treasurer*.

But it is to our singular Happiness, that we have now upon the Throne a QUEEN *willing* and *able* to assert her just Right, and reform the Abuses of the State: *Willing*, from the Wisdom of her Mind, the Goodness of her Temper, and the just Resentment of the Slights offered to her Royal Person and Dignity; *Able*, from that Power which her undoubted *Hereditary Title*, most glorious Reign, mild Government, sincere Piety, and other Political and Moral Vir-
tues,

tues, have procured her in the Hearts and Affections of her Subjects. Such a Princess will not be terrify'd from the Prosecution of wholesome Counsels by the Prospect of any Difficulties. She knows that a few may complain without Reason, but that there is Occasion for Redress, when the Cry appears to be universal; and that no Military Services, or other Merits, can give a Man a just Title to screen any, no not his *nearest Relations*, who forget themselves so far as to insult their Royal *Mistress* and bountiful *Benefactress*.

Tho' 'tis certain that we are *tenacious, even to Madness, of our Liberties*, yet no Nation pays a more sincere and dutiful Reverence to their lawful Monarch than ours: And as the Generality naturally love and respect the Throne; so they compassionate a Prince, whom they think in Danger to be enslaved to the Will and Caprice of those about him, well knowing that they remain miserable, till he reassumes the Exercise of the regal Authority into his own Hands. It was therefore no Wonder to see, of late, the People so willing to join themselves with those who appeared most zealous to defend and support the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown: For how can any true *Briton* not be warmed with *Indignation*, when he beholds his Sovereign so far *abused*, as to be denied even the *Nomination* of a PROVOST of a COLLEGE, and the *Disposal* of a Regiment?

These insolent Denials were attended with odious and aggravating Circumstances: For the Royal Soul not brooking such Insults, and her Majesty insisting on her uncontrollable Right, the Folly of the Faction went so far as to get an Address drawn up, and ready to be offered to, or rather imposed on the House of Commons, for the removing from her Majesty the most *dutiful, affectionate, and assiduous* of all her menial Servants; and all this to gratify the Spleen of the most *arrogant, imperious and ungrateful*. This intended Violence was indeed timely prevented: But her Majesty justly resenting this and other Indignities, which Decency will not suffer to be mentioned; and a Gentleman of great Abilities, Probity, and Spirit, having, notwithstanding the Brow-beatings of the *Junto*, found Means to approach the Throne, and acquainted her Majesty with the general Discontent of the Nobility, Gentry and People, at the exorbitant Power and Greatness of one Family, and at the Administration of Affairs, in Relation both to PEACE and WAR, her Majesty resolved to exert the QUEEN; upon which she was wittily saluted as such by a *Noble Duke*.

It may be said indeed, That a wise and just Prince will not punish many, for the *Errors and Follies* of a few; nor make a *thorough Change* of his Ministers, because *One or Two* have done amiss. To be sure, 'tis not without *Reluctance* that he consents to part with some Persons, whose *Wisdom, Integrity, and Abilities* he has often experienced and entirely approves: But yet when these very Persons grow *fullen and resty*, and obstinately reject a COALITION with others, for the Sake either of an *overgrown Minister*, or of an *insolent Favourite*; in such a Case, a Prince, that hath any Spirit, will employ *another Set of Men*: For he well knows, that Parts, Uprightness, Knowledge and Experience in Affairs, are not confined to this or that Party, and rightly considers, *That Ministers or Favourites; who should be able to protect themselves by a CABAL, might first presume to think they subsist by their proper Strength, and so advance, at last, either to slight or defy his Authority.*

Moreover, it has been justly observed, That *Partiality, which is the Weakness of private Men, is unbecoming the Greatness of a Sovereign, whose Favour should shine on the whole Body of his People: And therefore a wise and good Prince ought to make it his principal Care, and use his utmost Endeavours to root out FACTION.* But if the Disease be too inveterate to be entirely removed, he must try, *by Turns*, the Persons most eminent for their Abilities in *both Parties*, in order to beget a *virtuous Emulation*, which may produce good Effects: For by that Means both Sides will be at Strife, which shall do the Prince and the Nation the most honest and the most faithful Service, with the fewest selfish Designs.

The *main Objection* against the present *Changes* is, that as all Seasons are not proper for Physic, so all Times are not fit for purging the Body Politic; and that the War having been successfully carried on by the late Ministry, it had been Prudence not to shift Hands before a Peace was concluded. To this it may be answered, that as in Cases of Necessity Physic is administered at all Times; so, for the same Reason, a Reformation in State is never out of Season; that though it must be acknowledged, that the *War* has hitherto been prosecuted with wonderful Success under the late Administration, yet it cannot be denied, that some Parts of it, particularly the most essential, *Spain*, have been notoriously * neglected, either with Design to spin out the War, or, at least, to give the whole Honour of it to the *favourite General*; and therefore it was necessary to put the Management of the TREASURY in the Hands of such Persons as will impartially give Attention to all the Parts of the War; which, certainly, is the most effectual Means to procure a speedy Peace. That the *Debts* of the Nation, particularly those of the *Navy*, being immense, it is highly necessary to inquire, how the Moneys appropriated to those Uses have either been diverted or imbezzled: Which *Inquiry*, before *unsuccessfully attempted*, would undoubtedly have been once more *evaded*, if the *late Ministry and Parliament* had been continued. That the People, at this Time, groaning under a great Variety of old and new Taxes; the Necessities of the State being still more pressing than ever; the Public lying under many Engagements; the Honour of the Nation being at Stake to make good several Deficiencies; and the late Ministry having exhausted their Stock of Projects, it was necessary to call for the Assistance of another Set of Men, to find out *new Ways and Means*. That a free Nation, abhorring to see a few private Men accumulating to themselves vast Riches in this general Poverty of the Public, the universal Voice of the People seemed to call for this Change. And in the last Place, that the *High-Church Party*, or the *landed Gentlemen*, having borne the chief Burthen of the War, it was but just and reasonable to give them an Opportunity, in some Measure, to repair their Fortunes, by admitting them into Places of Profit.

And indeed this last Reason is, of itself, sufficient to justify the late *Alterations*: For *profitable Employments in the Political Body are like the Blood in the Natural*: Which while it circulates regularly, the whole Body is in Health; but when it stagnates in one Part, it occasions there dangerous Tumours, which must be prudently removed, before they rankle and fester.

It

* See Dr. Freind's *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*.

It is to be wondered, that the ingenious Author of a polite Paper has not yet filled one of his *Lucubrations* with the *Vision* of a great Receptacle of Water, placed on the Top of a Hill, which by several Rivulets and Pipes diffuses the necessary Moisture to the adjacent Fields: He might have feigned a Goddess presiding over the Persons employed in the opening and shutting the Sluices of this Receptacle, who taking notice that some Meadows had received a sufficient Quantity of Water, should say, with *Virgil* (in his third Pastoral)

Claudite jam Rivos, Pueri, sat Prata biberunt.

*Now dam the Ditches, and the Floods restrain,
Their Moisture has already drench'd the Plain.*

DRYDEN.

He might have supposed that this wise Goddess had afterwards bestowed Fertility and Plenty on the other Fields; which, in some Measure, would have adumbrated her Majesty's Character, in the equal and seasonable Distribution of her Favours among her Subjects.

But, besides, when Necessity compels the Prince to make Alterations among his Ministers, which becomes unavoidable when neither the Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of Allegiance, are any longer a Restraint to the Ambition, Rapacity, Insolence, and Arbitrariness of those he has raised to the highest Degrees of Power, Honour, and Riches; in such a Juncture, a wise Prince will certainly lean that Way, where he thinks his own Dignity *safest*, and the Public Welfare *most consulted*: Which is our present Case.

To set this in a clear Light, we may observe, that when the Arbitrary *Junto* perceived that the daily Insults they offered to the Crown had incensed the Royal Breast, and roused the innate Spirit of Loyalty of the Nation; and that an *Inquiry* into their Administration, though once or twice before unsuccessfully attempted in Parliament, might again be pressed and insisted on by good *Patriots*, they resolved, if not to shake the very Throne, at least to keep it in a stricter Dependence on their own Interest and Power, by reviving the drooping Spirits of a *baffled, inconsiderable, and expiring* ANTIMONARCHICAL PARTY. Nor did they want a Handle for their Design: For a rash Divine, having asserted the wholesome and christian Doctrine of Obedience to the *higher Powers*, though perhaps with too great a Latitude; and at the same Time inveighed with unbecoming Bitterness and Vehemence against the *Dissenters*, and exposed the Male-Administration of such Men in Power as favoured them; this indiscreet Sermon was made the Pretence and Subject of great Clamour. Hereupon the Friends and Emissaries of the late Ministry publicly avowed Principles almost diametrically opposite to our happy Constitution in Church and State; cried up the Power of the People; tried the Queen's *Title*, and made it almost *precarious*, and dependent on the Caprice of the giddy Multitude; advanced the *Toleration* to an Equality with the legal Establishment of the Church of *England*; and extolled the Merits and Services of the great *General and Treasurer* to such a Degree, as if the whole Success of the Administration

stration was solely to be attributed to them; and the QUEEN herself had nothing but the bare Name of Sovereign.

Not contented with this, the *Junto* proposed an Impeachment against Dr. *Sacheverel*; which, however, was at first opposed by some of their more discreet and discerning Friends, who plainly foresaw the Effects of such a *solemn Prosecution*, against a *Son of the national Church*, for a Piece of Pulpit Oratory, which both Parties agreed to be only the Result of an *extravagant Zeal*. But as that very Sermon contained shrewd Reflections on the late Lord Treasurer, characterising him by his vulgar Nickname of VOLPONE, that Minister's most servile Dependents resolved to bring the unwary Divine to Punishment: Into which Counsel the other Friends of the late Ministry went the more readily, when they considered, that the Length and Formality of such a parliamentary Trial would divert the Commons from inquiring into the Disposal of the public Monies.

But such is the Folly of human *Wisdom*, that this Accusation had an Effect contrary to what the Projectors of it expected; and turned at last to their *Destruction*, for whose *Security* it was first entered upon: For the Queen, who began to see clearly into the Designs of the *Junto*, having been present at this solemn Trial, and taking notice that the *Whigs*, who managed this Prosecution, advanced Positions derogatory from the Royal Prerogative; set up the *Revolution*, if not above, at least on the same *Level* with the *hereditary Right*; treated with Indecency and Contempt the Sons of the Church; and spoke with all Tenderness and Respect in Favour of the Dissenters: Her Majesty could not but entertain Suspicions, that some wicked Designs were on Foot to alter the Constitution in Church and State. And on the other hand, the High-Church-Men, who defended Dr. *Sacheverel*, having, with great Loyalty, asserted the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and with Zeal maintained the sound Doctrines of the Church of *England*, her Majesty could not but think well of this Party; and her Royal Person and Dignity safer in the Hands of the true Professors of the established Religion, than with those who mix and join themselves with *Fanatics* and *Republicans*.

At the same Time, the Eyes of the whole Nation were opened by this unpolitic Trial; and the *Ferment* it occasioned in the capital City, instead of abating, spread and increased throughout the Kingdom. Hereupon the Bulk of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, substantial Freeholders, and good Citizens, declared themselves loudly in the Cause of their lawful Monarch; embraced the Government more warmly, and by their loyal and zealous Applications to the Throne, sought shelter under her Majesty's Royal Prerogative, against the impending Invasions of our happy Constitution in Church and State; which made an *Alteration* in the Ministry, and a *Dissolution* of the last Parliament, unavoidable.

Thus Dr. *Sacheverel's* Trial, though not the *true Cause*, was yet the *occasional Means* of the late Changes: The more discerning and impartial Men, even of the *Whig* Party, early saw through the Design of that violent Prosecution, and from whence that Engine was played; and, at last, the whole Nation began to be alarmed. It is well known that the late Mr. *Dolben*, who appeared the most zealous and forward in that Business, was an intire Dependent

dent on the *T—r*; and therefore it is not to be wondered that such a strained Impeachment first kindled a Flame in the House of Commons, where the late Male-administration had already gathered so much combustible Matter; and that it afterwards revived old Grudges and Animosities, and occasioned Distractions, which were fomented and inflamed by mercenary and ignorant Scribblers on both Sides; and by the triumphant Progress of the same indiscreet Divine, who lay under a parliamentary Censure: But which, however, happily ended in the Removal of the arbitrary *Junto*, and the *Dissolution* of a Parliament that was entirely at their Devotion. And indeed, it had been imprudent to commit the Healing of our late Distractions to those who were the principal and original Cause of them; and who, instead of curing, would, undoubtedly, have exasperated the Distemper. Thus when a Storm arises at Sea, if the Steering of the Ship happen to be in unskillful Hands, abler Pilots are immediately called to supply their *Places*. And indeed as those who began that violent Procedure, which occasioned so great a *Hurricane* in the State, are alone accountable for any ill Consequences of it; so it was but Justice they should first suffer for it.

But before the Blow was given, the *Junto* fondly believed they might still support themselves by representing the common Interest of *Europe* as inseparable from theirs. In the first Place it was industriously whispered about, not without a fair Shew of Popularity and public Spirit, that after so many Victories gained by her Majesty's Arms, in Conjunction with those of the Allies; after the Reduction of so many fortified Towns, and the regaining of the *French* King's earliest Conquests, which seemed to open to our Troops an easy Entrance into the very Heart of the Enemy's Country; and after the *French* Court had a second Time sued for *Peace*, and sent their Plenipotentiaries to *Gertruydenberg* to negotiate, it was reasonable to believe that a Treaty would soon have been concluded. And, indeed, it was hardly imaginable, when, by maintaining a War so long and so expensive, *England* shewed Marks of an unwearied Constancy, and that we had a Spring of Wealth not easily to be exhausted: And when on the contrary the *French* were so sore with the Wounds they had received at *Vigo*, *Blenheim*, *Ramelies*, *Turin*, *Barcelona*, *Oudenarde*, *Lisle*, *Mons*, and *Tournay*; so exhausted of Wealth, and so diminished in People both by Famine and the War, that they should think of breaking off the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*! It was therefore speciously suggested, that our late Distractions, unjustly charged upon those who appeared in Favour of Dr. *Sackeверel*, gave the Enemy a Prospect of a Turn of Affairs here, in Favour of the *Pretender*: Which, considering the wrong Estimate the *Jacobite* Party ever made of their own Strength, and the false Informations they give to the *French* Court, is not altogether improbable. But then, may they not have been fortified in that fond Expectation by the Supineness and Ill-management of our late Ministers? May they not flatter themselves to succeed in a *second* Attempt to invade *Scotland*, when notwithstanding the Provision made by the Parliament, towards the Security of that Part of *Great-Britain*, the Forts and Garrisons there are scarce in a better Condition than they were two Years ago? May they not from the long *Anticipations* on our old public Funds, the Deficiencies of some new ones, and the immense Debt of the Navy yet unprovided for, believe us involved in Difficulties, which they think impossible for

us to wade through? And may they not conceive our Affairs to have been so perplexed by a long Series of Male-Administration, that they had no Reason to fear abler Hands, and wiser Heads, would either run the Hazard of meddling in our Business, or be in a Capacity to prosecute the War with Vigour? And, indeed, the selfish rapacious Temper of the late Ministry and our intestine Divisions, industriously fomented by the Emissaries of those, whom nothing but *Confusion* can no longer protect; and the scandalous Negligence which has been shewn in inspecting and stating the Accompts of the Fleet and Army; must needs have lessened our Reputation Abroad, encouraged the *French* to think us now no dangerous Enemy, and made them expect to see the great Band of the Confederacy dissolved.

When the QUEEN had, at last, resolved to resume the Exercise of her Royal Authority, and to vindicate herself from the Insolence and Arbitrariness of the *Junto*, she thought fit to begin with the Person, who advised and promoted the Address, for taking that Privilege from her Majesty, which the meanest of her Subjects enjoy, viz. the having by her Royal Person a *Trusty, Assiduous, and Affectionate Servant*. The *Junto* were indeed alarmed at the Removal of the Earl of S——, but not entirely daunted, and having recovered Spirit, they resolved to try new Expedients to support their tottering Power. In order to that, their Emissaries propagated a wild Notion, that the *public Credit* of *England* wholly depended on the late Lord Treasurer, and the Continuation of the last Parliament: So that the whole Confederacy seeming to be concerned in their *Preservation*, some Members of the Bank of *England*, and some of the Allies, were unwarily drawn in to interpose in their Behalf with her Majesty: Than which, a greater Affront was, perhaps, never offered to the Crown of *England*, either by Subjects or Friends. All that can be said to palliate the Fault of the first is, That in their Applications to the QUEEN about Matters of the highest Importance, and above their Sphere, they acted by the Instigation of some great Men; without the Knowledge and Privity of the Body of which they were Members. To be sure the *Bank* is too wise to dare, *uncalled*, to advise her Majesty, and lay down to her Rules of Government; and if they should, the Parliament would, undoubtedly, think it necessary to check such a Presumption, and to abridge the Power and Influence of a Corporation, which, in Time, might believe themselves independent on the Government, and even able to dictate it.

As for the *Interposition* of some of the *Allies*, although it be *more excusable*, because they are engaged with us in a long and expensive War, upon Measures concerted with the late Ministers; and because there seems to be a parallel Case of the QUEEN's interposing at the Court of *Vienna*, in Favour of the Protestants of *Silesia*; and of the Parliament's Desire, that Application should be made to the Emperor for sending Prince *Eugene* to command in *Spain*: Yet there is scarce any Instance of a Sovereign's intermeddling so far in the Affairs of another, as to advise him about the Choice of his Ministers; unless the latter was a *Tributary* to, or mean Dependent on the other. However, we ought not to pass too hard a Censure on this wrong Step; but ascribe it either to a mistaken Zeal for the common Cause; or, rather, to the *crafty Suggestions* of the Emissaries of the late *Junto*, who infuse Abroad false Notions of our Do-

Domestic Affairs, with the same Impudence as they vent their Spleen and Malice at home. Witness the pretended Letter from Mr. *Pettécum* to Monsieur *Buys*; and the Letter said to have been found in *Douay*: Both which spurious Pieces were first printed and with great Industry dispersed in *Holland*.

This *preposterous* (not call it by a worse Name) *Interposition* proving ineffectual, the *discarded Ministers* and their Dependants endeavour now to deceive and poison the Vulgar, and even some of the better Sort, with groundless Fears and false Suggestions; giving wrong and scandalous Characters of those who have strenuously asserted our excellent Constitution both in Church and State; and insinuating, as if under Pretence of maintaining the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, they aimed at bringing in the *Pretender*. A Design which, as was hinted before, may with more Reason be charged on those that raise that wild Apprehension.

But as *great Changes* in the *Government* are often preceded, so are they, almost unavoidably, attended by a *Ferment* in the Kingdom: For those who, for many Years, had the Management of Affairs, and the absolute Disposal of all Employments, have thereby so fortified themselves by a numerous Party, that it is almost impossible to remove them without great *Convulsions*. It is therefore no wonder to see what Clamours have been raised, and what Art and Industry have been used, to cast an *Odium* on the late *Alterations*, and not only to misrepresent the *Causes*, but also to blacken those who have appeared to be the *Instruments* of them: For they who in all their Proceedings never had but their private Interest in view, will not fail making the same Judgment of others; and will endeavour to persuade the World that all is swayed by selfish Ends, private Malice and Revenge.

I hope, I have already sufficiently accounted for her Majesty's *Justice* in the late Changes; nor was her *Wisdom* less conspicuous in the *Choice* of her *new Ministers*.

It may be thought either Presumption by some, or interpreted *Flattery* by others, to give Characters of *Men in Power*: But yet, I hope, the *malicious Aspersions* that have been cast on the *new Ministers* (particularly in a scandalous Paper called the *New Scheme*, and in a *Letter to the Freeholders*) will on this Occasion justify my Endeavours to do them Justice, by a fair and candid Representation of their Principles and Merits.

I will not enlarge on the Character of the Person, who may justly be supposed to have been a great *Instrument* in the late Changes: His Parts and Abilities are too well known to need an Encomium. However, since the Malice of the Faction seems to have been principally levelled at him, I shall only set down here the most remarkable Passages of his Life, which if drawn out in their proper Length by a more skilfull Hand, would, I am sure, give the World a compleat Idea of a *true British Patriot*.

His first Entrance into the World was remarkable, by his appearing earlier than any of his Countrymen in the late happy REVOLUTION; having, for that Purpose, raised at his own Expence, a gallant Troop of Horse, at the Head of whom he joined the (then) Prince of *Orange*. Being, by his own Family Interest, chosen a Member of the House of Commons, his Sagacity and Diligence were conspicuous in the Detection of the scandalous Bribery used in the *Orphans*

254 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Bill; infomuch that Sir *John Trevor*, then Speaker, being thereupon expell'd the House, the Commons, out of a grateful Sense of this Piece of public Service, would have advanced Mr. *Harley* to the Chair: But being then both a young Man and a young Member, and desiring to be more thoroughly acquainted with all the Methods of parliamentary Proceedings, he most industriously declined it, and, by an uncommon Piece of Generosity, resigned his Interest to his Uncle Mr. *Foley*, who thereupon was chosen Speaker, and even in Competition with Sir *Thomas Littleton*, who had the whole Weight of the Court Interest to no Purpose. Mr. *Harley* made himself still more popular, by bringing into the House of Commons and sticking for the Bill for TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS, the firmest Bulwark of the *British* Liberties. On the other hand, his Zeal for the Good of the Nation made him very active in the *Commission* for inspecting and stating the *public Accounts*, in which he was always *foremost*: So that being the Scourge of an unthrifty Ministry, they resolved to keep under and brow-beat so prying and so upright a Patriot; notwithstanding which he pursued with great Courage the true Interest of his Country, and constantly sided with the Party whom he thought prefer'd it to their own private Advantage. Upon the ASSASSINATION-PLOT, he shewed his Abhorrence and Detestation of it, being one of the most forward to sign in the House of Commons the ASSOCIATION in Favour of King *William*; even to the apparent Danger of his own Life, being then hardly recovered of a Fit of Sicknes. Some Time after he was one of those that opposed the Bill of Attainder against Sir *John Fenwick*, being persuaded, *they had most Moderation who least pretended to it*. Some Time after, Mr. *Harley* got into the Confidence of King *William*, who was more than once heard to express his Regret, *That he had not sooner been acquainted with a Man of his Merit and Abilities*. Being chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, he first proposed to King *William* the Act for settling the SUCCESSION in the most illustrious House of HANOVER, which received the royal Assent in that Session; and upon the Calling of a new Parliament, being again chosen Speaker, he acted with his usual Zeal for the Public Good; so that by his Means the Act *For the further Security of the Protestant Succession* had a quick and easy Passage: All which demonstrates his entire Affection to the House of HANOVER. He also was the Person, who, in a Committee on *Ways and Means*, moved the making good the DEFICIENCIES; and carried it, notwithstanding the Opposition made principally by those concern'd at that Time in the Revenue; whereby the PUBLIC CREDIT was restored. His Abilities and Merit were further acknowledged, when he was a *third Time* chosen SPEAKER of the House of Commons, in the first Parliament summon'd by Queen *Anne*. In the second Session of that Parliament he used his utmost Endeavours to allay the unhappy Differences that had arisen between the two Houses, on account of the Miscarriage of the *Occasional Bill*, the Examination of the *Scotch Plot*, and some other Matters, that might have obstructed the public Affairs: For which seasonable Piece of Service he was made one of the Secretaries of State, with universal Applause. He signalized his first Entrance upon that Office, by stifling an *Insurrection* that was ready to break out in *Scotland*; and, not long after, saved the Lord *Treasurer* from being *impeach'd*, on account of the *Act of Security* passed in *Scotland*. Such signal Services, one would have thought, would have

have been requited with all possible Marks, if not of *public*, at least of *private Gratitude*; but on the contrary, observing that Mr. *Harley* discharged his Office of Secretary of State with uncommon Zeal, Affection and Punctuality, that having free Access to her Majesty he acquainted her with many Things which others endeavoured to have kept from her Knowledge, particularly some Advantages made by *France* towards a general Peace, after the Battle of *Ramillies*; and that her Majesty entertained a particular Esteem for so useful and diligent a Minister; the *arbitrary Junto* not only exerted all their Power to get him removed, but afterwards, by an unparallel'd Piece of *Ingratitude*, used all sinister and scandalous Methods to destroy their *Benefactor*.

From this short Account of Mr. *Harley's* Actions, and the Tenor of his whole Conduct, since the *Revolution*, it is no difficult Matter to judge of his *Principles*: And I am sure that all *impartial Whigs* will be apt to believe him to be on their Side. But then they ought, with the same Frankness and Partiality, to acknowledge, that since he has performed all the great Things beforementioned in Company with the *Tories*, the latter are no such Enemies to our happy Constitution as they are represented by the hot Men of the *Whig Party*.

This great Patriot having, with undaunted Courage and equal Address, found Means to lay before the Queen the true State of Things, and given her convincing Instances of the Danger with which her Authority was threatned, her Majesty did not immediately proceed to the *Shifting of Hands*, but, with great Wisdom, resolved to consult the ablest Statesmen in her Kingdom. In order to that, and to give a free Admission to several Persons conspicuous in former Reigns for their deep Skill in Matters of Government, and whom the supercilious Arrogance of some Ministers had driven from the Court, her Majesty thought fit to give the Key and Staff of Chamberlain to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, a Person who borrows less Splendor from his illustrious and heroic Ancestors, than he repays to them by his shining Qualities and political Virtues. This Nobleman having confirmed to her Majesty the Informations already given by Mr. *Harley*, and, in concert with him, and some other Persons of consummate Abilities and untainted Honour, framed a *Scheme* to restore her Majesty to the Exercise of her royal Authority, and to allay the Fears of the Members of the established Church, 'tis no Wonder his Grace has almost an equal Share with Mr. *Harley*, in the Spleen and Malice of the discarded Ministry: But no Arrows that are shot from that impotent Quiver can make an *Impression* on so solid a Merit, or deface so bright a Character. His Grace, in the most difficult Times, appear'd a zealous Asserter of the Liberties of his Country, and a warm Stickler for the Protestant Interest: For observing how furiously the late King *James's* Popish Counsellors were driving, he not only resigned the Office of Lord Chamberlain, but quit- ted a Regiment of Horse he then commanded, mortgaged his Estate, went over to the (then) Prince of *Orange*, and drew with him so many Persons of Honour and Estates, that he may justly claim the largest Share in the late HAPPY REVOLU- TION, of which he was afterwards the MAIN SUPPORT. For both on the account of his signal and never-to-be-forgotten Services, and of his distin- guished Abilities, he was, upon King *William's* Advancement to the Throne, made Principal Secretary of State, which Office he discharged with universal Applause; till an Accident (a Fall off his Horse) having rendered him in- capable

capable to undergo the Fatigue of it, his Majesty, who had before made him a Duke, and Knight of the Garter, gave him an easier Employment, *viz.* the same her Majesty was lately pleased to bestow upon him. To demonstrate what Thoughts his Grace entertains of our present *Settlement*, it is sufficient to repeat what he solemnly declared at Dr. *Sacheverel's* Trial: *That as he bore as great a Part as any in the late Revolution, so he would ever go as far as any to assert it, and to vindicate the Memory of our glorious Deliverer.* Is not this enough to remove all the Jealousies that the most industrious Malice can suggest?

Besides these two great Men, her Majesty thought fit, on this important Occasion, to call to her Assistance some other Persons, equally eminent by their high Birth, consummate Wisdom, and Experience in Affairs; and, among others, the Earl of *Rochester*. I own their steady Zeal for Monarchy and the established Church has, at divers Times, exposed them to the Slanders and Defamations of the Enemies of both; as their Integrity and public Spirit have to the Envy and Malice of ambitious and rapacious Ministers: But nevertheless their Characters ever shone bright, even through the Clouds that were industriously raised to obscure them.

The *fanatical* and *antimonarchical* Party have all along, in a particular Manner, shewn their Inveteracy against the noble Earl before-mentioned: For notwithstanding the Demonstration he gave of his firm Adherence to the Protestant Interest, by his chusing to resign the Treasurer's Staff, rather than to strike in with King *James's* Design; and his near Relation to the late Queen and our present Sovereign, which intitled him to the highest Trusts, they infused such groundless Jealousies to King *William*, as made that Prince shy of confiding in him, till, as was hinted before, Mr. *Harley* had removed those sinister Impressions. However, they had not the Power to stifle in his royal Consort's Breast the natural Affection and real Esteem she had for the Person and Merit of her Uncle, whose Retirement she endeavour'd to make easy by the Grant of a pleasurable Country-Seat; * where his Lordship has erected a Monument of her Bounty, and his own Gratitude. His Lordship was possess'd of the Government of *Ireland*, and of the present Queen's Favour, upon her Majesty's Accession to the Throne; but those who design'd to engross all to themselves did not rest till they had removed a Person whom they foresaw would have opposed any Encroachments on the Royal Authority. His Lordship's Enemies did not fail renewing their base Aspersions, as often as he was like to return to Court; but their malicious Endeavours were, at last, defeated by the same Person who had done him Justice in the late Reign, and who is satisfied, that neither his Lordship, nor any of the High-Church-Party, who have been taken in, will ever propose, or pursue any Measures, that may any way weaken the present Settlement, or give the least Uneasiness to the *Dissenters*.

Her Majesty, after repeated Consultations with these and other able Statesmen, having resolved to change Part of the Ministry, it seem'd but just to begin with the Person who had refused to come into the Secretary's Office before Mr. *Harley* was removed from thence, and who was supposed to have been the Promoter

* The late Queen gave the Earl of *Rochester* Part of *Richmond* Park, where his Lordship has made extraordinary fine Gardens, and erected there her Majesty's Statue, with this Inscription: *Semper Honos, Nomenque tuum, Laudesque manebunt.*

Promoter of the before-mentioned Address for removing Mrs. M— from her Majesty's Bedchamber. His Place was, at first, designed for a noble Person, who declining so fatiguing an Employment, the same was bestow'd on the Lord *Dartmouth*: A Peer who inherits the Loyalty, Zeal for the established Church, and public Spirit of his noble Father; and whose Probity and Application to Business had already been tried in another Employment.

The Lord Treasurer being removed, notwithstanding the great Struggle of his Faction to support him, her Majesty thought fit to put that important Office in the Hands of Commissioners; and besides Mr. *Harley*, who was placed the second in that Commission, and as such made Chancellor of the Exchequer, her Majesty pitch'd upon four other Persons, no less distinguish'd by their natural *Abilities* than by their *Integrity*, whose large Fortunes in Land will certainly induce them to consult the Interest of a Kingdom, where they have so great a Stake; and are a Security to the Nation for their clear and just Administration: And who, having no particular Tie with any of our Generals, or Allies abroad, will impartially take care of all the Parts of the War.

The Choice of these four Persons cannot but be applauded by all unprejudiced Men: For in the first Place the Earl of *Powlet*, who is at the Head of the Commission, is a Nobleman of solid Judgment and Understanding, polite Learning, virtuous and exemplary Morals, unblemish'd Reputation, moderate Principles, and a true Son of the Church, without any Bitterness or fiery Zeal against the *Dissenters*.

Sir *Thomas Mansel*, who some Years ago generously resign'd his Place of Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, on account of his Friend Mr. *Harley*'s being removed from the Secretary's Office, and is now with him in the Commission of the Treasury, is a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, most ample Fortune, generous and affable Temper, publick Spirit, and clear Understanding. Mr. *Paget*'s bright Parts, and his Knowledge of the Business of the Navy, make him a very fit Person to be in the Commission of the *Treasury*. And in the last Place, Mr. *Benson*, Brother-in-Law to the Lord *Dartmouth*, is a Gentleman of quick natural Parts (improved by Study, Travel, and polite Conversation) sound Judgment, and well vers'd in the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom.

The Event has already justify'd her Majesty's Choice of these five Commissioners: For notwithstanding the great Difficulties they have hitherto labour'd under, occasioned chiefly by the Endeavours of the Friends of the late Ministry to sink the *Public Credit*, and embroil the Affairs of the Bank (of which Notice may be taken in a more proper Place) and though they found the Treasury and Exchequer not only entirely exhausted, but also clog'd with new-struck Tallies and Anticipations, yet by their Credit and Reputation they have found Means to supply the Armies in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, till the End of the Campaign; and at a cheaper Rate than the late Treasurer ever did.

Another Gentleman having some time after resigned his Place of Secretary of State, the Seals were immediately given to Mr. *St. John*; who, like Sir *Thomas Mansel*, had formerly chosen to sacrifice his Place of Secretary of War, rather than abandon so worthy a Friend as Mr. *Harley*. Nor is any Man in the

Three Kingdoms better qualified for that high and busy Employment: Whether we consider his natural Talents, Vivacity of Wit, Penetration and Judgment; or his Mastery of Languages, flowing Eloquence, Affability, and Address: So that her Majesty cannot have a more useful Minister, either with respect to the Public Business in the House of Commons, or in relation to the Management of the Affairs abroad: And I dare prophesy, that he will never be guilty of such a *false Step* as was made in the Business of the *Muscovite Ambassador*, or expose the *Crown and Nation* to so *inglorious a Submission* to retrieve it.

Some other Persons, too far engaged in the late Measures, having been necessarily removed; and others having voluntarily resign'd their Employments; perhaps, through a *false Puntilio*, lest they should be thought to change Sides: Their Places were supply'd by Men of equal Merit, Parts, and Abilities; and, at least, as zealous to advance the true Interest of their Country, and the Good of the Common Cause. I shall not enlarge upon their Characters; because it is foreign to my present Design to enter into such Particulars, any farther than seems absolutely necessary to account for the late Alterations.

But in order to trace them up to their true Causes, we may still observe, that only Two new Persons have been put in the Commission of the Navy; and that no Man could, with more Justice, be placed at the Head of it, than Sir *John Leake*, whose successful Expeditions and Enterprizes have carried the Honour of the *English Navy* as far as any Sea-Commander that can be brought in Competition with him.

We may likewise observe, That one of the Secretaries of State, and some other Persons, have been continued in their Places; and that the Reason of Mr. *Smith's* Removal from the Chancellorship of the *Exchequer*, being only because that Place belongs, of Course, to the second Commissioner of the Treasury, her Majesty was pleased to shew the Continuance of her Favour to him, by bestowing upon him another profitable Employment in the *Exchequer*.

These few Hints and Instances shew, at the same Time, the main Scope of the late Changes: Which is not to cramp or streighten the Government, by turning out one Party, and taking in another; but rather to strengthen it, by enlarging its Foundation: It being the Queen's fix'd Design and Resolution, to encourage and reward all such, who with honest and virtuous Principles shall embrace and promote her Majesty's and the Nation's Service, without any Regard to *invidious Distinctions*. *Usurpers*, or *incroaching Favourites*, and *ambitious Ministers* may, for a while, support themselves by a *Faction*; but our rightful and lawful QUEEN has nothing more at Heart, than that the Names of *Tory* and *Whig* may be buried in Oblivion; she thinks it below her Royal Dignity to make use of the mean Arts of indulging any of her Subjects in *Follies* and *Animosities*, to themselves fatal, and injurious to her Power. As she has a Right to govern all, so she scorns to be Queen of no more than half her People: And as she is able to judge whose Merits are the greatest, and who are the fittest Objects to be shined on; so she will, for the future, impartially distribute her Rewards, and countenance the best Patriots; which cannot fail, of strengthening her auspicious Administration with the Hearts and Hands of all her Subjects.

And

And here we may cursorily take notice, That her Majesty has already began to redress *Military* as well as *Civil Grievances*. Thus we see the glorious *Victor* at WYNENDALE, the brave General *W E B B*, to whom we are principally indebted for the Conquest of *Lisse*; but whose *Laurels* were like to have been fix'd on the Brow of another, and his Services depreciated; advanced to an important Government: Thus we see that valiant and experienced Commander, the Earl of *Portmore*, whose *involuntary Idleness* was lamented by all the *Well-wishers* to the Common Cause, at last, sent to retrieve the Affairs of *Portugal*; and, 'tis to be hoped, to compleat the Conquest of *Spain*. Thus a noble Lord, who, some Years ago, had a fine *Regiment of Horse* taken from him (either for not voting in the House of Commons according to the Desire of a certain Great Man, or for opposing the Election of his near Relation) was lately restored to her Majesty's Favour, and advanced to a high Military Title. Thus we may expect to see e're long *Justice* done to the illustrious Duke of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, whose great Atchievements will ever live in the Memory of all grateful *Englishmen*. And thus the *Argiles*, the *Orreries*, the *North* and *Greys*, and all other brave *Britons* in the Army, who have either been postponed or disregarded, whilst all Favour was shewn to *Hibernian* Officers, may, with Reason, hope to be taken notice of, and promoted in their Turns.

To return to our present Business: The discarded Ministers having, by their vast Wealth, and numerous Dependants, formed a strong and formidable Party, were not without Hopes, if not of regaining their Power, at least, of avoiding a National Enquiry into their Administration, by suggesting Dangers from the calling a new Parliament; and by starting Difficulties in the ordinary Method of Dissolution: But her Majesty being fully convinced of the absolute Necessity of it, wisely exerted her Royal Prerogative, and ordered a Proclamation to be published for that Purpose.

It has, with great Industry, been whispered by the Emissaries of the late Junto, how ungracious it was to dissolve so good a Parliament, which had so readily voted the necessary Supplies for the War: But besides the Reasons for this Dissolution hinted at before, it may be observed, that the same Motives, that prompted her Majesty to change her Ministry, were sufficient to induce her to call a new Parliament.

It is with a *Mixt-Government*, as ours is, as with a Piece of Clock-work; where, unless the Springs be fitted to the Wheels, and vice versa, the Wheels to the Springs, let the Pendulum be ever so regular and steady in its Motion, the whole Work will never produce the Effects intended by the Artift. Thus in our Political Constitution, if the Springs or the Ministerial Part of the Government, do not exactly agree with the Wheels or Parliament, nothing can be expected from them but continual Fars and Misunderstandings, each contending to put the other in the wrong, and obstructing what the other moves for the Public Good: Whereas, on the contrary, when both concur in Opinion and Designs, all good Counsels, Prosperity and Success, attend so excellent an Harmony.

Some of our Princes have, indeed, been justly censured for dissolving Parliaments: But 'twas then only, when they seem'd resolved to govern without them. Wherefore it cannot be thought ungracious in her Majesty to part with the

the *last* (though to do them Justice, they supplied the Necessities of the War with all imaginable Zeal and Readiness) since another was immediately summoned, to meet about the usual Time: So that *Foreign Affairs* can suffer no prejudicial Intermision by this *Dissolution*; and, on the other hand, 'tis not to be doubted that *proper Remedies* will be applied to our *intestine Distempers*.

Parliaments are the very *Heart* of our Constitution: While that Vital Part of it is *free, vigorous, and sound*, no Danger from *abroad*, no *Distractions, Factions, or Combinations* at *home*, can hurt us. Our Sovereign is no where so safe, or appears with so great Splendor, as when he sits in his Throne, at the Head of his Parliament; the Peers no where vested with so great Authority, as when they sit supreme Judges in their House; and as the Commons are the Guardians of the Liberties of the People, so the latter cannot lose their Rights, so long as we preserve Parliaments: The Felicity of our Constitution being such, that we cannot be undone, but by ourselves, and by our own Consent.

But 'tis Matter of Grief to reflect, That, of late Years, not a few Men, considerable for their Birth, Abilities, and Estates, instead of bending their Thoughts how to serve their Country, have meanly contrived how to advance their own Fortunes, either by a slavish Dependance on a *Favourite General*, or by supporting a Great *Minister* at the *Helm*; and whilst they were attending *Levees*, and cringing for *Civil or Military Preferments* in *Anti-Chambers*, they either left to their Relations the Care of managing their *Elections* in the Country, or which is worse, of making Interest for such as were recommended by the *Two Rulers*. By these Means most of the *Elections* were carried for *Officers* or *Monied Men*; which is not to be wondered at, since *Gentlemen* had taught their Tenants and Dependants to sell their *Votes*, by their Practice of bringing their Voices to Market in the Parliament-House. Such Members never believed it went ill with the Nation, as long as it went well with themselves: The *Landed Interest* was not so much the Object of their Care, as by what obsequious Arts they might be advanced to better Posts; and if they had but their Share of the Public Money, they took little Thought of the Application of the Remainder. Thus by the bestowing of Regiments on proper Persons, though to the notorious Discouragement of Officers who had merited by their long Services; by bribing other Members by Pensions, or Civil Offices; and by winking at the immense Gains which some private Men made out of the Kingdom's Treasure, the *Junto* had bid fair for the largest Share of the *Legislative Authority*.

Armed with this Power, and having, as they fondly believed, entirely secured to themselves the *bounteous* and *indulgent* QUEEN, it is no wonder that instead of bringing the vast Profits, accruing from *Safe-Guards* and *Contributions*, into the Public Treasure, as the *Romans* did heretofore, and as it is now practised by the thrifty *Hollanders*; instead of accounting for the several Regiments taken Prisoners, or incorporated in *Spain*, and elsewhere; which were not new-raised in two or three Years after, and the best Part of the Pay whereof was sunk; immense Grants were procured, both out of the *Crown-Lands* and *Revenues*, for the *Favourite General*: And whereas, in former Times, *Trophies* only were erected out of the Spoils of the Vanquished, a magnificent *Castle*, shall I call it, or a strong *Citadel*, has been raised for our Leader, mostly

mostly out of the Public Treasure; whilst *Whitehall*, the ancient Mansion of our Kings, remains in *Rubbish*; and whilst her Majesty is contented to take up with a scanty Accommodation in an old patcht-up House, eclipsed by a sumptuous and regular *new Palace*, built by the late *Favourite Lady*. 'Tis no wonder, that when an honest Party in the House of Commons had press'd an Enquiry into the Mismanagement of our Affairs of *Spain*; and when it appearing, that of the 28000 Men, voted and provided for by the Parliament, there were not actually 9000 employ'd in that Country; an Address was carried to represent to the QUEEN a Miscarriage too notorious to be pass'd over in Silence: The Majority of that House were, however, satisfied with a palliating Answer, jumbled up by the *Junto*. 'Tis no wonder, that other Inquiries into the Disposal of the Monies appropriated to the Navy, have since been unsuccessfully attempted. 'Tis no wonder, that an *Act of Indemnity* was procured to screen a Great Man, who is shrewdly suspected of having lavish'd away near a Million *Sterling*, to bring about the *Union*; with no other Design than to retrieve a false Step, for which he might have lost his Head. In short, 'tis no wonder that the *Junto* had form'd the towering Project, of getting a GENERAL for LIFE; who might, in Time, have gained as absolute an Authority, as that of a *Roman* perpetual DICTATOR, or of a *British* PROTECTOR; and so have governed arbitrarily both QUEEN and NATION.

But, Thanks be to God, that fond and fantastic Design is vanished into Air, by the timely *Dissolution* of the last *Parliament*: And although the *British* Spirit has of late been much abased and depraved, yet there is good Reason to hope it is not yet quite extinguished. Though the late *Junto*, and their Supporters, the *Monied Men*, were, and still are able to *bribe many*; yet was it not, (and 'tis now less) in their Power to corrupt All. They found, indeed, a base Compliance among a Party, who left no servile Arts unpractised to get into profitable Employments: But then they met in their career a Set of Landed Men, Proof against Bribery, stiff and staunch in the Principles of Honour, heartily zealous for the Support of our happy Constitution in Church and State, and whom Profit could not allure, nor Power intimidate. Now, as the *Arbitrary Junto* had Reason to dread the Industry, Frugality, Vigour, Sagacity, and Courage of these Patriots, so all sinister Methods were used to keep them under, by branding them with *odious Appellations*, and charging them with unnatural Designs against their lawful Sovereign and native Country: Well knowing, that if ever this sound Party should prevail, their Corruptions and Mismanagements would be animadverted upon.

'Tis therefore no wonder to see, that the same Artifices are now practised to thwart the *High-Church* or *Landed-Men*, in the new Elections: But, by this Time, the Charm is broke; some Boroughs were formerly corrupted, but are not yet, thank God, bought out; and the *true Patriots*, having gain'd the Day at *Court*, it is not to be doubted but they will have a Majority in the ensuing *Parliament*.

And, indeed, as there cannot be a Circumstance more dangerous to the Liberty of a Nation, than to have the real Right, Interest, and Property of Lands in one Hand, and the Power of being chosen into Parliament in another;

so, to preserve the Rights of this Nation, we should be represented by such as have the greatest Share in Property.

From hence it naturally follows, That the *new Whigs*, who, as they themselves boast, are the *Monied Men*, having for these many Years past enjoyed all the Places of Profit, and made up the Majority of the House of Commons; it was but a Piece of Justice, and generous Condescension in her Majesty, to hearken to the general Voice of the Nation, that called for a *new Parliament*. This gives her Majesty's Subjects an Opportunity of being represented by Men of Estates; whereas, had the late Parliament been continued, it might have happened that those, who never consulted the Landed Interest, having exhausted their Stock of *Ways and Means*, might, at last, have given into the Project of making *Land a perpetual Fund*; than which nothing could, in Time, prove more fatal to our Constitution. For thereby, the real Property of Land would belong to the Bankers and Usurers; and we should be, in a great Measure, represented by such as, having only the Name and Shew of Estates, would be in an intire Dependence on the Court for Preferments. Nor would there be any Fence against such *Corruption*; for a Parliament that would consent to continue *Land-Taxes* beyond the Duration of the War, would give up all our Liberties at once.

From all this it is plain, That Men of good Estates, untainted Honour, unshaken Loyalty to the Crown, and independent on the late Ministry (call them by what *Name* you please) are the proper Persons to represent this *Free Nation* at this critical Juncture. 'Twas they who, since the *Revolution*, in which they had as great Share as any, strenuously asserted the Rights of the People, and procured us the two strongest Bulwarks of *British Liberty*, viz. the *Treason Bill*, and the *Act for Triennial Parliaments*; 'twas they who have always been for saving the Public Money, and, as far as in them lay, check'd Depredations, by calling every Session for the Accounts and Estimates of the Army and Fleet; 'twas they who, after the Peace of *Ryswick*, insisted on the *disbanding* of the Army, and resumed *exorbitant Grants* to pay Public Debts; 'twas they who made the Nation sensible of the dangerous Consequences of the *Partition-Treaty*, and had the Courage to attack in Parliament, Men of great Figure, whom they thought Authors of that pernicious Counsel; 'twas they who, about the Beginning of the Year 1701, (Mr. *Harley* being then Speaker) made the *Act for the further Limitation of the Crown in the Protestant Line*; and who just before the late King's Death (Mr. *Harley* being still in the Chair) passed two other *Acts*, viz. one for the *Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of High-Treason*; and another for the *further Security of the Succession in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders*; 'twas they who first entered into this necessary War, and therefore they ought, in Justice, to have the Honour of *ending* it; 'twas they who, upon the Queen's Accession to the Throne, made good the *Deficiencies* of the last Reign; which shews they will ever be tender of the Honour of PARLIAMENTARY Engagements. And, in the last Place, 'twas they who opposed the Mismanagements of the late *Junto*, and are therefore the fittest Men to inquire into the Disposal of the Public Moneys; which the immense Debt that now lies upon the Navy, renders absolutely necessary. Nor is it to be doubted that

The *Landed Gentlemen* will readily grant and provide the necessary Supplies for carrying on the *War* with the utmost *Vigour*: For as they have still borne, and are still like to bear the greatest Weight of Taxes; so will they, in their own Defence, exert their utmost Endeavours to procure a safe, honourable, and lasting *Peace*, in order to ease themselves of their Burden. Therefore if, as has been suggested, the Court of *France* spun out, and at last broke off the late Conferences at *Gertruydenburg*, upon a Prospect of a Turn of Affairs in this Nation, in Favour of the *Pretender*, they will certainly find themselves as miserably disappointed in that fond Expectation, as they have often been in others of the like Kind; and, it is to be hoped, pay very dear for their last *Legerdemain*: For, in all Probability, our *New Ministry*, and the *New Parliament*, will insist on the Restitution of the *whole Monarchy of Spain*; and on better Terms for all the *Allies* (particularly for the trading Part of this Nation) instead of offering an *Equivalent* for the 37th Article of the late Preliminaries.

On the other hand, it is not to be doubted that as the *Moderate Tories*, and *Old Whiggs* jointly opposed, in the late Reign, the Mismanagement of the *New Whiggs*, who, to maintain themselves and their Friends at Court, ever winked at a loose and unprovident Administration: So they will on this Occasion unanimously concur in all proper Measures for the Allaying of our late Feuds and Animosities; and the Advancement of the Public Good. It is true, some of the High-Church-Party, misguided and inflamed by *busy Tantivies*, or by *licentious, mercenary, and ignorant Scribblers*, have lately shewn more than ordinary Warmth, and express'd both their *Zeal* for the established *Church*, and their *Loyalty* to the *Crown*, with too *unchristian Bitterness* against their Protestant Brethren on the one Side, and with a *Latitude* inconsistent with a *limited Monarchy* and the present *Settlement* on the other. Thus we have seen *incoherent Addresses*, asserting her Majesty's *hereditary*, and slighting her *parliamentary* Title, as if she could now enjoy the one without the other; and, while they lay so great Stress on the former, professing their firm Adherence to the illustrious House of *Hanover*, which in all Probability will never have any Claim but by Act of Parliament: We have seen others acknowledging an *irresistable Power* in the Crown, and in the same Breath avowing *vigorous Resistance*: And most of them full of bitter Invectives and Outcries against republican, anti-monarchical, and rebellious Principles, when (except an inconsiderable Party of notorious *Jacobites* and *Non-jurors*.) the whole Nation, notwithstanding our unhappy Divisions and Distractions, join and concur in their Duty, Loyalty, and hearty Affection to her Majesty and her Government. On the other hand, some Pamphlet Writers, either, as they expected, to ingratiate themselves with some great Men, or with less justifiable Designs, have not only saucily insulted the *Authority of Parliaments*, but exposed the *Revolution*, undermined * the *Succession*, and given such broad Hints of an intended *Restoration*,† as could not

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but

* *Lesley*, in a Pamphlet call'd, *The Good Old Cause*, for which he was order'd to be taken into Custody and prosecuted, and thereupon absconds, has this Expression: *Hereditary Right, and the national Allegiance due to it, is a stubborn Thing, and will not bend even to an Act of Parliament, nor to a thousand Usurpations!* Page 35. Where 'tis plain, that by the Word *Usurpation*, the Author means our present *Settlement*.

† The Author of a Pamphlet call'd *An impartial Account of what past most remarkable in the last*

but raise Indignation and just Alarms in the Well-meaning, who make up the Bulk of the Nation. But as these insolent Scribblers are now so far from being countenanced by any Men in Power, that, on the contrary, Orders have been issued out for their Prosecution; so it is to be observed, that most of the late High-Church Addresses were drawn up in a Heat, with more Zeal than Caution; and generally calculated for the undiscerning Multitude, in order to influence future Elections in favour of the landed Gentlemen, who have too great a Concern in the Welfare of the Nation to give up their Rights and Liberties to the arbitrary Will of a Prince, and are too good Protestants to bring in a *Popish Pretender*.

As for the Spirit of Tumult and Riot raised by Dr. *Sacheverel's* Trial, which spread through several Countries, particularly during his Progress, and was lately revived on occasion of the *new Elections*, it cannot, with any Justice, be charged on the High-Church Party; at least not on the sober and substantial Part of them: But rather, as was hinted before, on those who began that violent Prosecution, who, as they were the primary Cause of those Disorders, so did they in some Measure encourage them, by not giving them a timely Check; which it was in their Power to do. 'Tis well known, that the Day when several Meeting-houses were pull'd down, Mr. *Burgefs* applied himself in the Morning to a great Man, acquainting him, that the Night before, some of the Rabble had attempted his Meeting-house, and had set a Guard upon it, in order, he doubted, to pull it down that Evening; which might be easily prevented by causing some of the Queen's Guards to patrol that Way: But no Notice was taken of this Intimation, those who design'd to lay the *Odium* of these Tumults on the High-Church Party being willing to let them grow to a Head; nor would they perhaps have quell'd them so soon, had not some of the Mob threatned to go to the *Bank*. As to Dr. *Sacheverel's* triumphant Cavalcades, and the solemn Honours paid to him by some Magistrates as indiscreet as himself, while he lay under a *parliamentary Censure*, bating the unthinking Multitude, they received no Countenance but from a few Country Gentlemen, who took that Occasion of making themselves popular, and thereby secured a great many Votes against the ensuing *Elections*; nor is the Doctor's Conduct in that Particular justified by any body, unless it be by mercenary Scribblers and *Incendiaries*. That Divine had but too much Reason given him to think himself a very considerable Person; but he is greatly mistaken, if he believes that sober Men, even of his own Party, entertain the same Opinion of his late Behaviour.

We may therefore reasonably expect, that when the *moderate Men* of both Parties, who, in the main, mean the same Thing, shall come together in the House of Commons, they will unanimously pursue the most prudent, most effectual, and gentle Methods to heal up our intestine Breaches, and remove all Fears and Jealousies: *First*, by *vindicating the PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY*, rather by *providing* against future, than *punishing* past Offences: By justifying the late *happy REVOLUTION*, and the necessary Means by which it was accomplished: By giving a timely Check to such licentious Sermons, Books and Pamphlets,

last Session of Parliament, &c. having toward the End of it quoted a Passage out of the Earl of *Clarendon's* History, relating to King *Charles's* Restoration, concludes with this pious and loyal Ejaculation: *May it always happen thus! May the same good Providence ever watch over us, to save and deliver the Church and Monarchy from the Hands of their Enemies!*

phlets, as tend to stir up Discord or Sedition; to unhinge the present Settlement, either in Church or State; or to weaken the *Protestant Succession*: By maintaining the Act of *TOLERATION*, and avoiding giving the *Dissenters* any just Ground of Uneasiness: By retrieving *PUBLIC CREDIT*, and, in order to that, making good all *PARLIAMENTARY FUNDS* and *ENGAGEMENTS*; and by granting her Majesty effectual *SUPPLIES* to carry on the War with fresh Vigour, in order to obtain a *speedy, safe, honourable and lasting PEACE*.

Of all the sinister Methods by which the late *Junto* have endeavoured to maintain themselves, none was either more *crafty* or *plausible*, and at the same time more *dangerous*, than the *false Suggestion*, That the *PUBLIC CREDIT* was nearly concern'd in the Continuance of the late Lord Treasurer, and in a manner must *stand or fall with him*. This extravagant Notion being propagated with more than ordinary Industry by their Emissaries both at home and abroad, gain'd so far upon the Minds of some monied Men (who generally are the most susceptible of Fears and Alarms) as to have occasion'd the *Fall of the public Funds*: Which being a Case somewhat particular, and not easily to be parallel'd in History, it will be necessary for a Writer, who sets about the Transmitting to Posterity the Account of the late Changes, to inquire into the true Causes of the present Diminution of these Funds; and whether or no the *CREDIT* of the Nation was really affected by the Removal of that great Minister?

In order to proceed in that *Inquiry* with Regularity and Success, it is necessary to settle the Signification of the Word *CREDIT*, which, in some measure, carries its *Definition* with it, since it may be explained and understood by its *Synonyma's* *CONFIDENCE* and *HONOUR*; and is, indeed, *the Opinion or Confidence we have in another's Ability, Honour, and Punctuality, to discharge or pay a Debt*. Thus *Credit* among private Men and Traders is a full Assurance, grounded on the tried Honesty and reputed Ability of those we deal with, that within such a Time, agreed on, such a Man or Men will make such and such Payments, for Commodities sold or Monies lent. And *PUBLIC* or *NATIONAL CREDIT* is the same *Opinion or Confidence*, with respect to the State or Government, founded on the Experience of its *Ability, Honesty and Punctuality*.

If there was no such Thing as Credit, Men would be obliged to content themselves with what they possess; or to exchange Part of what they have for what they want; or to pay *ready Money* for the latter.

But because it was found by Experience, that either the Exchanging of Goods, or the paying for them ready Money, reduced *Trade* to a very narrow Compass, and cramp'd it with many Difficulties, it was therefore wisely agreed in all trading and civilized Nations to set up *CREDIT*; which effectually removes all those Difficulties.

Thus *CREDIT* is become the very *Heart and Soul* of all *Trade and Commerce*, either *private* or *public*. By his Credit, a Merchant, for Example, takes up great Quantities of Commodities at home, and exports them to foreign Markets, from whence he expects a profitable Return; or makes Remittances abroad for Goods he buys there, to import them home, and sell them with Profit. And in like manner, by its Credit a Government fits out Navies, maintains Armies, and answers the other Necessities of the State.

From hence it appears, that to hurt or ruin a private Man's *Credit*, is to do him

him an almost *irreparable Injury*, for which the Law has provided a *Remedy*; and that to lessen the *public Credit* is a *Crime* against the State; which, though not yet provided against, comes little short of the Enormity of *High-Treason*.

As *public* or *national Credit* depends on the Confidence private Men have, that the State or Government will, at such and such Seasons, make good such and such Engagements, we ought in the next Place to inquire, whether this *Confidence* relates to the STATE itself, or to the Persons entrusted with the Management of the State Revenues?

It is apparant that it respects wholly the State, whether it be an absolute or limited Monarchy, or a Commonwealth; for as CREDIT is founded on the good Opinion the Lender entertains of the *Ability* of the Borrower, to perform such and such Engagements; it cannot be imagined, that the Public would trust any private Minister with several Millions of Money, when they know he is not worth, and consequently cannot answer the Payment of many Thousands. It is therefore PUBLIC SECURITY that creates PUBLIC CREDIT; and this SECURITY in this Kingdom is the *whole Nation*, or their Representatives in *Parliament* assembled.

It must indeed be owned, that a careful and frugal Management of the Treasury and Exchequer, and an exact Payment of Assignments made by *Parliament*, will beget such an Opinion of the Honesty and Punctuality of the Government, as may very much advance *public Credit*; and so far, the latter may be concerned in the prudent Choice of able and faithful Managers of the Revenues: Which *Choice* is one Branch of our Sovereign's *Prerogative*.

These undeniable Axioms being laid down, let us apply them to our present Inquiry.

It is certain from the Experience of all Times past, and from the general Concernment of *public Funds*, that a Parliament legally convened, will make good all *national* or *parliamentary* (which indeed are their own) *Engagements*; else the NATION must turn BANKRUPT: Which is impossible, as long as it continues to be a Nation under our present *happy Constitution*. The not answering those Engagements, would be a downright *public Robbery*; and therefore to suggest (as it is said, some of the Friends to the late *Junto* have done) that the next *Parliament* will make use of a SPUNGE to quit all Scores, is no less than to make them *Public Robbers*, and *Betrayers* of the Interest of those they are to represent: But as such a Surmise cannot be entertained by any Men of common Sense, it deserves no further Animadversion.

And as all future Parliaments cannot want the WILL, neither can they be reasonably supposed to want the ABILITY to answer all *national Debts*: Else we must suppose that the *Nation cannot pay the Nation*, which implies an Absurdity.

The PUBLIC or NATIONAL SECURITY being, by this invincible Argument, proved to be as good as ever, the PUBLIC CREDIT, which, we said before, is principally and originally founded upon it, ought in Reason to have remained *intere*. But since the contrary seems to have happened, by the *Fall of the Public Funds*, we must further inquire into the Causes of this *Fall*.

And

And here we must again recur to the *Definition* of CREDIT, which shews it not to be founded on *Reason*, or on the *real Honesty, Ability, and Punctuality* of those we deal with, but rather on the *Opinion or Confidence* we have, that they are really *Honest, Able and Punctual*. Thus the *Excellency of Credit* rests on a slippery Bottom, I mean, OPINION; which being nice, tender, and easily affected and biased, so *Credit* either rises or falls with it.

It has before been laid down as a Maxim, that the frugal Management of the Treasury, and the punctual Payment of parliamentary Assignments, contribute very much to the good Opinion private Men entertain of the Honesty of the Government, and consequently to the Advancement of Public Credit: Wherefore as it is the Part of the *Parliament* to provide *sufficient Funds*, so it is the Part of the Sovereign to place able, honest, and faithful Officers in the Government of the Treasury and Exchequer. Thus the *Public Credit* depends primarily on the *Parliament*, secondarily on the *Queen*; or which is almost the same, it centers where the Government centers, that is, the *Queen and Parliament*, and not in any particular Man employed by her Majesty; otherwise the *Public Credit* would not be *national*, but *personal*: Which might prove of most fatal Consequence to such a free State as ours is, and in Time give a private Man an Opportunity of setting himself above the Government, that is, the *Queen and Parliament*.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that as *Public Credit* secondarily depends on the Queen's preferring Men of Honour and Probity in the Management of her *Treasury and Exchequer*; so the displacing of Officers in those Trusts, of whom the Public entertains a good *Opinion*, may, in great Measure, occasion the Loss of *national Credit*; especially if the People are before-hand possessed with Fears and Jealousies, that the new Ministers shall not be equally zealous for the public Interest.

This being the strongest, most popular, and indeed most specious Argument, the late *Junto* could make use of to maintain their *Authority*; it is no wonder their Friends and Dependents laid so great a Stress upon it: Industriously extolling the Merits of the late *Lord Treasurer*, and infusing strange *Alarms*, upon the Report of his being like to be removed. Wherefore, to wind up the present Inquiry, it is necessary to consider, whether the *Praises* bestowed on that great Minister, the Fears infused into the Minds of the People, and the Aspersions cast on the new Ministry, were justly grounded.

It must be owned, that during the two or three first Years of her Majesty's auspicious Reign, the public Revenues were managed with a great deal of Care and Frugality, and the current Payments made in the Treasury and Exchequer with Exactness and Punctuality: Which contributed very much to the retrieving of *Public Credit*. But without derogating from the Reputation of the late Lord Treasurer, it may be affirmed, that it was primarily and principally owing to the Parliament's making good the *Deficiencies* of the last Reign, and providing sufficient Funds for the growing Exigencies. Which Proof of *national Honour and Justice*, gave new Life to *Public Credit*; and made the People so easy, as to think their Money safer in the Hands of the Government than in their own. Nay, so eager were they to bring it in, notwithstanding the Lord Treasurer had reduced the Interest to five *per Cent.* upon most of the short Funds,

Funds, that with great Wisdom he ordered, that Lenders should not as formerly be admitted to bring into the Exchequer all their Money at once, but only by Degrees, whereby considerable Sums of Interest were saved: And the *Public Credit* being thus *retrieved*, the Circulation of the *Species* began to be free and easy.

But these Steps, in the Path of Frugality and Oeconomy, were soon deviated from, and contrary Measures pursued: Instead of that generous Contribution which her Majesty gave out of the Civil List, towards the Expence of the War in the first Year of her Reign; great Profusions were made of the Crown Lands and Revenues, by Grants and Donatives; great Sums of Money were laid out for secret Services, particularly to bring about the Union; and these, together with the Losses sustained by employing unresponsible Persons in the Collection of Taxes, and the Deficiency of some Funds, vastly increased the Debts of the Nation. On the other hand, high Interests were again introduced; the public Revenues either almost entirely sold, or anticipated for many Years to come; most of the Branches of our Foreign Trade so overcharged with new Duties, as to amount to a Prohibition; and not only the profitable Expeditions to the *West-Indies* proposed from Time to Time, by public spirited Persons, laid aside, but our own Plantations either abandoned or neglected, and the Enemy suffered to carry away great Riches from thence; and the public Design of the *Union* with *Scotland*, viz. an *Union of Interests*, which alone can reconcile Affections, stifled and suppressed: Insomuch that the old Discontents of that Part of *Great-Britain* are, at present, rather increased than abated.

These Abuses, which, unknown to the Queen, had by degrees crept into the Administration, were about a Year ago laid before a great Man, who either did not think himself able, at that Juncture, to reform them, or feared, by attempting it, to lay himself too open: Thus the former Methods were pursued, till her Majesty being acquainted with the Dangers that threatened her royal Authority, and the main Support of it, and of the State, the *PUBLIC CREDIT*; and taking notice, at the same Time, that her Household had not been paid for a Year and a Half past, her Majesty resolved to put the Treasury and Exchequer in the Hands of Persons, on whose Abilities, Probity, Frugality, and Exactness, she could entirely rely: And thereupon pitched upon the five Gentlemen whose Characters have before been enlarged upon.

Let now all impartial and unprejudiced *Persons* judge, whether the great Praises bestowed upon the late Lord Treasurer, and the Aspersions cast on the new Ministers, are justly grounded? And whether Mr. *Harley*, who, in the Beginning of her Majesty's Reign, was the main Instrument of the Restoration of *PUBLIC CREDIT* (as was hinted before) is not the most proper Instrument her Majesty could have pitched upon, to *retrieve it* at present?

I own that the Mismanagements of the late *Junto*, being either kept from the Knowledge of the People, or artfully extenuated and palliated by their numerous Dependents; and, on the contrary, their successful Services, and former good Administration extolled, and still in the Memories of all Men, the Suggestion that the *Public Credit* would be affected by their Removal, seemed at first plausible enough; but, however, it is certain it would never have had the intended

tended Effect, had not their Emissaries at the same time infused Fears of the highest Nature into the Minds of the Well-affected to the *Revolution*, and the present Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line: To which Apprehensions the late Tumults in favour of Dr. *Sacheverel*, the Public Avowing of the high-flown Doctrine of *unlimited passive Obedience*, and the Adhering to the *Hereditary*, and the renouncing the *Parliamentary* Title, gave some Air of Probability.

I hope these ill-grounded Fears and Jealousies are by this time pretty well over, and doubt not but they will be fully removed by the *new Parliament*; who, for the Reasons before enlarged upon, will certainly maintain the present happy Settlement both in Church and State; raise Money to carry on the War with the utmost Vigour; and make *good all parliamentary Funds and Engagements*, in order to RETRIEVE PUBLIC CREDIT; which has received the most dangerous Shocks from those very Men who would seem to be most tender of its Prosperity.

For besides the sinister Infusions of the Emissaries and Dependents of the late *Junto*, before animadverted upon, we may also take notice of the *Practices* of some of their private Agents in *Exchange-Alley*; who upon the Removal of the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Report that the Lord Treasurer would soon follow, brought all the *Stocks* they or their Friends had by them to *Market*; so that there being more *Sellers* than *Buyers*, the *Stocks* fell gradually, that of the Bank in particular, from $123\frac{1}{2}$ to 107.

It is true, it had perhaps never been in the Power of any Party of Men here to sink the *Stocks* so low, had not the Merchants in *Holland*, who have considerable Sums of Money in our *public Funds*, too easily taken the Alarm, and thereupon sent Orders to their Correspondents to sell their *Stocks*; which very much contributed to the *Fall*: But, however, as the great Blow was first given, so was it pursued here with great Industry and Application, by the Friends of those who, placing their Safety in Confusion, endeavour to embroil the Affairs of the Nation.

It was, in a particular Manner, observed by some Gentleman at *Garraway's*, that when upon the News of the first Victory in *Spain*, the *Stocks* began to rise again, and might, in Course, have returned to their former Value, the same Party of Men renewed their former Practices to keep them low; and when notwithstanding their Endeavours, and the Removal of the Lord Treasurer, the *Stocks* got up again (the Bank in particular, from 109 to 115) upon the Confirmation of the Victory of *Saragossa*, they redoubled their Efforts to sink them; in which they could not fail of Success.

For we may transiently observe, That besides the *Combinations* and *Practices* before-mentioned, too secret and clandestine to be fixed on any particular Persons, several other natural Causes must have contributed to the Fall of the *Stocks*.

1st, As they rose upon the News of the *French* Plenipotentiaries coming to *Gertruydenberg*, the Bank, in particular, from 110 to 129, and continued so till it settled at about 124, so it was natural for them to fall back to their former Value, upon the News of the Conferences being broke off.

270 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

2dly, The great Numbers of new-struck Tallies, Exchequer-Bills, Navy-Bills, &c. with which Trade is clogged, put a great Damp on the Circulation of Money, and consequently contributed very much to the lowering of the Stocks, Annuities, &c.

3dly, The Blank Lottery Tickets, which about the Beginning of *October* were sold for seven Pounds, bearing an Interest of 10 *per Cent.* for 32 Years, which is a far greater Advantage than any other Funds yet settled yield, many Persons sold their Stocks in order to buy those Tickets, which was another natural Cause of the Fall of the said Stocks.

4thly and lastly, The Bank (for what Reasons is best known to themselves) neither making the usual Dividend of four *per Cent.* nor paying it in *Specie*; but on the contrary calling in ten *per Cent.* and instead of circulating *Exchequer Bills*, according to their Contract, giving out Bonds for them payable in one Year, with Interest at six *per Cent.* besides the Discount of about three *per Cent.* gave thereby a plain Indication that their Affairs are not in so good a Condition as they were thought to be: Which has been the main Reason of the late great Fall of their Stock, and of the other Funds in Proportion: For it is very remarkable, that before the Bank called in the 10 *per Cent.* before mentioned, their Stock was still at 109, besides the Dividend of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* That is $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* higher than in the Month of *January* last, long before there was any Rumour or Surmise of the late Lord Treasurer's being removed. Thus I hope I have plainly shewn, that his being *in* or *out* could not, in Reason, affect PUBLIC CREDIT; and that it is only in the Power of the QUEEN and PARLIAMENT to RETRIEVE it; which was *all I intended*, and was in this Place *necessary to prove*.

A LETTER from a Foreign Minister in *England*, to Monsieur *Pettecum*: containing the true Reasons of the late Changes in the Ministry, and of the calling a New Parliament; and therefore fit to be perused by all the Electors. 1710.

Translated from the French Original.

S I R,

I FIND by your Letter of the 8th Instant, that the Deputies of the States-General for foreign and secret Affairs had held several Consultations about the present Posture of Affairs in *England*; and that upon their Report their High Mightinesses seem'd inclined to send hither Monsieur *Buys*, Pensioner of *Amsterdam*, Ambassador extraordinary to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, to take care of the Interests of your Republic. You desire me, at the same time, to give you such Lights into the true State of Things here, as may serve towards Mr. *Buys*'s Instructions, in case that Embassy should be fully resolved upon: Which I shall do the more readily, because my Master being himself embarked in

in the Grand Confederacy, of which *England* is the main Pillar, it is our common Interest to watch the Measures of this Court, that we may regulate ours by them.

I must in the first place freely tell you, that I was somewhat surpris'd, when I heard that so wise a Body as the States could seem alarm'd at her *Britannic* Majesty's Design to make some Alterations in her Ministry, and to call a new Parliament. But I was perfectly amazed, when I was informed that they had interpos'd in Favour of the old Ministers: a Thing which they never took upon them to do, even in the late King *William's* Reign, when their High Mightinesses might reasonably be supposed to have a greater Share in the Counsels of the *British* Court. However, I will not pass a harder Censure upon this Step, than her *Britannic* Majesty herself, who has only look'd upon it, either as the Effect of a mistaken Zeal for the Common Cause, or the crafty Suggestion of the Friends and Emissaries of the late Lord Treasurer: For having set all Engines at work, in this Country, to keep him in his Place and Power, and found them ineffectual, they at last endeavour'd to persuade some of the Allies, that the PUBLIC CREDIT of *England* depended upon him; so that the whole Confederacy seem'd to be concerned in his Preservation.

This I take to be the most favourable Construction that can possibly be put on the Interposition of their High Mightinesses; but lest any false Suggestions, or Representations of Things here, should lead that wise Assembly into any other impolitic Measures, I shall discover to you the TRUE Reasons and Motives of the late Alterations in this Court.

I must in the first place rectify the confused and false Notion which is generally entertain'd abroad, and even by many here, of the different Parties in this Nation. You comprehend all in *Holland* under the common Appellations of TORIES and WHIGS, who indeed are the most numerous and most powerful; but, besides these two Parties, there are two others, of less Consideration, viz. the JACOBITES and the REPUBLICANS.

Tho' it be far more difficult to *define* in *Politics* than in *Metaphysics*, I shall endeavour to give you a right Idea of these *Four Parties*; which, if my Observations, for these 21 Years past, deceive me not, is as follows:

I. The *Tories* are those who firmly adhere to the Monarchical Government, under its legal Limitations and Restrictions, and to the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and who, upon old Grudges and Animosities, look on the *Dissenters* as their declared Enemies.

II. The Party of the *Whigs*, or *Low-Churchmen*, is made up of such Churchmen, as have a Brotherly Tendernefs for the *Dissenters*, and of the *Dissenters* themselves: And both these are also for Monarchy, tho' perhaps in a more restrained Sense than the other.

III. The *Jacobites* consist of some Members of the Church of *England*, and of all the *Roman Catholics* of the Kingdom, the first of whom upon a Principle of *Conscience*, the others of *Duty*, *Inclination* and *Interest*, did constantly adhere to the late King *James*, and as far as in them lay promoted his *Restoration*, as they now do that of the *Pretender*. This Party is of itself hardly considerable enough to be mention'd, or taken notice of, but that on all public Occasions they intrude themselves upon, and mix with the *High-Churchmen*; who, though they differ

differ in Principle, and are firmly zealous for the *Protestant Succession*, yet in *Elections* do not scruple to accept their Votes; the rather, because their Competitors the *Whigs* do also fortify themselves by the *Fourth Party*, viz.

IV. The *Republicans*, or *Commonwealth-men*: This Party, a Spawn of the old *Oliverians* or *Cromwellists*, consists of a few *Presbyterians* and all the *Independents* of this Nation, who would make no manner of Figure by themselves, but that they join themselves with the true *Whigs*; tho' with as small Encouragement from them, as the *Jacobites* receive from the *High-Churchmen*, and as little Conformity to their Political Principles.

From these INTRUSIONS it comes to pass, that upon any *Contentions* and *Disputes* that arise between the two *Great Parties* of this Nation, the *Tories* and *Whigs*, they mutually asperse one another with the odious *Appellations* of the *Minor Party* which sometimes lurks amongst them; so that the *Tories* call the *Whigs Republicans*, and the *Whigs* call the *Tories Jacobites*.

But, Sir, you must observe, that these Distinctions of *Tory* and *Whig* do properly belong to the *Second Class* or *Inferiour Rank* of Men: For Persons of the first Rank, who either by their *Birth* or *Abilities* are intitled to govern others, do not really list themselves in these *Parties*, but only put themselves at the Head of either of them, as they judge it most subservient to their private Ends and Designs; which being premised, it will not be difficult to trace up the late *Alterations* in this Country to their true *Causes*.

The Nobility and Gentry of this Free Nation, bearing with Indignation and Impatience the exorbitant Power invaded by the Duke of M—— and the late *Lord Treasurer*, whose Families engross'd the most profitable Places, and accumulated vast Riches to themselves, whilst the Generality groan'd under the Weight of heavy Taxes; and who absolutely disposed of all Civil and Military Employments, with visible Partiality to their Dependents; a Design was laid to remove the one, and by that means restrain the Authority of the other. In order to that, some distant Attempts were made in the House of Commons towards an Inquiry into the Management of the Treasury; for which the apparent NEGLECT of the War in *Spain*, and the immense Debt of the Navy, gave but too just a Pretence. But the Lord Treasurer having secured a great Party among the *Whigs*, who made up the Majority of that House, that Inquiry, which was press'd by the *Tories*, was over-ruled, and laid aside.

However, the Lord Treasurer, still apprehensive of being called to an Account the last Winter, dexterously laid hold of a favourable Opportunity to divert the Attention of the Parliament, by causing a *Hot-headed* Divine to be impeach'd, and prosecuted with all the Solemnity and Formality of Parliamentary Trials, for a *Sermon*, which both Parties agreed to be a *Piece of Nonsense*, and the Result of an *Extravagant* and *Ignorant Zeal*; but which contain'd a *Crime*, in the Opinion of the Lord Treasurer's Friends, *unpardonable*; for it bitterly inveigh'd against his *Male-Administration*, characterising him by his Nickname of VOLPONE.

But, Sir, mark the *Folly* of Human *Wisdom*! This very Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which was principally contrived for the Lord Treasurer's *Preservation*, has proved the main Handle of his Destruction: For the Queen having been present at this solemn Trial, and taking notice that the *Whigs*, who managed this Prosecution, advanced some Political Positions that invaded the Royal Prerogative, which
the

the *Tories*, who defended him, asserted with great Loyalty and Zeal, her Majesty was thereby naturally inclined to entertain better Thoughts of the latter.

On the other hand, an insolent great Lady, who had long entirely possess'd the Queen's Favour, being intoxicated with Power, and not behaving herself with that *grateful* and *respectful* Carriage to her *Mistress* and *Benefactress*, which such high Obligations and her Duty exacted from her, the Queen began to be reserved with her, and to take into her royal Confidence another Lady, a near Relation of the Duchess of *Marlborough*.

The Credit of the latter, and of all the *Whig Party*, whom she protected, declined considerably last Winter, upon a Contention about the Disposal of the late Earl of *Essex's* Regiment of Dragoons, which her Majesty would have bestowed on Colonel *Hill*, Brother to the growing Favourite, as a just Reward for his eminent Service at the Battle of *Almanza*, where he was very instrumental to the preserving the broken Remains of the Infantry. This was opposed by those then in Power about the Queen, who insisting on her Prerogative, the *Struggle* went so far, that a Design was laid by one of the Duchess's Sons-in-law, in a great Post, to procure a Vote of the House of Commons for the Removal of Mrs. *M——*. This intended Violence was timely prevented, by the Colonel's throwing himself at her Majesty's Feet, and begging she would be pleased to bestow that Post upon another Officer; which her Majesty granted: But justly resenting this, and other Indignities that had been offer'd her; and at the same Time a Gentleman of great Parts, Probity and Address, having the Opportunity of acquainting her Majesty with the general Discontent at the exorbitant Power and Greatness of one Family, and at the Management of Affairs in relation to some Part of the War and the Navy, her Majesty resolved to make some Changes in her Ministry, and thereupon began with the Person who had proposed the Removing of Mrs. *M——*. The Lord Treasurer was the next: Nor can Mr. *H——y* be blamed for having contributed to the Fall of a Person, who, after he had been saved by Mr. *H——y* from an Impeachment (on Account of the *Act of Security* passed in *Scotland*) by an uncommon Piece of Ingratitude, bore him an inveterate Hatred; and not satisfied with having removed him from the *Secretary's Office*, used afterwards all imaginable, and indeed scandalous Methods to destroy him. The Lord Treasurer's Fall was attended by the Removal of several other Persons, whose Places are supplied by Men of equal Merit, and no less zealous to advance the Interest of their Country, than to promote the Good of the *Common Cause*: And I am confident, that if the Court of *France* broke the late Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, upon a Prospect of the Turn of Affairs in this Country in favour of the *Pretender*, they will be as miserably disappointed in that fond Expectation as they have been in many others of the like Kind on this Side the Water, and perhaps pay very dear for their Mistake: For in all Probability this *new Ministry* will insist upon better Terms for *all the Allies* than the old would have been contented with.

The Treasury in particular, which is both the *Nerve* of the *War*, and the *Spring* of PUBLIC CREDIT, is now in the Hands of five Persons, no less conspicuous for their *Abilities* than for their *Integrity*; and whose great Estates in Land is a Security to the Nation for their clear and just Administration. That
you

you and your Friends in *Holland* may form a true Notion of them, I shall give you a short Sketch of their Characters.

In the first Place the Earl of *POWLET* is a Nobleman of polite Literature, public Spirit, clear and unspotted Reputation, virtuous and exemplary Life, moderate Temper, and in Possession of an Estate of above twelve thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

Mr. *Harley* is already so well known by the great Parts he has acted, both in the last and the present Reign, that it may seem needless to mention his Character. However, he having been foully misrepresented by his Enemies, I must acquaint you that he is a Gentleman of wonderful natural and acquired Abilities; universal Learning; wonderful Address, Penetration, and Indefatigableness; and who of all Men is best acquainted with the Constitution of this Kingdom, and the Methods of Proceeding in Parliament. As for his Principles, in relation to the Parties that divide this Nation, I know not that he ever entirely embraced any; but still went into such Measures as he thought most conducing to the *True Interest* of his Country, of which I shall give you these few Instances. In the first Place, he sided with the High-Church Party, when they opposed the Bill of Attainder against Sir *John Fenwick*, being persuaded they had most *Moderation* who least *pretended* to it. On the other hand, after the *Affassination* Plot, he was one of the most forward to sign (in the House of Commons) the ASSOCIATION in favour of King *William*; which shews he is intirely in the *Revolution Principles*. In the third Place, he brought into the House of Commons the Bill for TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS; which is a stronger *Bulwark* of the *British* Liberties, than the *Habeas Corpus* Act. And lastly, he signalized his first Entrance into the Secretary's Office, by preventing an Insurrection that was ready to break out in *Scotland* in favour of the *Pretender*; which demonstrates his Affection to the *Protestant Succession*.

Sir *Thomas Mansel*, who was formerly Comptroller to her Majesty's Household, is a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, most ample Fortune, generous Temper, public Spirit, and clear Understanding; truly zealous for the established Church, without any Bitterness towards the Dissenters.

Mr. *Paget*, Son to the Lord *Paget*, sufficiently known Abroad by his Embassies, is a Gentleman whose bright Parts and Spirit have often been admired in the House of Commons, and who is perfectly well acquainted with the Business of the Navy, having been one of the Council to his late Royal Highness Prince *George*.

In the last Place, Mr. *Benson* is a Gentleman of quick and bright Parts, improved by Study, Travel, and polite Conversation; well vers'd in the Laws of this Kingdom, and parliamentary Proceedings; which has gain'd him a great Interest in his native County of *York*, and in the House of Commons.

These, *Sir*, are the five Gentlemen who now have the Administration of the Queen's Treasury; and the Event has already justified her Majesty's Choice: For, though they found the Exchequer entirely exhausted of Money, and notwithstanding the clandestine Endeavours of the *discarded Ministers* to sink the public Funds by means of their Agents in the City of *London*, these new Commissioners of the Treasury have engaged a Company of the most substantial Merchants to remit 500,000*l.* for the Armies in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and *Spain*,

at a *cheaper Rate* than the late Treasurer ever did: A happy Presage that the PUBLIC CREDIT cannot but prosper as long as they continue in that Post.

Moreover, this their first Care of supplying the Armies abroad, notwithstanding the Difficulties they labour'd under upon their Entrance into their Office, is a plain Demonstration, that if after the late great Successes in *Spain* (which by-the-bye seem to be a *providential Blessing* attending the Changes here) the common Enemy do not think it their Interest once more to beg for Peace, the War will, on this Side, be prosecuted with more Vigour than ever; and with an *impartial Attention*, from these new Ministers, to all the Parts of it. And, indeed, her *Britannic Majesty* having already declared to us, that whatever Changes she made among her Ministers, she would still continue the Duke of *Marlborough* in his Command, 'tis not to be doubted that if his Grace acts the Part of a true Hero, and sacrifices his *private Disgusts* to the *public Good*, he will find the *new Ministers* as ready to promote his Honour and Advantage as the old. Therefore it will be his own Fault if he does not make as great a Figure abroad as he did before; which shews at the same Time, that any Applications in his favour from the Allies to this Court would be altogether preposterous and needless.

I cannot at present give you a positive Account of the other *Alterations*, because they are not yet declared; but will venture to assure you, that the Nobility and Gentry who have before sided with the *High-Church Party* will certainly be prefer'd; and that upon a double Consideration. In the first Place, because the late Lord Treasurer's Creatures and Dependents being *Whigs*, it were impolitic to put others of the same Principles in their Places, because they might strike into any Measures to procure his Restoration. Secondly, because the *High-Church Party* being for the most Part landed Gentlemen, who for many Years have borne the chief Burthen of the War, it is but a Piece of paternal Justice in her *Britannic Majesty* to give them an Opportunity of repairing their Fortunes. I shall only tell you, that I am credibly inform'd, that the Earl of *Rocheſter* will be made President of the Council: And indeed who has a better Title to preside at that Board, than a Person no less distinguish'd by his near Relation to the Queen, than by his Wisdom, Capacity, Penetration, Integrity, and firm Adherence to the Protestant Interest; which last he demonstrated in the most difficult Times; having rather chosen to resign the Treasury than yield to the late King *James's* Solicitations to turn Papist. I hear likewise, that the Duke of *Ormond* is to be made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and if so 'twill rather be a *Restoration* than a *Preferment*, that truly noble, generous, and public spirited Person having highly merited that Government by his past Services, both in the last and present War, to the vast Detriment of his own Patrimony.

These, *Sir*, are the true and genuine Motives and Causes of the Changes in this Court: And you may assure yourself, that any other Reasons that may be assigned for them, either by *licentious and ignorant Scribblers*, with which this Nation swarms, or the Friends and Emissaries of the late Ministry, who have their Hirelings even in your Country, are all ill-grounded and false Suggestions, purposely set on foot to asperse and blacken her *Britannic Majesty*, and her present Counsellors, with wild and extravagant Designs of bringing in the *Pretender*: As if out of *Gaiety* a Sovereign in the Vigour of her Age, and securely established

established in the Hearts and Affections of her Subjects, would throw up her Crown; and Men of *Estates*, and *Protestants*, set up arbitrary Government and Popery.

I own the *violent Trial* of Dr. *Sacheverel* on the one hand, and the *Insults* put on the *parliamentary Authority* on the other, have caused a great Ferment in the Nation, the hot Men of both Parties laying hold on this Occasion to vent their Spleen and Malice against each other: But as those who began this unlucky and impolitic Procedure are only accountable for the fatal Consequences of it, so I can affirm to you, that the prevailing Party at Court have made no other Use of these Distractions than to bring their *Scheme* to bear, by striking in with the general Desire of the High-Church Party; who in their Addresses, far more numerous than those of the *Whigs*, have insinuated the Dissolution of the last Parliament; a *new* one being absolutely necessary, not only to support the *present Ministry*, but also to inquire into the *Administration* of the *last*.

It is impossible to tell you for certain how the ensuing Elections will go: But considering the Influence of the Court, and the Interest of Men in Power, besides some other Circumstances hinted at before, it is very probable that the *High-Churchmen* will have the Majority in the House of Commons: And indeed, as they began the War, so it seems reasonable that they should have the Honour of ending it. In such a Case all Things will go on with all the Smoothness imaginable; and as upon the Death of the late King *William* 'twas they that made good the *Deficiencies* of that Reign, there's no doubt but they will be now as tender of the Honour of *Parliamentary Engagements*. Let the Parliament be what it will, I am informed from good Hands, that the Queen in her first Speech will recommend to them, 1st, The better securing, if possible, the *Protestant Succession*. 2^{dly}, The supporting the *Public Credit*. And 3^{dly}, The maintaining the *Toleration*. And that the present Ministers will use their utmost Endeavours to have her Majesty's Desires effectually complied with.

I heartily wish, that this short Account I have here given you of the true *political State* of this Court and Nation, at this critical Juncture, may be of some Use to our Friend the *Grand Pen—ry*, and contribute towards the maintaining a fair Correspondence among the Maritime Powers, who are the main Support of the Grand Confederacy.

I am, &c.

A LETTER formerly sent to Dr. Tillotson, and for want of an Answer made publick, and now Reprinted; with the said Doctor's Letter to the Lord *Russel*, a little before his Execution.

By CHARLWOOD LAWTON, *Esq*;

To the READER.

THE Author of the following Letter sent the Original to Mrs. Tillotson for her Husband, and a Copy of it to my Lady Derby, for the Princess of Orange, several Months ago; and when he writ it, he hoped the Members of Parliament would have been, against the Sessions, awakened by their Disappointments and Taxes, to consider aright, what is the present State of this miserable Nation, and how much worse is our future Prospekt; and had he found them in that Temper, and acting steddily for their Countrey, he had Thoughts to have presented with his own Hands, his Reasons, why he thinks they have wronged King James, over-rated their Disease, and mistaken their Cure; and he would also have given in Proposals, how the King may be restored, without Hazard, either to our Religion or Property; and this the Author would have done, because he thinks, that if either Reason or Religion would prevail, such an Offer must have had some Weight; but whilst the Whigs as much sacrifice their Understandings to support this Change, as the Tories did their Consciences to make it, a Man would be reckoned mad that attempted in such a Manner to reclaim such a Sett of Men, as have no more publick Spirit, than what lies in wrangling for their particular Parties; or common Sense, than what is proper to get into Pensions and Places, that, as the witty Sir Charles Sidley once said in the House, They may charge in Armour. How wild a Project too, would it be to offer Reason to Men that so little know their own Minds, that are so inconstant, as that what they pass unanimously one Sessions, they throw out the next, as they have done the Judges Bill? The Author would venture himself against great odds, if it was but an even Wager, that England might reap Good by so bold an Undertaking; for he sees Slavery coming on so fast, that he thinks Life would be a Burden to an honest and free Spirit; yet nothing that Cato (were he here) could do, or suffer, would repair our broken Constitution, unless God teaches our Senators more Wisdom, or is pleased to teach the People that a House of Commons may as scandalously abuse the Trust they repose in them, as some of his Ministers did King James; which that he may, is the hearty Prayer of the Author, both for the Sake of the English Liberties, and Protestant Religion; for the Sake of the very Being of the one, and the Honour of the other.

The LETTER.

S I R,

I Shall Preface what I am about to say, with an Assurance, That I have formerly had the greatest Veneration for You, as well for your Piety as good Sense and Learning; That my Notions of Government are so large, that the first Thing that I ever doubtfully examin'd, that had your Name affix'd to it, was *the Letter to my Lord Ruffel*: but your Actions since do less quadrate with that Opinion I had of your Sincerity, and seriously make me address my self to You, to know how you reconcile your present Actings to the Principles either of natural or revealed Religion; especially, how you reconcile them to the Positions and Intentions of that Letter; and consequently, whether you have a Belief of *God*, and a *World to come*.

Sir, I think it a very extravagant Maxim in Government, to affirm all Insurrections which are only levell'd at Reformation, and designed to correct Mal-administration, and the Authors of them, and thereby (when the common Methods are at a Loss) to let the King know, what are the Measures of his Government, the *Voice* and *Interest* of his People, that so *Justice* and *Mercy* may prevail against *illegal Courses* and his *flattering Minions*, and that the *Rights* of his Crown and the *Privileges* of his People may be adjusted and preserved. I say, I think it an extravagant Position, to affirm, That what may be so conducive to publick Peace, and the Maintenance of a Constitution, and the general Ends of all Government, is Illegal: Yet I have often thought, that the Oath that expects a Man should swear it *unlawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to rise in Arms against the King, or any Commissioned by him*, intended to establish this wild Civil Article; and I thought your Lordship writ upon so solemn an Occasion, designing to justify the Purport and Doctrine of that Oath, which was carrying Loyalty to a higher Pitch than I ever thought necessary to make a good Man, or a good Christian.

But, Sir, to lay your *Letter* aside at present, give me leave to examine this Revolution with the most impartial Desire of being informed; for I solemnly invoke God Almighty to attest, That my Non-Compliance with K. *William* and Q. *Mary's* Title and Administration, is founded upon Scruples of Conscience, to which I yet want satisfactory Answers. I am a Protestant of that Size, that I hope God would enable me to undergo all the Persecution that the Malice of Men and Devils can invent, rather than one Moment prostitute my Conscience so far, as to give any reasonable Umbrage for Protestants to suspect, or Papists to hope, I could be made a Convert to the Church of *Rome*. I love my *Country* better than my *Wife* and *Children*; and certainly therefore so much, that I would for no Interest in the World disquiet the present Settlement, if I thought it was fit for an honest Man to comply with it.

I have no Personal Obligations to King *James*; and I thank God I have an obstinate Honesty, that will scarce allow me to be acceptable to any King. Whatever I have done, or shall do, for the *Exil'd Prince*, is upon mere
Motives

Motives of Conscience. I have no Reason to believe my self incapable of being forgiven, or perhaps employed, under the present Government; my Relations and Friends are many of them *violent*, and almost all *at least for it*. But let us begin with the Revolution: I acknowledge King *James's* Ministers gave great Provocations; I could have joined with any but a *Foreigner* to have rescu'd our Liberties; and yet I must as freely declare, I saw nothing done that would have been too hard for a Parliamentary Redress, or at least for the intrinsic Power of this Island, the natural Weight of those who are sensible of their Religion and Property: but I cannot tell how any Provocations that were given the People of *England*, can justify the Invasion of a Nephew and a Son in-law. I cannot tell by what Distinctions in Morality the *Dutch* could salve their Denial, by their Ambassador, that those Forces were designed for *England*; I cannot imagine what Dispensation gave them and the Subjects of *England* Liberty to tell so many Things that were notoriously untrue, that *they* knew them to be untrue, and that have been much more apparently proved so by the Sequel of Things.

Sure the Morality of the Decalogue is not abolished: Let us see how many of the Commandments are broken; Has not *Mammon* been made a *God*, and a *Crown* an *Idol*, to which the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents have sacrific'd the Lives of many thousands of Men, as well as the Reputation of our Religion, besides a vast Treasure; tho' it is not fit to be named after the other two Immolations? Have they not taken God's Name in, when they consecrated to the Preservation of Religion the Injuries and Violations of it, of which they have been guilty? I do not know whether you are a strict *Sabbatarian*; I believe not, and will acknowledge I am none: But I think the Nation grossly perverts the Ends of Humiliations and Fastings, and appointed Days for God's Worship, whilst they pray to God to prosper any immoral Enterprize. For God's sake, and the Sake of your Soul, and the Sake of your Queen's Soul, *study the fifth Commandment*; tho' the Performance of it has the Promise of Length of Days in this Life, the Breach of it (if any Religion be true) will plunge her into Miseries of a longer Duration: *She* has partaken with *Thieves* and *Liars* against her own *Father*; *She* is a Receiver of what has been *by them* from him *wrongfully* taken away, unless it can be proved that the Crown of *England* is Elective, the Kings of it punishable and depofable. If this is right, you know, Sir, all our Law-books are in the Wrong, for they say, *The King can do none*; *That he is not accountable to the People, collectively or representatively*; and that the Monarchy of *England* is *Hereditary*. This is all in the Original Contract of our Statute-Books and Law-Cases.

Sir, You know these Things, you cannot plead Ignorance, nor can you believe *Abdication*: You know the Treatment the King had from the Prince of *Orange* and his own Subjects, and cannot believe he voluntarily resigned. *Are not then our Judges, our Juries, our Fleets, and our Armies, guilty of Murder, in opposing King James's Return?* Don't your Queen list so many *Assassins*, whilst she *Commissions* them for that Purpose; Is it not as unlawful to steal a Crown as a Trifle? And till they have recanted all the false Accusations

which were countenanced by the Prince of Orange and his Princess, and were instrumental towards the getting of these Crowns, do they not violate the Ninth Commandment, as well as covet their Neighbours (their Fathers) Goods? The civil and natural Obligations the Prince and Princess of Orange have to King James, aggravate their Crime; and, if it were not almost Levity to say so here, I would add as another Aggravation, their having coveted too many of King James's Servants.

The King of *England* does every thing by his *Officers*; they are impeachable, they are punishable: The King (who we always said *was not so*) is dethron'd, whilst those are employed in *this* Government, who were the Disgraces and Instruments of the *last*. But I don't intend a Libel, and therefore will not enter into an Account of such Matters; I will neither give the present Ministers their Characters, nor shew how little, as meer Men and Subjects, we are the better for the Change. But I fear, whoever reflects without Heat or Byass upon what I have said, will find we have lost at least Nine of the Ten Commandments, which is exceeding Popery in our *Index Expurgatorius* with a Witness.

But, to come to your more particular Case, I beseech you to publish some Discourse (if you can clear Things) to demonstrate *either your Repentance of what you writ to my Lord Russel, or the Reasons that make that, and what you now do, consistent; and that you, with the usual Solidity with which you treat upon other Subjects, justify the Proceedings, and explain the Title of King William*. I know no body has a stronger and clearer Head; and if you have Truth on your side, you can write unanswerable. *God's Glory, the Reputation of the Protestant Religion is at stake*; your own good Name calls for it; and more especially, because you have accepted a Most Reverend and Devout Man's Archbishoprick; a Man that has given Testimony how unalterably he is a Protestant! a Sufferer formerly for the Laws and Church of *England*; a Sufferer for those very Principles upon which that *Letter to my Lord Russel* was writ; for those very Principles which you disputed for (when he was about to communicate) when he had so short a Time to live, nay, you remembered him of even upon the Scaffold, *with the dreadful Commination of Eternal Woe*.

Really, Sir, if there be any Truth, if there be any Virtue, if there be any Religion, What shall we say to these Things? What will you say to them? You must be at the Pains to clear this Matter, that we may not believe the Boundaries of *Right* and *Wrong*, the Measures of *Violence* and *Justice* quite taken away, that we may not be tempted to *Speculative*, and from thence to *Practical Atheism*. This Change has made many sober Men *Sceptical*, and gone farther towards eradicating all the Notions of a Deity, than all the Labours of *Hobbes* and *Epicurus*; and your Part in it has, I must confess, more stagger'd me than any one Thing else; I have been ready to suspect that Religion it self was a Cheat, and that it was a Defect in my Understanding, that I could not see through it; for, I think, if I can know my Right Hand from my Left, our present Government stands upon Foundations that

that contradict all those Discourses which *you*, as well as *others*, have lent to *Passive Obedience*.

The excessive Value I have for *you*, for *your Knowledge*, *your Judgment*, *your Largeness of Spirit*, *your Moderation*, and many other great *Qualities* that have signaliz'd your Name, once made you one of the greatest Ornaments of the *Christian Church*, one of the greatest Exemplars of sound Morality, and all that Philosophers call Virtue, make what seems to me an Apostacy from what you Preached and Writ, pretended to believe, and would have others to believe, shake me so violently in the first *Credenda* of Religion, that I beseech you, if you think it necessary upon no other Account, that you will publish such a Discourse, at least, for the Satisfaction of mine, and the Consciences of many others, who I can assure you of mine own Knowledge, lie under the same Scruples with my self, have the same Scruples in relation to the Government, and the same Temptations to question Religion it self upon *your Account*: It is the Interest of the Government to satisfy such Men; and if you think that we ought particularly and privately to apply our selves to you, our Number is so great, that it would be too constant a Trouble for any one Man to undergo; nor can we safely debate a Point of this Nature; nor can you expect Men should trust themselves under the Protection of *your Honour*, whilst they think you have in the Face of the World, so grossly prevaricated both from that and what ought to be a Principle of a higher Nature, the Dictates of your own Conscience.

We would as soon deliver our Reasons at the Door of a House of Commons; and I am not sure that the same Spirit of Integrity, which has hindered me from succumbing under what we think an Usurpation, will not the next Time there is an Assembly there, carry me that Length, (if I don't in the mean Time publicly hear from you.) I beg of God Almighty (in whose Being, I bless his Name, I yet believe) to lay a happy Constraint upon me, to do what may be most for his *Glory*, and the Good of these *Nations*; and I earnestly supplicate him, that he will enable me to suffer whatever may be necessary for those great Ends, and that he will incline you either to publish *your Reasons* or Repentance. To his blessed Guidance and Protection I heartily recommend you.

ADVERTISEMENT.

* * Since Dr. Burnet's Pastoral Letter is burned by the common Hangman, according to the Order of the House of Commons; it's therefore now far more necessary, that you or he should explain King William's Title, and what you have now to say against the following Letter to my Lord Russel.

Dr. Tillotson's Letter to the Lord Russel.

MY LORD,

I Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this Morning in that calm and devout Temper at Receiving the blessed Sacrament; but Peace of Mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little: And because transient Discourse
many

many Times hath little Effect for want of Time to weigh and consider it; therefore in tender Compassion of your Lordship's Case, and from all the good Will that one Man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordship's deliberate Thoughts these following Considerations concerning the Point of Resistance, if our Religion and Rights should be invaded, as your Lordship puts the Case; concerning which I understood by Dr. Burnet, that your Lordship had once received Satisfaction, and am sorry to find a Change.

First, That the Christian Religion doth plainly forbid the Resistance of Authority.

Secondly, That tho' our Religion be established by Law, (which your Lordship urges as a Difference between our Case, and that of the Primitive Christians,) yet in the same Law, which establishes our Religion, it is declared, *That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms, &c.* Besides that, there is a particular Law, declaring the Power of the *Militia* to be solely in the King. And that ties the Hands of the Subjects, though the Law of Nature and the general Rules of Scripture had left us at Liberty; which, I believe, they do not, because the Government and Peace of human Society could not well subsist upon these Terms.

Thirdly, Your Lordship's Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Protestant Churches; and though some particular Persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Protestants: And I beg your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avow'd asserting with the Protestant Religion, to go contrary to the general Doctrine of Protestants. My End in this is to convince your Lordship, that you are in a very great and dangerous Mistake; and being so convinc'd, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the Sight of your Error, by a penitent Acknowledgment of it to God and Men, you will not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion. I am very loth to give your Lordship any Disquiet in the Distress you are in, which I commiserate from my Heart; but am much more concerned, that you do not leave the World in a Delusion and false Peace, to the Hindrance of your eternal Happiness. I heartily pray for you, and beseech your Lordship to believe that I am with the greatest Sincerity and Compassion in the World,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

and afflicted Servant,

JOHN TILLOTSON.

Dr.

Dr. TILLOTSON's Last Prayer at the Execution of the Unfortunate
Lord RUSSEL.

O Almighty and Merciful God, with whom alone live the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, after they are delivered from these Earthly Prisons; we humbly commend the Soul of this our dear Brother into thy Hands, as into the Hands of a Faithful Creator, and most Merciful Saviour; humbly beseeching thee, that it may be precious in thy Sight: Wash it, O Lord, from all its Guilt in the Blood of the immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the Sins of the World; that whatsoever Defilements it may have contracted in the midst of this wicked World, by the Lusts of the Flesh, or the Wiles of Satan, being purged and done away by a sincere and unfeigned Repentance, through thy infinite Mercy and Goodness in our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be presented pure and holy, and without Spot before thee. O Lord, we humbly beseech thee to support thy Servant, and stand by him in this last and great Contest; Deliver him from the Pains of Eternal Death, and save him, O Lord, for thy Mercies Sake; and grant that all we who survive, by this and other Instances of thy Providence, *may learn our Duty to God and the King*; and that by this, and other like Spectacles of our Mortality, we may see how frail and uncertain our Condition is in this World, that it is all but Vanity; and teach us so to number our Days, that we may seriously apply our Hearts to that holy and heavenly Wisdom while we live, which may bring us to Life Everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord: In whose holy Name and Words we conclude our Prayers.

Our Father, &c.

It being credibly and confidently reported, That you, Sir, immediately after the Execution, went to visit that excellent Lady my Lady *Russel*, and assur'd her, amongst other Expressions to comfort her, *That you wish'd your Soul might go to the same Place whither my Lord's was gone*: I beseech you to make Mankind understand that Expression, or vindicate your self from the Imputation wherewith this Story charges you.

To

To the Right Honourable the LORDS and COMMONS,
 assembled in Parliament; the humble Remonstrance
 and Petition of *English Protestants*, against *English*
 and *Irish Papists*.

IT is not a Time now to Dispute, but Act, and that vigorously too, or *England's* lost. *POPERY*, that Enemy to God, by setting up *Idols*; to Christ, by its New-found *Mediators*; to the Holy Ghost, by putting a *Pope* in his Place; to the Scriptures, by its *Legends* and *corrupt Traditions*; to Reason, by its imposed *Absurdities*; to common Sense, by its most foolish, but most *Idolized Transubstantiation*; to all tender dissenting Consciences, by *Fire* and *Faggot*; and to all Civil Government that refuses to be subject to it, by *Plots*, *Affassinations*, and *horrid Massacres*, its usual and notorious Steps to worldly Advancement. This monstrous *Popery*, this common Enemy to Mankind, that hath so often contrived our Ruin, and several Times been at the very Point of effecting it, has once more attempted us, and with that Violence and Design, that it looks like the last Time: Nay, the great Sticklers of it are got within our Works, and promise themselves the Garrison, because they say they have Friends in Disguise among us. 'Tis true, they have lost some Men in the Attempt, but they are not much daunted at that; for the whole Papal World they brag have conspired their Success, and the Air rings with the Thousands of Masses that are daily said for the Prosperity of the Design, as if their Intention were to convert the World, and not to *Kill* the King, *Garble* the Parliament, *Shamble* all good and sober Protestants of every Party, *Fire* and *Plunder* Cities, and finally, *Change* the Government and Religion of the Kingdom, which is the *Plot*.

Nor will the more impudent of them deny the Thing in general, but much the contrary, insulting us with *Tertullian's Implavimus omnia* against the old *Pagans*, We fill your Courts, your Armies, your Navies, it must take, you can't avoid it; 'tis a just Cause to extirpate Hereticks Root and Branch.

But one (and may be the worst) part of the Plot has fail'd them, they resolv'd to surprize you, to make a Night Work of it, to let you and yours never see Day more (for such Deeds become Darkness) as they did in *France* and *Ireland* in those most Bloody Massacres of poor harmless Protestants. But God, the infinitely good and gracious God, that hath always watcht over this poor Island (an hundred Times designed to Destruction) and whose Eye pierceth through the Secrets of Men, hath notwithstanding the Greatness, as well as Multitude of our Sins (not to be equalled by any Thing but his Patience and Compassion) discovered this impious Conspiracy, we hope too early for the Plotters Purpose: He has beaten up our Quarters, and given us the Alarm, if we will take it; methinks we should, where the Noise of Fire and Sword is in our Ears; when we cannot walk the Streets without Danger of being stabbed, nor Sleep in our Houses for fear of being Burned, witness
 the

dreadful Fire at *London*, the Fire of *Southwark*, and that the other Day of *Limehouse*, where three poor Souls were burned quick; to say nothing of forty Attempts they have made in other Places. To which let me add the Design in general, of Massacring all the best People in the Kingdom, begun and amply confirmed in the most barbarous Murder of that Worthy Knight and Judicious Magistrate, Sir *Edmundberry Godfry*; and here I must stay a while. Murder is a great Sin against God and our Neighbour; but alas! what induced them to it here? Sir *Edmundberry Godfry* was one of the mildest Men to these Bloody Papists that was in Commission for the Peace; for though he hated Arbitrary Power and Popery, as the Cause or Effect of it, yet a Man for a due Liberty to all sober People, pretending Tenderness of Conscience, and saved them from many a Pinch on that Score, hoping, as many more did, that after an hundred Years Experience, Intermariages, Conversation, and large Indulgence, they were grown wiser, if not more Christian, than to cut their Way to Government through Blood, and Kill for Religion, (pardon me the use of the Word about Popery, that has nothing of Religion but the Name) but Gratitude restrains not Men of this Stamp, their Principle knows no Kindred, no Obedience, no Obligation that stands in the Way of their conspired Dominion. Well! but was it that they would be revenged of him, for having Courage (Courage I say, as the World goes) to take Depositions upon Oath of their Devilish Plot? But where's the Crime here, which can properly give their Act the Term of *Revenge*, since Examination is neither Judgment nor Execution? Even a Saint is not injur'd to be Examined, much less a *Papist*: Innocency gets on Tryal, if falsely accused; but that's not the Case; for Truth seeks no Corners, nor yet Ditches to lay a Murder'd Man in after having strangled him in a House for the Purpose: What then can be the plain *English* of the Business but this, that they concluded his former Kindness thus abused, would for ever disingage him for the future; and that since he could not be prevail'd upon to stifle the Evidence, he had and might yet have produced (for he acknowledg'd to some, he had been both Tamper'd with and Menac'd) they would strangle him; which is such a Demonstration of their Folly as well as Malice, that it hath given Proof of the whole being true; that none can now deny it to be a Plot but those that are of it, or will lose by the Discovery.

But some say, *He killed himself*. That's a likely Business indeed; for what I pray? a *sober, charitable, judicious Man*. O but he was Melancholy, that is, he was a serious Man; but why now more Melancholy than ever, because he had wronged the innocent Papists? Is that it? Where's the Wrong? Is it, That he heard what Persons upon Oath declared of the most horrid Conspiracy that ever was on Foot in the World, but the Murdering of the Son of God? But be this Deposition true or false, it was his Duty and Place to take it, he was Sworn to do it, it was a great and the best Part of his Office; he had deserv'd a Plotter's Punishment to have refused the Thing. Here is no Virulency, Suborning of Evidence, Condemning or Murdering them in all this: Where's the Sin then that should trouble his Conscience? But they that will murder, will lye to cover it.

Besides, 'tis plain that he was strangled, and his Neck broke before stabb'd, because he could neither strangle himself, nor break his Neck after he was stabb'd through the Heart, nor stab himself after he was strangled, and his Neck broke: Moreover had he been stabb'd before dead, or soon after, Blood would have appeared on the Hilt of his Sword on which he lay, or on the Ground, it being a dry Place, or on his Cloaths; but no Blood was to be seen; and when the Sword was drawn out of his Body, which his Murderers put in to palliate the Butchery, nothing issued from him but a dark Water, as is usual where Blood is coagulated, as his doubtless was before he was stabb'd; for we are of Opinion there was a good Time betwixt Strangling and Stabbing him, and that the latter was upon great Deliberation, and that on Purpose to hide the Actors, and cast the Murder upon himself. O Lord God! that ever Men should be so much the Children of the Devil; as first to Murder, then charge it upon the innocent Soul murder'd. But the Devil was ever a Fool, and so in this. For besides what we have observed, this further is to be said, they that killed him would have us think 'twas himself, because neither Cloaths, nor Money, nor Rings were taken away. True, but though they that are concerned in the Plot, wanted neither his Cloaths, nor Money, nor Rings, to carry it on, yet they took what they wanted, and they wanted what they took with a Witness, and that was his Pocket-Book of Depositions and Examinations, which puts it out of doubt, that they that were so much concerned in them, both murdered him, and took it; for none can think that *Father Coniers*, the Duke of Norfolk's Confessor, taking the Air over Hedge and Ditch to *Primrose Hill*, dropt just upon him and pickt his Pockets of the Book: Well, but *why may not he have hang'd himself, and his Kindred to save his Estate, stabb'd him afterwards, and carried him thither?* This is deadly cunning; but why was his Pocket-Book only wanting, wherein the Plotters were concerned? Tricks won't do here: Furthermore, why did they not keep his Gold, Silver and Rings that were found in his Pocket, but expose them? Why not strip him in some degree, make wound in his Sword Arm, and hack, bend or break his Sword, that it might look like Robbery? But last of all, why should they carry him out exactly as he used to go quite drest, and want a Band, especially since they were so punctual as to take his Sword, Belt, Gloves, and Stick with them. He went out in the Morning with a great lac'd Band, none was found, as well as the Book of Examinations; of that we have already spoke; for the Band 'tis a plain Case they strangled him, and being a long-neck'd Man, and wearing an high strong Collar, he struggling to save himself, and they striving to dispatch him that Way, the Band was torn in the Fray, and to have let it go so, had been to have told the Story too plainly, that is, that the Man was strangled to Death by Violence, and that the Stab of his own Sword was an after trick to cover the Business.

Thus this poor Gentleman, but worthy and brave Patriot, ended his Days by the assassinating Hands of Papists, whose Butchery made him the common Martyr of his Religion and Country, and his Death is to us the Earnest of their Cruelty; in him they have massacred us all, we must take it to our selves,

selves, and can no more be unconcerned in his Death, than disinterested in the Cause of it.

The Plot is opened, the Tragedy is begun, our Wives are frighted, our Children cry: no Man is sure of his Life a Day; the Choice is only, what Death we shall dye, whether be Stabbed, Strangled, or Burned. This Consternation and Insecurity must needs obstruct all Commerce, scare People from following their lawful Occasions, deter all Officers of Justice from their Duty, and in fine, dissolve human Society, and reduce the World into its first Chaos.

For the Lord's Sake let us consider our Condition, let us all turn to the Lord with unfeigned Repentance, let us look and cry to him for Help, that he who has discovered, would confound this bloody Conspiracy, and shew Mercy, and bring us Deliverance, that we may yet see his Salvation, and serve him all the Days of our Lives; and in order to our Security, these Things are earnestly requested of you.

First, Take effectual Care to preserve the King; they say, and we believe he is not for their Turn; we would not have him for his Sake and ours: In order to this, pray find out the *Achitophels*, the dangerous Men about him; you know who they are: Be free and bold, prize your Time, the Con-
juncture is great.

Secondly, Vote an Address to the King to Banish all *Irish* Papists out of the Army, Navy and Kingdom by such a Day, and all Papists out of the City of *London*, whose gross Ignorance and base Desperateness, renders them the fittest Men for Assassinations. Besides, it is a Shame that the Children and Kindred of *Irish* Rebels, nay, some of them the very Men themselves that were Actors in that horrid Massacre in the Year 1640. about thirty-seven Years since, in which above Three Hundred Thousand Protestants were murder'd in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, without regard to Age or Sex, should be employed either in the *English* Army or Navy; but more scandalous is it, that *St. James's* should be their Head Quarters, and the Park turned into an *Irish Walk*. What do so many *Irish* Papists Teagues and Rebels do swarming there? No good to be sure; their Parts, Courage, and Skill, can invite no Man to entertain any of them; it must only be their Ignorance and Cowardly Cruelty, which make them Instruments of Mischief, and fit to be used by those that love foul Play. But that poor dissenting Protestants should be daily molested and pillaged for the Sake of their peaceable Consciences, whilst Teagues and *Irish* Rebels go by whole Doves under the Nose of King and Duke in their Royal Park, and Walks of Pleasure, is almost insupportable. Is this to maintain Protestant Religion and discountenance Popery? *Expede Herculem.*

Thirdly, For God's Sake call for the Plot, look thoroughly and strictly into it; fear nor favour no Man; *Fiat Justitia*: But fear God, do what you do as in his Presence, to whom you must render an Account. 'Tis the great Action of your Life, discharge your Trust, and quit your selves now like Men. This has been the perpetual Troubler of our *Protestant-Israel*; as you would see God with Comfort, and secure your Posterity from civil and spiri-
tual

tual Tyranny, slip not this Opportunity God has so wonderfully cast into your Hands; be not found Despisers of his Providence, neither be you careless or fearful of improving it; Now or Never: had they you on this Lock, and at this Advantage, you nor yours should ever see Day more. What once you could not have so well done before, they have now made easy and necessary for you to do; and what before you scarcely might do, is now become your Duty. Be not cheated by a Sacrifice; let not the Lives of two or three Plotters be the Ransom of the rest, or your Satisfaction: 'tis not Blood but Security, prospect future Safety, an eternal Prevention of the like Miseries for the future; otherwise we shall only sit down with the Peace and Joy of Fools, and sat our selves Sacrifices with more Security against their next Slaughter. Therefore,

Fourthly, Raise the Train'd Bands, and let them be put not so much as into the Hands of Men *Popishly* affected; for those Men that would pull off the Vizard in case *Poper*y prevailed, that otherwise keep their Credit by not discovering themselves, are the most dangerous to be trusted; I fear *Poper*y thus entring more than any other Way: examine the Counties well, for some of base Principles are entrusted.

Fifthly, Let there be Power given to raise Auxiliaries, that such honest *Protestant* Gentlemen as are willing at their own Charges voluntarily to serve their Country, by raising Troops or Companies, or serving in them, may be permitted and encouraged so to do.

Sixthly, Let every *Protestant* Family be well armed, and every *Popish* Family be utterly disarmed, they have tried our Usage of Arms with Ease, we theirs with Cruelty enough.

Seventhly, Let there be an Act with a strict Penalty, that after such a Day, no Gun-Smith shall sell Guns or Pistols; Cutlers, Swords or Daggers; and Dry-Salters, Gunpowder or Bullets, without Licence of the Aldermen of the Ward, in *London*; or some chief Officer, if in any other Corporation; and that the Person so buying them shall, before the said Officer, subscribe a sufficient Test against *Poper*y; but more especially, that no *Papist* be suffered to make or sell any such Implements of War.

Eighthly, That Care be taken to prevent fraudulent Conveyances of Estates by *Papists*, to escape the Law where they have done Mischief: for this is to cheat the Government, and invalidate the Law.

Ninthly, That it shall be Treason for any *Papist* to entertain a *Priest*, *Jesuit*, or *Seminary*, in their House, because mortal Enemies by Principle and Practice to the civil Government. Consider of the *Swedish* Law, or a better Way to clear the Land of all of them; let's buy them out to be safe.

Tenthly, That in all Schools, particularly in Universities, Care be taken to educate Youth in a just Abhorrence of *Romish* Principles, especially the *Jesuits* immoral Morals; shewing the Inconsistency thereof with human Nature, Reason, and Society, as well as pure and meek *Christianity*; of which there has been great Neglect.

Eleventhly, That our Youth be not suffer'd to travel abroad, but between Twelve and Sixteen, and that under the Conduct of approved *Protestants*; for

for the present Way of Education is chiefly to Pleasure and Looseness, which makes Way for Atheism or Popery, no Religion, or false Religion.

Twelfthly, That speedy Care be taken to release all oppressed *Protestants* in this Kingdom; and since the Papists mark all *Protestants* out for one Fate, and esteem them one Body of *Hereticks*, that they may be as one Body of *Protestancy* against that common *Enemy*. This is the Language of God's present Providence, those that withstand it, are such as love *Rome* better than *London*: every *Protestant*, Dissenter or not, has the same Thing to say against *Popery*. Agree then so far, and let a general Negative Creed be concluded upon, and from thence let some general positive Truths be considered of, in order to a better Understanding among them: For this Purpose, let there be a *select Assembly* of some out of *All Persuasions*, in which these two *Proposals* may be duly weighed, that whosoever *Believe* and *Own* what shall be therein contained, shall be reputed and protected as true *Protestants*.

Lastly, and more especially, Let all the Laws in Force against Immorality be speedily and effectually executed: 'Tis *Sin* which is the Disease and Shame of the Nation; we have forgotten God, and cast his *Law* behind us, and we deserve not this Beginning of Deliverance: Our Pleasures have been our Gods, and to them we bow, and have little or no Religion at Heart; therefore 'tis that Iniquity abounds, and in that Variety too, and to such a Degree, as no Kingdom can parallel. Blush, O Heavens, and be astonished, O Earth, a People loved of God, and so often saved by his wonderful Providences, are become the *Tyre* and *Sidon*, the *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* of the World. Let us repent in Dust and Ashes; let us turn to God from the Bottom of our Hearts, with the fervent Love and good Works of our martyr'd Ancestors, or their Life, Doctrine and Death, will rise up in Judgment against us, and God will yet suffer their and our Enemies to swallow us up quick. And be assured, as Looseness and Debauchery were design'd by the Papists as a State trick to dispose the Minds of the People to receive, at least suffer Popery (that to say true, cannot live with better Company) so the Discouragement of it, and cherishing of all virtuous Persons, with a serious and hearty Prosecution of the forementioned *Proposals*, will stop and in Time wear it out of the Kingdom; for Popery fears nothing more than *Light*, *Inquiry*, and *sober Living*. Hear us, we beseech you, for Jesus Christ's Sake, take Heart, we will never leave you, don't you leave us: provide for the King, provide for the People, for God alone knows when we lie down, if we shall ever rise, or when we go forth, if we shall ever return. Remember the Massacre of *Paris*, in which so many Thousands fell, and with them that brave Admiral *Coligny*, Infamy enough one would think to shame the Party, did they know such a Thing; but instead of that, 'twas meritorious, yea, 'tis subject of Triumph; look into the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and among the other rare Feats performed by Christian Kings against Infidels; this Massacre of *Paris*, now about 100 Years old, is to be found; and so careful was the Designer to do it to the Life, that he has not omitted to shew us how the Noble Admiral was flung dead out of the Window into the Street, to be used as People use Cats and Dogs in Protestant Countries, but good enough
for

for an Heretick, whom the worse they use, the better they are. But to shew they own the *Plot*, and glory in the *Action*, and for fear one not read in the Story should take *Coligny* for *Jezabel*, they have gallantly explained the Action upon the Piece, and writ his Name at large.

But there is a Cruelty nearer Home, no less barbarous, the *Irish* Massacre in 1640; nay, it exceeded: First in Number, there were above Three Hundred Thousand murdered: Next, in that no Age or Sex was spared: And, lastly, in the Manner of it, 'twas general throughout the Kingdom; and as they were more savage, so more cruel, they spared not either Sick or Lying in Women; they kill'd poor Infants, and innocent Children, tossing some upon their Swords, Skeens, and other Instruments of Cruelty; flinging others into Rivers, and taking several by the Legs, dash'd their Brains out against Walls or Rocks. O Lord God avenge this Innocent Blood, it still cries: But that these Actors of this Tragedy, or their Bloody-minded Off-spring, should swarm in *England*, be Pensioners here, as if they were the old Soldiers of the Queen, Men of Eighty-eight, Cripples of Loyalty, laid up for their good Services, and St. *James's* their Hospital; this scandalizes us; we think them the worst Cattle of their Country, and pray that there may be an Exchange, that you would prohibit their Importation instead of more useful Beasts. For the bloody Massacre of *Piedmont*, you have it at large described by Sir *S. Morland*.

But we must never forget the horrid Murder of *Henry* the Third, and of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, our King's renowned Grandfather. And would to God our King would consider, that all his Humanity to them can never secure him from their stroke; they were both Catholicks, and yet both assassinated; the first a bred Papist, yet because he would not murder all the *Hugonots* or *Protestants* of his Kingdom, and his own best Subjects, they did as much for him: The last was their Convert, all they seem'd to desire of him, and all they can expect from our King, yet how did they use him? They did twice assassinate him, and the last Time kill'd him. What Security then can any Prince promise to himself from Men that make not the Profession of the same Religion, a Protection to them that own it; but upon Humours or Suspicions of their own, or to introduce another Person or Family, more immediately under their Influence, and disposed to their turn, will make no scruple of killing him? What Slaves are Kings with such Men, and under such a Religion? Let not the Mildness of our Prince be thus abused; show your selves his great and best Council in this Conjunction, and deliver him from these Men of Ingratitude: Men that will never be contented but with that which they must not have; of such Qualifications, that what may be esteemed Ambition, Revenge or Interest in all other Parties, is a settled Principle with them: This their greatest Doctors tell us, and to excite Men in the Pursuit of it, they declare all such Acts more than ordinarily meritorious: But what hold can we have of such Men that have no Conscience? this Conclusion looks hard, and besides their Practice (for if that were always to cast the Scale, it would go hard with many Protestants too; 'tis their avowed

avowed Doctrine, they glory in it, and make it our Reproach to have any such Thing. I say, that *Papists* have no Conscience, or no Use of Conscience in their Religion, which is the same Thing; for what is Conscience but the *Judgment a Man makes in himself of Religious Matters, according to the Knowledge given him of God?* But this is out of Doors with them, 'tis Heresy; *Authority* rules them, not *Truth*; as if a Man were to be credited for his *Age*, not his *Reason*. *Conscience* is a domestick and private Judge, dangerous to the *Chair*, the *Pope*, for it rather hinders than helps Subjection, the less there be of it, the sooner Men turn Captives to their Mysteries. So that putting out the Eyes of our Mind, and a Blind before our Understandings, best fit us for Popish Religion: as if Religion had not so great an Enemy as Reason, nor Faith as Knowledge. 'Tis strange that a Man cannot be a *Papist*, without renouncing the only Distinction of a Man from a Beast: Therefore it is we pray to be secured from *Papists*, because at best they unman us, and are not their own Men. 'Tis true, as *Protestants* don't always live up to their good Principles, neither do *Papists* to their bad Ones: Breeding, good Humour, Generosity (and a better Principle they know not of) may bias some of them to worthy Things, but this is not according to their Principles; for if they will be true to them, they must abandon Choice, and obey their Superior, right or wrong, and every Immorality he commands, is Duty upon Damnation; the more contrary to their Reason, and averse to their Nature, the greater the Merit. Hesitation is Weakness; Dissent, Schism; Opposition, Heresy; the Consequence, Burning: From this Religion, *O Lord God deliver us, O King and Parliament protect us*: 'Tis your Duty to God, and your Obligation to the People. We beseech you excuse us, and take all in good Part; our Fears are great, we fear just, and our Desires reasonable: Remember our dreadful Fires, consider this horrid Plot, and think upon poor, yet worthy Sir *Edmondberry Godfry*; let not God's Providence and his Blood rise up in Judgment against you, God of his great Mercy animate you by his Power, and direct you by his Wisdom, that the Succession of his Deliverances from Queen *Elizabeth's* Days may not be forgotten, nor his present Mercy slighted: Let us do our Duty, and God will give us that Blessing which will yet make *England* a glorious Kingdom, the Joy of her Friends, and Terror of her Enemies, which is the fervent and constant Prayer of yours, &c.

An Order of the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at *Westminster*, in the House of LORDS, December 22. 1688.

P R E S E N T,

Lord Archbishop of <i>York</i> .	Earl of <i>Clarendon</i> .	Lord Grey of <i>Ruthen</i> .
Duke of <i>Norfolk</i> .	Earl of <i>Craven</i> .	Lord <i>Eure</i> .
Duke of <i>Somerset</i> .	Earl of <i>Burlington</i> .	Lord <i>Wharton</i> .
Duke of <i>Grafton</i> .	Earl of <i>Suffex</i> .	Lord <i>Paget</i> .
Duke of <i>Ormond</i> .	Earl of <i>Macclesfield</i> .	Lord <i>North</i> and <i>Grey</i> .
Duke of <i>Beaufort</i> .	Earl of <i>Radnor</i> .	Lord <i>Chandos</i> .
Marquess of <i>Hallifax</i> .	Earl of <i>Yarmouth</i> .	Lord <i>Montague</i> .
Earl of <i>Oxford</i> .	Earl of <i>Berkeley</i> .	Lord Grey of <i>Warke</i> .
Earl of <i>Skrewsbury</i> .	Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> .	Lord <i>Maynard</i> .
Earl of <i>Kent</i> .	Earl of <i>Rocheſter</i> .	Lord <i>Howard</i> of <i>Eſcrick</i> .
Earl of <i>Bedford</i> .	Earl of <i>Abington</i> .	Lord <i>Jermyn</i> .
Earl of <i>Pembroke</i> .	Lord Viſc. <i>Fauconberg</i> .	Lord <i>Vaughan</i> <i>Carbery</i> .
Earl of <i>Dorſet</i> .	Lord Viſcount <i>Mordaunt</i> .	Lord <i>Culpeper</i> .
Earl of <i>Northampton</i> .	Lord Viſcount <i>Newport</i> .	Lord <i>Lucas</i> .
Earl of <i>Devonſhire</i> .	Lord Viſcount <i>Weymouth</i> .	Lord <i>Delamere</i> .
Earl of <i>Bolingbrooke</i> .	Lord Viſcount <i>Hatton</i> .	Lord <i>Crew</i> .
Earl of <i>Mancheſter</i> .	Lord Biſhop of <i>London</i> .	Lord <i>Lumley</i> .
Earl of <i>Mulgrave</i> .	Lord Biſhop of <i>Dureſme</i> .	Lord <i>Carteret</i> .
Earl of <i>Rivers</i> .	Lord Biſhop of <i>Wincheſter</i> .	Lord <i>Oſſulſtone</i> .
Earl of <i>Stamford</i> .	Lord Biſhop of <i>St. Aſaph</i> .	Lord <i>Godolphin</i> .
Earl of <i>Wincheſea</i> .	Lord Biſhop of <i>Ely</i> .	Lord <i>Churchill</i> .
Earl of <i>Tbanet</i> .	Lord Biſhop of <i>Rocheſter</i> .	
Earl of <i>Scarſdale</i> .	Lord <i>Delawarr</i> .	

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in this Extraordinary Conjunction, conſidering the great Miſchiefs that have happened unto, and do ſtill threaten this Kingdom, by the evil Deſigns and Practices of the Papiſts, in great Numbers reſorting unto and abiding in the City of *London*, and Places adjacent to the ſaid City; for the better Preſervation of the Peace and common Safety, have thought fit, and do Order and Require, That all Papiſts and Reputed Papiſts do, and ſhall, within Five Days after the Date hereof, depart from the ſaid City, unto their reſpective Habitations; from which they are not to remove above Five Miles Diſtance.

Except ſuch as now are in the Actual Service of the Queen Dowager; and Except all Ambaſſadors, and Foreign Miniſters, with their Domeſtick Servants, being Foreigners; and all other Foreigners, being Merchants or Factors, or who are come into, or do reſide in this Kingdom upon the Account of Trade only. Except alſo all ſuch Perſons as have been Houſholders, or have

have exercised any Trade within the said City of *London*, or within Ten Miles o the same, by the Space of Three Years last past (other than such as do sell Arms,) so as such Housholders shall, within Eight Days from the Date hereof, leave an Account in Writing with the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, or some Alderman, being a Justice of Peace within the said City, or other Justice of Peace, of their respective Names, and Places of their Habitations.

Except also all such Popish Officers as shall within Six Days from the Date hereof, give good and sufficient Bail before the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, or some Alderman, being a Justice of Peace within the said City, for their Appearance in the Court of *King's Bench*, the First Day of the next Term, to answer such Things as shall be there objected to them; and in the mean Time for the keeping of the Peace. And it is hereby ordered, that such Popish Officers as shall not within the said Eight Days give such Bail as aforesaid, shall be committed into Custody; and be detain'd and kept in some publick Inns, by the Trained Bands or Militia of the said City or Counties adjacent respectively, until further Order.

Signed by their Lordships Order,

FRANCIS GWYN.

*WE, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in this Extraordinary Con-
juncture, Do appoint Francis Gwyn, Esquire, for Us, and in Our Names,
to Sign and Subscribe such Orders as shall be from time to time by Us made.*

Dated at the House of Lords in *Westminster* the 22d Day of December, 1688.

Tho. Ebor.	Bolingbrooke.	Fauconberg.	Grey.
Norfolk.	Manchester.	Mordaunt.	Maynard.
Somerfet.	Rivers.	Newport.	T. Jermyn.
Grafton.	Stamford.	Weymouth.	Vaughan Carbery.
Ormond.	Thanet.	Hatton.	Tho. Culpeper.
Beaufort.	Scarsdale.	W. Afaph.	Lucas,
Northumberland.	Clarendon.	Fran. Ely.	Delamere.
Hallifax.	Burlington.	La-warr.	Crew.
Oxford.	Suffex.	R. Eure.	Lumley.
Kent.	Maclesfield.	P. Wharton.	Carteret.
Bedford.	Radnor.	Paget.	Offulstone.
Pembrooke.	Berkeley.	North and Grey.	
Dorset.	Nottingham.	Chandos.	
Devonshire.	Rocheſter.	Montague.	

A Remonstrance and Protestation of all the Good Protestants of this Kingdom, against Deposing their Lawful Sovereign King *JAMES* the Second. 1689.

With REFLECTIONS thereupon.

——— *Ubi non est pudor,
Nec cura juris, sanctitas, pietas, fides,
Instabile regnum est.* ——— Sen. Thyeft.

Better is a poor and a wise Child, than an old and foolish King, who will no more be admonished. Eccles. iv. 13.

READER,

AMONG Gamesters, if the Winner may by an ancient Proverb be justified to Laugh, I see no Reason why a Loser may not have the Liberty of Grinning. 'Tis the present Case. The whole Body of the Nation is set free indeed from Tyranny and Popery, and clear'd from the Fear of it for the future, and are therefore with great Reason transported with Joy at this Deliverance; but this not having been feasible without defeating the vile Designs of some few wretched Fellows, who were to make their Fortunes by the Slavery of their Country; these Men set up for Reason, Right, and Honesty, who were the Betrayers of all; and under several silly and thin Pretences, would advance Notions utterly inconsistent with the truest Rules of Reason, the Examples of Scripture, the Laws of the Land, and the common Good. Among these few our Author seems to be one. The Wit, the Honesty, the Modesty, the Love of his Country, which appear in this Paper, would make one think him one of those wise, honest, valiant, free-born English Spirits which composed a late Court. And this I am yet the more inclin'd to believe, because (tho' I know 'twas sent in Penny-Post-Letters to several Reverend Divines of the Church of England) I am certainly inform'd it came from that Forge, where for Years by-past all the most scurrilous Invectives against the Reform'd Religion were hammer'd, even the late Nat. Thompson's Printing-House; and probably was written by that Scribler of his who penn'd The Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; and this ought to be one Reason why all good Protestants and honest Englishmen should have a Care of this and the like Pamphlets which would banter us out of our Happiness. But let him be who he will, his Honesty and Modesty be manifests in the Title, which he gives this Libel, A Remonstrance in the Name of all good Protestants. Who empower'd him to make this? Who chose him the Representative of all good Protestants? Is the Convention or Parliament shrunk into his Skin? If it be, he ill-favour'dly betrays his Trust, and talks contrary to the Interest and Meaning of his Principals. But since it is nothing so, and he
only

only with a necessary Confidence arrogates to himself the Office of a Prolocutor, we'll bear him, and be free with him.

SINCE it is evident to the whole World, that the present State of this Kingdom is a *State of Force*; and that after all the Pretence of *Property*, there is no *Law* in *England* but the *Long Sword*; and that upon that Foundation our present *Architects* are raising the Fabrick of their *New Government*: We who profess ourselves to be *True Protestants*, and *Tenderers* of the *Honour* of our Religion, than of our *Lives*; do think ourselves obliged, *in Conscience*, to vindicate our Reputation to Mankind, by declaring our *Dissatisfaction* to the present Proceedings, and making a *publick Protestation* against the Authors of them.

Refl. His Title, one would think, had been an Affront great enough for once upon all good Protestants and every Friend of Truth; but this Paragraph gives the Lie to our Senses. He tells us 'tis evident to the whole World, that the present State of the Kingdom is a State of Force. What can he mean: In the whole World I suppose he includes England, and all England know, that there never was a Parliament chosen more fairly, or whose Privileges and Freedoms of debating and resolving were more punctually preserved to them. On the contrary, We are delivered from that which was indeed a State of Force and Slavery. Whither was true English Liberty agoing, when in the late Reign at Northampton the Soldiers at the Choice of Parliament Men, were drawn up at the Place of Election, and commanded to load with Ball, in order at least to terrify, if not to compel, the Free-holders to give their Votes contrary to the common Interest of their Country. This was a State of Force with a Vengeance. The latter Part of this Paragraph begs a Question which has been sufficiently teiz'd, but never clearly made out, by some of our Jure-Divino-Men; and till they can prove their Principles, it concerns not us to regard their fulsome and slavish Conclusions. We cannot believe our excellent Religion has any Thing in it of such servile Tendency, as to incline us to part with our civil Liberties and rightful Properties. We do not believe that Christianity should un-man us, or that Protestancy can make us Slaves and Beggars. But go on.

It is true, The Fears and Jealousies we have had of the coming in of Popery, by the Influence some Great Men of that Religion had upon his Majesty; improv'd by the daily Reflections that were made, and the ill Turn that was given to every Act of State, by some malignant Spirits among our selves; made us, we confess, very cold and indifferent in his Majesty's Defence, against a Prince of the Blood, of our own Religion, whose Errand (as we are told) was to preserve our Religion and Laws, and the just Succession of the Royal Line. This only could have made us endure an Action we should else have hated; presuming our King's Loss, should have been his Gain; and our Yielding, our Victory: But since we behold, to our unspeakable Grief, that our Condescension is Treacherously abused to private Ends; and that Shew of our Disloyalty not made a Remedy to the Government, but a Ruin to our King, and an Infamy

to our selves, to serve the Turn of some Men's Avarice and Ambition:
We ———

Refl. *Good Man! Fears and Jealousies! The Fellows of Magdalen College were only under a Jealousy of being turned out? The Bishops were only afraid of being sent to the Tower? Needed there any malignant Spirits to tell the World, that the Country was ruined by an Army kept up against Law, and exempt from the Power of the ordinary Magistrate, and a thousand other plain Violations made of the Laws of the Land? Was it not rather a Miracle of Patience that so generous a Nation could lie quietly so long under such heavy Pressures? But thus far is only Prologue; and now enter Almanzor solus, for he uses the Words. WE and US only as he is a great Man.*

We think it fit to protest against such Injustice, and to declare, *We neither know, nor will acknowledge any other King, than JAMES the Second, who is our lawful Sovereign while he lives; and this Resolution we will maintain upon all Occasions, as becomes Loyal Subjects and good Protestants to do.* Nor ought this to appear a Blind or unreasonable Sacrifice on our Parts; since we can find neither Truth nor Justice in the Reason given for *laying his Majesty aside*: For the King's *Desertion*, so much spoken of, was a plain *Necessity*, and not a Crime: Had those *Foreigners* that conquer'd, but *by leave*, suffered him to stay a King at home, he had never gone abroad; but if it were a Crime, it was *against himself*, and not against the Kingdom: His *Sins* against the Nation we have daily expected to hear of: *Those black Practices* that brought the *Prince of Orange* hither to save us, and do his Princess Right: It is plain his *Desertion*, which is now made the Fault to dethrone him, could be none of them; for that was not foreseen by the Prince, or those that call'd him in: And we challenge those that have impeached him to prove to us, as clearly as they made us believe they could, that the *Birth of the Prince of Wales is an Imposture*; *That the King has made a League with France to cut off the Protestants of these Kingdoms*; *And that his Brother and the Earl of Essex were murdered by his Appointment.* Had these vile Things been proved upon him, we had done with him for ever; and till then, common Honesty would fly in our Faces, if we should *desert* him: And tho' his Enemies have been able to deceive us, we hope they shall not be able to destroy us. If our *good Nature* hath suffered us to be easily abused; our *Integrity* will oblige us as quickly and thoroughly to resent it: And therefore since we cannot have their Proofs, *We must and will have our King again for all this.*

Refl. *Now 'tis out. This was it he had to say; the rest is only Facing and Trimming, which being introduced by flat Untruths, may well render it suspected; but now we have 'it, 'tis liable to Exception in so many Places, that no good Protestant, or considering Man, can agree to it. First, He says, King James is his lawful Sovereign while he lives, without any Exception, as either a Resignation by a publick Instrument, or his sequestering himself from the World and making himself a Recluse, or his proving a Lunatick, or becoming (God bless us)*

a Fool; which if he allow not for good Exceptions, he is more alone in his Opinion than I thought; besides the Case of Abdication, Desertion, and Dereliction. Then he takes Pains to clear his late Majesty of any Crime against the Kingdom, in deserting the Realm, which no Man every charged upon him, but most People thought it very well done by him. Next he expects to hear several Things proved against him, which from highly probable Suspicions had become the Subject of publick Discourse, or of which positive Proof was never promised, because in such Cases, 'twere unreasonable to require them. And yet he grants, if these vile Things were proved, he had done with him for ever. I offered before two Cases in which a lawful Sovereign may cease to be so, while he lives; and our Author here grants me another, i. e. if he be guilty of the Crimes himself enumerates. Now see what a hopeful Argumentator our few Malecontents have got; for allowing as he does, that these Crimes are enough to extinguish our Allegiance, then if Crimes equal to these (and such no doubt may be perpetrated) could be made out, these also may be sufficient to the like End. For this Concession let him excuse himself to his Employers. The Conclusion of this Paragraph is insignificant Bounce; but it has this in't, that it fits the Character of it's Author.

We know the Excuse that is made for this profound Silence, that they forbear to prove this black Charge, *out of pure Tendernefs to the King*; but we are not to learn at this time of the Day, the great *Tendernefs of my Lord Shro. Mord. Lov. Mr. Harb. Burn. and Ferg. towards his Majesty*; no more than the *Gratitude of my Lord Moug. Chur. Bark. and the Bishop of Durh. or the Mercy of Kirk, or the Valour of Lene. or the Morals of all of them*. But if those Gentlemen and their Partners are too tender to prove their Charge, why did they make it? And if they cannot do it, why do they proceed and refuse to open His Letters sent for an Accommodation? They have accused His Majesty of *Imposture*, they must prove it, or make themselves the worst of *Impostors*, which is an ill Bottom for a *Reformation* to stand upon. It is impossible for Men of common Sense to imagine, that three Kingdoms can be taken away from any Man, *out of Tendernefs to Him*, especially if the Reason of it be, *that they shew no Cause why they do it*. It is a Mystery to us, how they can be so very tender of his Credit, and at the same Time, and in the same Occasion, so mighty carelefs of their own. This has so ill a Face with us, that the whole seems the Plot of a few Men, to serve themselves of the King's Popery, and the Prince of Orange's Protestancy, to bring the Honours and Profits of the Government into their own Hands; which is not preserving our Property, but making a Property of Us.

Refl. *All the black Charge that was promised to be made out by our Royal Sovereign, upon his Arrival in England, will be made good in due Time; let him have Patience. But if he expects that every violent Suspicion that was, tho' upon very good Grounds, entertain'd by many wise and good Men, should be clear'd and demonstrated by the present Government, he mistakes, and talks unreasonably. The rest is gratis dictum: For, to pass by his foolish Reflections on*
parti-

particular Persons, who must needs despise so silly an Author: How comes he to know that His late Majesty ever sent any Letters for an Accommodation, which he says, were not so much as opened? That Letter which was sent to the Lords of the Privy Council from France, went to another Tune, No Change of Fortune shall ever make us forget our selves so far, as to condescend to any Thing unbecoming that high and Royal Station in which God Almighty by Right of Succession has plac'd us: And not a Word throughout the whole of restoring the Nation to the Enjoyment of its Laws, or Redress of Grievances, any farther than was done, when our present King landed; which Promises tho' there said to have been made freely and of his own Accord; yet no Man in his Senses can believe that, and therefore cannot trust them.

It is this that compels us to say, and declare to the whole World, we look upon our selves to be *cheated*, and our King to be *belyed and betrayed out of all His Kingdoms*. Nor can the Prince be blameless, if he yields to what they would give him for their own Sakes, since that were only to do his and their Business, and not the Kingdoms. It is not enough to say, *it is put upon him*, for none can believe a few *naked Conventioners* could force him at the Head of his Army to take *Three Crowns* from his *Father, Brother, Sister, and Wife* against his own Will and Declaration: And that he should do it out of pure *Self-Denial*, is as incomprehensible, as that he could do it *justly*, after what he has said to the *States*, and to us to the contrary. If therefore he came for *less* than Three Crowns, *less* than Three Crowns should satisfy him: If nothing less will content him; our *Preservation* was not the *real Motive* of his coming, and then the *Hazards* he run upon that Score, cannot be justly placed to Account of *Merit*. The King of *France* himself (for ought we know) would have turned *Protestant* for the Bargain, which had been at least as great a Miracle, as any we have yet seen in this Affair. And tho' what we have said, were sufficient to deter all good *Protestants* from taking any Part in the Work now in hand, yet we cannot forbear expressing our Zeal against those *evil Practices*, by letting our Country-men know the great Mischiefs that must inevitably follow upon such a Revolution, *viz. Reproach, Violence, Taxes, Blood, and Poverty.*

Refl. Here our Author would insinuate, that King William's Design (when Prince of Orange) when he complied with the Invitation of the best Part of the Nation, was the acquiring the Regal Authority. But why so? His Intention might be, and in all Probability was, only the rescuing of the Nation, and settling Things upon the ancient and legal Basis: But this done, the Parliament saw, that though He might be content with less, the Deliverance he had wrought could not be secured without more; and therefore desir'd Him, with his Wife, to accept the Crown, which his Father had abdicated or deserted (let our Author chuse which for this time) which his Sister could then have no Title to, nor ever claim'd; and for the Thing he calls his Brother, all good Protestants know it not. I cannot believe the French King would (as he says) have turned Protestant for the Bargain; because if that were his Opinion, he would, no doubt, have

have communicated it to one at White-Hall, who was sufficiently guided by him. And now finding his Forehead to be of the Kettle-Metal and Colour, and so far at least fit for the Business, he sets up for a Gypsy, and will tell his Country's Fortune; that is, That upon this Revolution we are to expect five Things, Reproach, Violence, Taxes, Blood, and Poverty: Tho' the second and fourth of these be but one in this Consideration, as well as the third and fifth: yet they shall all be examined as he has laid 'em down.

First, We shall become the Reproach and Scorn of all Nations: It cannot be otherwise when Subjects attempt to judge and deprive their Sovereign, which is a great Contradiction, as well as Danger in Government: But to do it without being so much as once heard or summoned, is an Injury not to be acted towards the meanest of His Subjects: King Charles I. had fairer Quarter from Cromwell and Bradshaw: They did not only charge him, but offered Matter in Evidence to maintain the Charge: But this King must be guilty of what his Accusers refuse to prove, if yet able to do it; and be dethroned for Deserting the Kingdom, tho' He could not help it. Nor do these Gentlemen stop here; they will change the Crown, as well as the King; they will not be contented to lay him by, but chuse who shall follow, and by that make the Crown Elective, which for above 600 Years has been Successive: A Thing, they lie under no Necessity to do, but is the pure Effect of their adventurous and flattering Humour. Can this do less than render us odious to the whole World, when the King they lay aside, never attempted so great an Alteration in any Branch of the Constitution?

Ref. As for the Reproach, I cannot apprehend any the Nation will lie under, so long as Sense and Reason obtain in the World. Such Actions as these, of resisting Tyranny, and setting free the Oppressed, always had, as they ever deserv'd, the Applause of Men, and the Blessings of Heaven. The noble Example here set, 'tis to be hoped, will raise the Emulation of the neighbouring Nations to assert their natural and legal Freedoms: If it don't, we value not their Envy, which is all it can procure us. In the next Words he condemns what in the Protestation, (§ 3.) he allow'd; that if the late King could be prov'd Guilty of such and such Crimes, he had done with him for ever: Whereas now he's of another Mind, and would have it to be a Contradiction in Government to attempt to judge concerning him, without which no Man can be pronounced Guilty. For what follows, 'tis certain both in Reason and our Law, that a Withdrawing implies Guilt; though I apply it not to the present Case. He pretends then to say, that the Crown of England has been successive for 600 Years last past; if by this he means, that the Succession has been preserv'd with an exact Regard to any Line; (for the Word Successive is a Word at large, and of diverse Significations) I say, if so he mean, he has fool'd himself into a Capacity of succeeding Oliver's Porter; and yet if he don't mean so, he means nothing, and that's worse. It has been made out, beyond all Possibility of Contradiction; and if Historical Faith can ever be well grounded, it must certainly be true, that the Chimerical Lineal Succession has been slighted at least Ten times since William the Conqueror: And that

264 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

that the late new Deference that has been given to it, has not been of above Eighty Years standing, and a meer Novelty in our State. The Work of designing Courtiers, ambitious Lawyers, and (who are worst of all in this Matter) Time-serving Men of that Venerable Order where Truth and the common Good ought most to be befriended. In Answer to his last Assertion, 'tis plain, to pack a House of Commons, contrary to the Minds and Interests of the Nation, is as great and as mischievous an Alteration as can be made in any Branch of the Constitution.

2dly, We are inevitably in a *State of Force*; for what is gotten by Force, must by Force be maintained; and let us flatter our selves what we will, it is not a Vote of Parliament, but the Nature of the Thing that will prevail: They that make the Change, must and will use Force for their own Security, whatever becomes of Ours.

Refl. *We cannot lie under a greater and more troublesome Force than we did a Year since, when hardly a Night passed wherein some Outrage or other was not committed by the late King's lawless Soldiers, who exercised all manner of Insolences with Impunity, by being privileged (forsooth) from the usual Methods of Prosecution according to Law. In appealing from a Parliament to the Nature of the Thing, I think he loses himself again; and instead of personating all good Protestants, he represents Nobody.*

3dly, The Charge of the Revolution will be intolerable in a while; We shall lay down a Computation of one Year's Expence for an Instance.

To 70 Sail of Great and Small Ships of War in the Channel,	}	£.
and 12 Fire-Ships and Tenders, for one Year		
To 8 Sail in the Straits, and 5 in America, for the same Time		130,000
To Transporting and Maintaining 15,000 Men to be employed	}	500,000
in Ireland for one Year, with Artillery, &c.		
The Charge of sending and keeping an Army in the Low Coun-	}	500,000
tries of 15,000 Men for a Year		
For an Army of 15,000 Men in England yearly		300,000
		<hr/>
The Total		— 2,830,000

To this must be added the *Expence of Civil Government at Home, Embassies, Intelligence, Secret Services Abroad, Domestick or Family Expences, Charges upon the Revenue for Debts owing, or by Pensions to Persons Aged, Necessary, or Meritorious*, which will mount it to above *Three Millions*, and that is more than one *Third of the yearly Value of the whole Kingdom*. To this must be added the *Abatement* that will necessarily follow, both in the *Customs and Excise*, by reason of *War and Decay of Trade*; which in the *Customs alone*, cannot be less than one *Third*, and that comes to at least 400,000 *l.* a Year.

Here is *Poverty* like an armed Man: All Rents must fall at least one half. No Employments can be had in Proportion to the Poor: The Means of
Charity

Charity, as well as *Hearts* to give it, will be wanting; the *Objects* of it must extremely encrease, and that so very suddenly, that it will not be in our Power to hinder it, if we have not that *Peace*, which nothing else can give us, but the Restoration of our right Master.

Refl. *All beside the Purpose. The Nation is willing to give thus much and more (and well is it worth) for their Rights, Laws, and Properties again. Fear not Slave; the Heads which managed this glorious Atchievement, want no Purses, nor Hearts, nor Hands, to make good what they have done.*

4thly, And for Blood, can we hope to escape it in War? First, by Sea, it is not to be avoided; by Land, we will invade the Territories or Conquests of *France*, if he in our King's Quarrel does not invade us first. Secondly, There is Blood with a Vengeance, though we are not beaten; but if we are beaten, there is Blood with *Rebellion* upon us, which will not end without Blood in Peace, and almost an *infinite Forfeiture of Estates*. Thirdly, We are not assured we shall be long quiet within our selves, many strong Factions already appearing; and we are less assured, that *Scotland* will not be in *Arms*, and find something to do in this *Conjuncture*, that has a *King to lose, and to chuse as well as we*. For *Ireland*, we are assured, or ought to be; they who possess the Government, will lose it at as dear a Rate as they can: Their *All* is at stake, and they are not without Hopes, by the *French King's* Assistance, to recover all for their Own, and will value themselves to Him and the World, by revenging our *Despisings* and *Insolence* both to Him and Them. Nor can we think they will endure this Indignity to the first King of their Religion since the *Reformation*; or suffer those to be ill used here, that have faithfully served their King, without meting the same Measure to some disloyal Persons there. Otherwise as little Wit as we allow the *Irish* to have, they have enough to know that a *Massacre*, which we so much talk of, would be their *own Ruin*; and that if they carry it fair to the *English*, they will in a while gain those there to join them, and more than there too, for the Restoration of their and our lawful King. But be it as it will, whether we regard our selves, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, or *Holland*; *War* and *Blood* look us in the Face, and *Poverty* and *Misery* must follow: These are like to be the sad Consequences of this *celebrated Change*.

Refl. *This is the Scare-crow Paragraph: Raw-head and Bloody bones! He tells us here will be Work for the Sword: With all our Hearts. The old English Liberties cost our Ancestors many a Tun of Blood at first, and since they could not be had cheaper, they were worth it. Does this crawling Slave then think to fright us out of our own, by threatening us with a Brush or two? No, let him tell his Stories to some dainty Monsieur, or some Blockhead-Teague; and not accost his own Countrymen with such an Affront. But, God be thanked, even this has nothing in't; the Nation is comforted to see itself under the Protection (under Heaven) of the bravest King that ever adorn'd the Throne; and is fully satisfied that nothing can perpetuate its Happiness, but a close*

Conjunction in the common Defence. So that this Huff is no more to us, than to a Passenger is a Dog under a Door, who stares and barks terribly; but the honest Man may go on without fear. I mind not what he says when he acts the Sir Pol. a few Months will better confute him.

Now whether our *Dangers* were so great, or our *Fears* so just, as to require all this Alteration for our Security, Days of Affliction can only inform us, if we will still be *deaf* to those *just and peaceable Expedients*, that have been often proposed to us. We shall close our *Remonstrance*, with this Caution to the present *busy Men*, that they cannot honestly lay their King aside, *without entering into the Merits of the Cause*, which it is plain they wave; and in as much as they cannot justly say, *He has laid himself aside*, by deserting them, when His Desertion is *coercive and against his Will*. Let them repent of what they have done, and let us all join, *for the Prevention of Civil, as well as Foreign bloody Wars*, to fetch Him home to the Kingdoms of His *Fathers*, with greater Glory than He came first to them; and it shall not *lessen it*, that it be done with *greater Security* to our just Freedom.

Refl. Now are we come to the Recapitulation; where as it was proper enough, he repeats his former Shams. He gives the horriblest Oppressions and Injustices the Name of Dangers, and the most illegal Sufferings he calls Fears. He tells us of just and peaceable Expedients that have been often proposed; but yet of which no Man ever heard a Word, at least while any Credit was due to them. Then he advises us to enter into the Merits of the King's Cause; of which he once before said it was a Contradiction for us to make a Judgment. And at last, to conclude this Politic Piece of Sense and Argument, he gives us dignum patellâ operculum, the whole Question begg'd; They cannot justly say he has laid himself aside, by deserting them, when his Desertion is coercive [Nonsense] and against his Will. Let him answer these two Axioms I'll lay down: No Nation can stand without Government; of which the late King left us destitute. Fear alone is no Force upon any Man: And more than Fear (and that of far distant and only imaginary Danger) he was never yet pretended to lie under.

Thus have I prefuntorily and with a running Eye reflected upon this applauded Piece. Many Passages, upon a Review, I see I have slipp'd either through Hastē or Contempt; which yet, if the Author think it worth his while to defend his Pamphlet, may have a Regard. But, if he hath Time upon his Hands, I would advise him rather to employ his Pen in giving our late Court and the Managements thereof, the Character they deserve; as first, let him declare the wondrous *Gratitude* they shew'd to their heartiest Friends, the Church of *England*, the Members whereof were the *main Instruments* of the Restoration, the *only Opposers* of the Exclusion, and the *single Confounders* of the *Monmouth-Adventure*. Then let him launch into a vast Field of Eloquence on the Subject of the *even Justice* which was kept up within the last marvellous four Years; under the justest, the meekest, the most modest, and the

the most virtuous Chancellor that ever kept a Purse ; and a Bench of Judges of whom at least three or four more never had their like upon the Bench since King *William* the First ; and here let him tell how *Westminster-Hall* was crowded every Term with Suitors for Justice from these Men of Learning and Integrity ; and what a Blessing they bestow'd upon the Nation, when they prostituted its Laws to a Dispensing Power. The *Happiness* also they enjoy'd by an unnecessary illegal standing Army may deserve from him an Encomium, which he may well conclude with a Panegyric upon the Felicity of being yolk'd and spur-gall'd, or else a Copy of Verses in Praise of a Pair of Wooden-Shoes.

CONCLUSION.

AND now, honest Brother-Englishman and Fellow-Protestant, our Country-Men having always accounted it half a Victory to find out their Enemies, I'll give a little Description of the most dangerous Foes to the common Good and Happiness of the Nation. On one Side are,

Such as intoxicate the Peoples Heads with a Chimera of *Jure-Divino*-Monarchy, and bubble 'em with a false Opinion of a *certain Lineal* Succession, which was never, nor ever can be made out.

The same would scare you by telling of the Sacredness of your Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* ; when the Character which was the Object of their Obligation has virtually, and as much as in him lies, been thrown up by the Person who bore it.

Some of these are Men of a Character to be reverenc'd ; but they are afraid of some Abridgment of Power, Wealth, and Ease, if the general Good be nicely attended to in the present Reformation. There have been such *scrupulous* Consciences as these in the World before, when a Gnat came in their Way.

On the other Side are wicked Men, who are equally to be detested and avoided.

Such as, perhaps having been Sufferers mostly in a private Capacity, make use of their Authority and Interest at this Time to foment Parties, and to animate the Dissenters against the Church of *England*.

Such as these are, those who being set by their Country in any high Character, make it their Business to rip up old Sores, and instead of helping on the healing Designs of our true Patriots, confound the public Consultations with Pursuits after private Piques and unnecessary Resentments.

These mix Perplexities and Delays in our most needful Counsels ; and tell a Tale of a House of Office at *Billingsgate*, while a Nation may be lost.

Of these, and of those, my good Country-Man, have a care. They are Enemies to thy Peace.

A Memorial from the *English* Protestants, for their Highnesses the PRINCE and PRINCESS of ORANGE.

IT cannot be unknown to Your Highness, that the *Protestants of England*, that are Faithful to the Principles and Doctrines of their Religion, and to the just, established, legal Government, are in divers Kinds most intolerably vexed and oppressed by the *Popish* Contrivances and Practices, covered with the Pretences and Name of Authority.

That (*) Illegal Things are daily imposed upon them, in their several Stations and Places, which they are convinc'd in their Consciences, can never be

(*) The Instances thereof are too many to be recited; but some thereof are these, viz.

1. Most of the *Protestants* are pressed to declare for a Repeal of all the Laws made for the Reformation of our Religion and its Settlement.

2. All the *Subjects* are forced to submit to Serve and Obey those that are no *lawful Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Lords Lieutenants*, and other Commanders; and all are Threatned, Vexed and Prosecuted (as the Lord *Lovelace* now is) that dare but say that such have no *lawful Authority*.

3. All the *Subjects* are commanded to suffer all the Actions and Offences of their Lives, and the Secrets of their Hearts to be searched into, and their chief Interests and many of their Free-holds to be judged by the Discretion of a few of the King's Creatures, called, his *Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs*, whose *Commission* is, to proceed without and against the Rules of our Laws, with a *non obstante* to all other Laws, and every Man is required to assist their *Arbitrary Powers* on Peril of their Censures, which extend to Imprisonment for Life.

4. All our *Ministers* are required under grievous menaced Penalties, to be the King's Cryers, to proclaim in the Churches the King's Power to suspend at once the Force and Use of all our Penal Laws made in 400 Years past to secure the Rights of the Crown, the Freedoms and Properties of the Realm, and the Profession of the *Protestant Religion*.

5. All the *Protestants* are forced, by fear of the King's Wrath, to suffer the Rights of the Crown, and the Freedom of the Realm, against *Foreign Powers* and Laws, to be publicly denied, and the Force of Foreign Laws over them to be maintained; they are enjoined by the King to neglect their sworn Duties to God, to the Crown and Kingdom, of prosecuting at Law those Treasons, which they know and see to be daily committed; for which no Excuse can be made, by pretence of Liberty of Conscience in *Christ's Religion*.

6. The *Constables*, and other Officers throughout the Realm are forced to quarter *Irish* and *Scots*, and other mercenary Soldiers in their Neighbours Houses, against their Wills, in Contempt of the Ancient Laws, and the express Words of the late Statutes.

7. All the Gentlemen and Free-holders are pressed to renounce their native and legal Freedoms in their Choice of Members for Parliament.

8. The Freemen of the Cities and Towns are urged to yield up to the King's Will the Tenure of their Magistracies, and all their free Customs and Privileges.

9. All the People are forced, by fear of Punishments, to suffer a Child to be declared *Heir apparent* of the Crown, which ought not by the known Laws of the Kingdom to have been acknowledged, until lawful Witnesses of his Birth of the Queen had been duly published to the Kingdom, as was necessary in this Case, wherein publick Fame makes him a Counterfeit. Yet to their Shame and Grief, the People are forced

be justified unto God or the Kingdom, and yet they are pressed upon them (without regard to their Consciences) by Loss of their Offices and Employments, and many other threatned Effects of the King's Displeasure.

That many of their legal Liberties, Benefits, and Means of Subsistence in their Churches and Colleges, are taken from them by meer Will and Pleasure, (a) and *Processes* and *Prosecutions* by arbitrary Commissioners (b) are threatned and begun against great Numbers of them without their Guilt of the least Offence or Transgression against any of the Laws of this Realm.

That they are debarred and spoiled of the due free (c) Election of their *Magistrates* and *Officers* in their *Cities* and *Towns*, and *pretended Officers* and *Magistrates* are imposed upon them and turned out and put in at the King's *absolute Will*, as they are found ready to comply with, and serve the *Popish* Design either ignorantly or corruptly.

That several of the Bodies Politick of their *Cities* and *Towns* are declared to be dissolved at the King's *Pleasure* (to terrify and subjugate the Minds of all the rest) and the *Citizens* and *Burgesses* are thereby *disfranchised*, (d) and *divested* of all their good *Customs*, *Freedoms* and *Privileges*, if they cannot in

forced to seem in their *publick Prayers* to present him to God as their *Prince*, and dare not ask who are the Witnesses of his Birth.

10. Many of their *Juries* are pressed to find their Neighbours Criminals, though in their Consciences they think them innocent; as is notorious (amongst many other Instances) in the Case of those that made innocent Expressions of their Joy for the Justice that was done to the *Seven Bishops*: and many are forced to submit to be tried in Matters about the Loss of their Estates, by Fines; and their Lives also, by Juries returned, by secret Contrivances and Nominations, contrary to the Direction of our Laws, being neither of the most sufficient nor most indifferent of the nearest Neighbours to the Facts in question, nor by *Sheriffs* sworn as the Laws require, whereby the Course of the Kingdom's Justice is perverted, and the legal Government subverted.

All these Instances are too well known to be denied by our Adversaries.

(a) *Viz.* The Case of the Lord Bishop of London suspended. Of Doctor *Peachel*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, and Master of *Pembroke-Hall*, deprived. Of Doctor *Hough*, and 26 Fellows of *Magdalen*-

College, Oxford, besides the *Demyes* outed from their Free-hold and Livelihood, and decreed incapable of any other Preferment, only for keeping to the Law, the Statute of their *College* and *Oaths*. The Suspension of near 200 *Ministers* in the County of *Durham*, for refusing to read to their People the King's Declaration for dispensing with our Laws, &c.

(b) *Viz.* The Summons of the Commissioners for *Ecclesiastical Affairs* to the *Chancellors*, *Commissionaries* and *Archdeacons* of the *Diocese*, of most of the *Bishops* to return the Names of all the *Ministers* that did not read the King's Declaration, wherein they transgressed no Law *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*.

(c) The *City of London*, and all the *Cities* and *Towns* Corporate of the Kingdom are sad Instances of this, the King alone setting up whom he pleases to have the Names, and use the Powers of their formerly chosen *Magistrates*.

(d) So the King hath done to the ancient *Cities* of *Oxford*, *Winchester*, and the *Borough* of *Totness*, now threatens to do the same to the great *City* of *Norwich*, or something tantamount, whereby he assumes to dispose of the Subjects legal Interests at his Will, as if the Subjects had no Property.

Conscience

Conscience comply with illegal Commands, and will not treacherously surrender their legal Rights and Privileges unto the *King's Will*.

That the legal Securities provided by the King's and Kingdom in Parliament against the Dangers of their Religion and Liberties, are by the *King's absolute Command* thrown aside, and made (e) useless, by pretence of his *Power to dispense* with those penal Laws notwithstanding the Subjects Right in them, for the Protection and Safety of their Religion, Liberties, and Lives, whereby the very Foundation of all the Subjects Rights and Properties is undermined and shaken, and a *new Claim* is set up and maintained, that the Subjects have no Right, Property or Security, against the *Will and Pleasure* of their King's.

That by Colour of such a *dispensing Power*, the Trust of the Kingdom's Defence and Safety by military Powers, are put into such Hands as are made (f) incapable of them by many express Laws of the King's and Kingdoms in Parliament, which justly give the *Protestants* sad Apprehensions of imminent Dangers, seeing themselves put into the Power of those that publicly professes to be in *Union and Communion* with the *Church of Rome*, that openly declare themselves to be the mortal Enemies to all *Protestants*, and that they are bound, upon Peril of their Salvation, to seek their Destruction, if they shall continue constant to the *Protestant Profession*.

That contrary to the express Laws of the (g) Realm lately declared in Parliament, an *Army of Papists and Mercenaries* is maintained, and dispersed through the Kingdom in full Peace, to the great *Disquiet and Terror* of the *Protestants*, and they are in divers Ways constrained to receive these Soldiers into their Houses, to sojourn there against their Wills, whereby they are deprived of their Peace and Security in their Families, and of their Converse with their Neighbours and Friends, and of the Advantages they might make in their Ways of Living.

That the *King* hath barred and *forbidden* the Execution of the *ancient Laws of the Realm*, against divers Sorts of Treasons, and other most heinous Crimes; and all the Statutes now known to have been made from Age to Age for 500 Years past, in relation to the *Popes and Romish Priests* (h) Powers and Practices

(e) The late Statutes of 25 and 30 of *Car. II.* were made expressly for the *Protestants* Security; so were those of 5 *Eliz. I.* 13 *Eliz. 2.* 23 *Eliz. I.* 27 *Eliz. 2.* 1 *Jac. 5 Jac. I.* and the Stat. 25 *Hen. VIII.* 19, 20, 21. and many ancient Stat. of *Ed. I. Ed. II. Ed. III. Rich. II.* and many other Kings, were made to secure the People from the Apprehensions of the *Church of Rome*; and the King hath declared that none of them shall at any time hereafter be put in Execution.

(f) 'Tis known all the *professed Papists* are by the Stat. of *Eliz. Jac. I. and Car. II.*

made incapable of holding any Trust or Powers in the Kingdom, and that the King hath placed the most of them in their Hands.

(g) See the *Pet. of Right 3. Cart.* and the late Statutes *Car. II.* that declare the dispersing of Soldiers into the Country, and the quartering them in the Subjects Houses, to be against the *Laws and Customs* of the *Realm*; and 'tis demanded and enacted as the People's Right, that they shall never be so burdened by Soldiers.

(h) See the *King's Declaration* for Liberty of Conscience, that suspends the Execution

tices are suspended; tho' the Experience of the Papists in all those Ages shewed those Precepts and Practices to be so mischievous and dangerous, that they often complained in Parliament, they feared the (i) Destruction of the Kingdom by them.

His Majesty also so controuls the Courts of Law in the Courts wherein Justice ought to be *administred*, that the Judges (tho' they have highly served the *Popish* Designs,) are turned out of their Places, Honours and Pensions, if they dare but suffer the Laws justly to acquit those whom the King would have condemned, as appears (amongst divers Instances) by his late displacing Judge *Holloway* and Judge *Powell*, upon the legal Acquittal of the *seven Bishops*.

We need not shew to your Highness more particular Instances of our Oppression, since 'tis notorious, that there is a publick Attempt authorized by the King to subvert the very Foundation of the whole *Civil legal Government* of the Kingdom, that is, the Peoples *free Election* (in the customary established Course by *Counties, Cities, and Boroughs*,) of their Deputies to act and consent for them in Parliament unto all Laws to be made and repealed.

The truly noble Monarchy was founded on equal Freedom; and the *Civil Government* of England, was always of right truly free, (k) because no Laws or Authorities ever bound the Persons and Properties of the Kingdom save only these, wherein the Kings and all the Subjects freely agreed, every Subject's free (l) Consent being deemed by our Laws to be given personally, as by his Deputies to the Enacting and Repealing of every Law.

Therefore the Statutes of old in Affirmance of the common Custom of England, declared that Elections should be free (m) from all Interruptions and Interpositions by the King or the Pope, and the Kings have bound themselves by the Statutes, no way to disturb any *Electors* in making their free Elections.

No Commands, Promises, or Threats, no Prayers nor Solicitations ought to be made unto the *Electors* by the King or Pope, or any others: The Peoples Deputies (say the Laws) are to be chosen Freely, and Indifferently, without Pre-ingagement of the *Electors*, or fear of displeasing the King, and without Promises of Favour or Rewards to them. They are to be indifferent at the Time and Place of Election, and in such manner to proceed, notwithstanding any Request or Command to the contrary, otherwise the Elections are void and null.

cution of all the Penal Laws whatsoever in Matters *Ecclesiastical*, those that make it Treason to maintain the *Pope's Powers* and *Canons* to be above our Laws, or to take his Dispensations of Obedience to them.

(i) See the Statutes 35 *Edw. I.* 25 *Ed. III.* 27 *Ed. III.* 16 *Rich. II.* 5.

(k) See 24 *Hen. VIII.* 12. 25 *Hen. 21.* 'Tis declared that the Realm is free and subject to no Laws but by their own Consent; and that the King and Parliament,

representing the whole State of the Realm, have the Power to dispense with the Laws as they shall see Occasion.

(l) See the Statutes 1 *Jac. I.* 1.

(m) See Stat. *Westm. I.* 3 *Ed. 7.* The common Law is there declared, and the King bindeth himself not to disturb any *Electors* to make free Elections. See *Car. II. Parl.* See 7 *Hen. IV.* 15. 6 *Hen. VI.* 4. 9 *Hen. IV.* 8.

But

But we are not able to number the various kinds of Attempts and Practices to overturn this Foundation of our Government.

There have been infinite Endeavours and Artifices openly used, to destroy the *Customs, Privileges, Charters* and *Governments* of all the *Cities* and *Boroughs*, by whom four Parts in five of the *Members* of the *Commons in Parliament* are to be chosen by the Custom of *England*; and to bring all these *Bodies Politick*, and all their *Magistrates* and *Officers* to be dependant on the *King's Will*, and to be obliged as His Creatures (not the *Cities* and *Towns* Trustees) to serve His *Popish* and *Arbitrary* Designs, or to be turned out of their Places at His Pleasure, and such as are either *Papists*, or more *Ignorant* and *Corrupt* put into their Places.

'Tis known to all, that for this Purpose, to destroy our *Government* under Colour of Law, there have been causeless *Writs* of *Quo Warranto* brought by the *King* against most of the *Cities* and *Boroughs* of the Kingdom, those were seconded by Instruments appointed to terrify the *Magistrates* of the *Cities* and *Towns* with the *King's* severe Displeasure, if they dared to insist upon their legal Right and contest with the *King* at Law, to fright them with the intolerable Charge, that their legal Defence would cost them more then they could bear, and boldly affirming that they could not hope to maintain their *Customs, Privileges* and *Charters* against the *King*, since he was resolved to have them at His Command; then they tempted them with Promises of new *Charters*, if they would comply and surrender their old *Liberties* into the *King's Hands*, and pretended that the Names of all that refused it must be returned to the *King's Attorney General*.

'Tis no less known, that *Judges* were prepared to damn the Pleas of all such *Cities* and *Towns* as would stand upon their Right, and plead to the *Quo Warranto* as the *Magistrates* of *London* resolved to do; their *Common Council* refusing to surrender their *Liberties*, notwithstanding all Commands, Terrors and Intreaties that were used to them; they knew it was not in their Power to betray their *City*, nor in the *King's* Power to receive unto himself these *Customs, Powers* and *Privileges*, which the *Great Charter* and the *Common Law* had given them. But such *Judges* as would not judge that ancient Body politick (that had holden their *Customs* above 1000 Years) to be dissolved, were turned out; and all the *Freedoms* and *Principles* due to the *Citizens* and their *Heirs*, and to the *City* and their *Successors*, were declared by the *Judges* to be forfeited; his now *Majesty's* Instruments thereby preparing his Way (under the Shadow of the *late King*) to destroy the *Government* of all other *Cities* and *Towns*, by frightening them into Surrenders, or making a *President* for Judgment against them; and it hath taken such Effect, that the Term of almost all those *Bodies Politick* is illegally changed, and the *Cities* and *Towns* brought to such a forlorn Estate, that they have no *Magistrates* or *Officers* but at the *King's Will*, and during his Pleasure.

As there is an actual Subversion of the Freedom of the *Government* of the *Cities* and *Towns*, the Tenure of their *Magistrates*, and their free *Customs* being utterly destroyed, and those that now exercise the *Magistracies* therein being incapable to chuse freely, and indifferently, and to return legally Mem-
bers

bers for *Parliament*, so there are continual Attempts upon the personal Freedom and Indifferency of all the *Electors* for *Parliaments* throughout the *Kingdom*.

His Majesty has personally solicited, and attached so many of them by His Smiles and Frowns in secret, to accept of such for their Deputies in *Parliament* as will comply with His Designs, that His *Closeting* (n) *Electors*, is become a *By-word* amongst the People: He has made them consent to be barr'd of their Freedom in Electing for *Parliament*, and in Voting therein, if they be chosen to be a *Test* of their *Fitness* to hold their *Offices* and *Employments* of Profit and Trust, and to have Place in the *Magistracy*.

The three Questions to that Purpose, are known to all, which his Majesty's *Ministers* required to be answered by the *Justices* of the *Peace* and all other *Officers*.

The *Lord Lieutenants* of all the *Counties* by the King's special Command, have summoned the chief *Officers* and *Gentlemen* in his Majesty's Name, to flatter or terrify them out of the Use of their Freedom in Electing for *Parliament*; and Marks of the King's *Displeasure* have been put upon those that resolved to keep their Freedom, and Indifferency, to elect worthy and fit Deputies according to their *Judgments* and *Consciences*.

An unheard of Sort of Commissioners as to their Qualities and Instructions, are lately sent from his Majesty throughout *England*, to delude or affright the *Electors* into a Choice of such Members for a Convention (to be called a *Parliament*) as will ingage to serve his Designs of abolishing all those *ancient Laws* and *Tests* that are the only human Securities of the free Profession of our *Religion*, and the clearest *authoritative Declarations* of the *Rights* of the *Crown* and the *Liberties* of the People.

There need not be plainer Proofs, that the Ax is lay'd to the Root of our *Civil Government*, as the most certain Way to introduce the *Laws* and *Religion* of *Rome*. Yet to convince the whole World in this Matter: His Majesty has published a *second* (o) *Declaration*, wherein He has positively declared his Mind, that none ought to be employed under Him in the *Kingdom*, who will not contribute to these his Designs, and chuse such *Members* of *Parliament* as may do their Part to finish what He has begun. He has pronounced all that shall refuse it, to be neither *good Christians* nor *Lovers* of their *Country's Wealth* and *Power*; and He declares, that He has begun his intended Form of *Government* suitable to those Principles, having turned out by his *absolute Will* many *Civil* and *Military Officers* throughout the *Kingdom* in pursuance of this great Work.

This puts it out of Dispute, that his Majesty thinks He ought not to suffer any *free Election* for *Parliament*, whilst there are such Numbers of *faithful Protestants* to contest for the *Elections*, who cannot in Conscience contribute to the Work He has begun; That is, upon Pretence of *Liberty of Conscience* to

(n) Note, that the King's Practice of *Closeting* Members of *Parliament*, was the same as it's now for *Electors*.

(o) See the King's Second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, April 27, 1688.

allow his *Majesty* to surrender unto the *Pope* the *Rights* and *Freedom* of the *Crown* and the *Kingdom*, or to acknowledge, that the *People of England* ought by the *Laws of God* and *CHRIST* to be subjected to the *Church of Rome's* *Laws* and *Jurisdictions* in their *Person*, and great Part of their *Estates*. That the *Pope* and his *Priests* and *Canonists* should Judge them by their *Canons*, in the *Lawfulness* of their *Marriages* and *Contracts*, and legitimate or bastard their *Heirs* as they please; that the *Disposal* of their *Goods* and *Chattles* by their *Last Wills*, their *Debts* about *Tythes*, and their *good Names* and *Bodies* on *Pre- tence of Penances*, should be in their *Power* and *Will*.

This is the *Work begun* by his *Majesty*, which dishonours and debases the *English Imperial Crown*, and subverts the native *Freedom* and the civil *Pro- perties* and *Interests of English Men*.

Those are the proper *Matters* and *Occasions* of most of our *penal Laws* in *Matters Ecclesiastical*, to prevent the *Fraud* and *Danger of holy Pretences* for such *unrighteous Attempts* against our natural and civil *Properties*.

Our *penal Laws* are to punish *Offences* against the *Civil Government* and human *Society*, tho' they be about *Matters Ecclesiastical*, the *Subjects of England* cannot pretend to be exempted from them, because of their *Con- sciences*, any otherwise than they may wickedly claim to be free from the *penal Laws* against *Felonies* and *Murders*, if they shall plead that they robbed or killed according to their *Consciences*.

His *Majesty's* avowed *Intent* and *Endeavours* are to free the *Emissaries* of *Rome's Priests* and *Papists* from the *Punishments* and *Dangers* of those our *penal Laws*, against such manifest *Attempts*, upon the *Freedom*, *Rights*, and *Properties* of the *Realm*, that his new erected *Popish Colleges*, His *Convents* of *Monks*, His four *provincial Bishops*, and His numerous *Priests*, may be authorized by Him without *Force of Laws*, to maintain the *Church of Rome's Canons* to be of greater *Authority* than the *Laws* of the *Realm*, to declare all the *Power of Magistracy* in *Protestants* *Hands* to be unlawful, and all *Right* and *Title* to their *Estates* forfeited to the *Papists*, by their being *Protestants*, to own and justify *Dispensations* from *Rome*, with their *Obedience* to all such *Laws* of the *Realm*, as the *Pope* and his *Priests* dislike, and professedly to hold *Communion* with the *Church of Rome*, the *French King*, and all *Foreign Papists*, that declare themselves mortal *Enemies* to the *Religion* and *Power* of the *Protestants*, to contrive with them the *Suppression* or *Extirpation* of them out of the *Realm*.

This *Work*, his *Majesty* hath so far begun, that he hath suspended and stopped the *Execution* of the *penal Laws* against all these *high Crimes*, some whereof the ancient *Papists* of this *Kingdom* made *Capital*; and he declares all such *Protestants* as will not help to finish it, not to be qualified as *Christians* or *Englishmen* for any *Employment* in the *Kingdom*, and therefore least of all to be *Members* of *Parliament*. Hereby his *Majesty* attempts to confine the *Electors* in their *Choice* to so small a *Party*, that he allows them not the *Choice* of one of forty whom our *Laws* make capable of being elected for *Parliament*, the *Number* is so small (*professed Papists* excepted,) out of which his *Will* is to have *Members* of *Parliament* chosen, that our *Laws* will judge it no *Choice* if

if he can impose his Will upon the *Kingdom*, as he hath declared it.

Hereby *your Highnesses* may be satisfied, that our Case is deplorable, it seems not sufficient for our *Popish Enemies*, to seek the Abolition of all our ancient *Penal Laws*, that are not agreeable to those new invented Doctrines, and pernicious Practices of the present *Church of Rome*, which the *Penal Statutes* shew, to have been abhorred by our ancient *English (p) Papists*, but their Design is to destroy the Constitution and Form of the free Government of the Kingdom, from whence arose all those *Penal Laws* against their *Churches*, *proud Domination*, and their Usurpation of the Rights of the *Crown*, and the whole Realm.

They know by our Histories and Records, that the free Parliament always made the Complaints from Age to Age, against their pernicious Claims of Power over our *Kings*, our *Laws*, our *Courts of Judicature*, and their Judgments; and against their *Exactions*, *Impositions*, *Frauds* and *Delusions* of the People, with their *superstitious Folly*, whereby they gained a *(q)* third of the Revenues of *England*, and drew so much Money to *Rome*, that they impoverished, and almost ruined the *Kingdom*.

They are sensible, that they have been able to enslave to the *Pope* and *Priests* several of the greatest *English Kings*, that they could prevail with the *King* for *Licences* and *Pardons* to them to transgress the Laws that the Parliament made, to preserve the Subjects Rights and Properties, and that the Parliament only caused new *Laws* to be made for declaring such *(r)* *Licences*, *Dispensations*, and *Pardons* of the *King* void and null.

They know that they have persuaded several of the *Kings*, that *the Pope* could absolve their Conscience from all Obligation by the Laws, and from *Agreements*, *Promises*, and *Oaths* to their Kingdom, *(s)* to maintain their great *Charters*, and all their *Laws* and *Liberties*; and that they prevailed upon one of them, to resign the *(t)* Kingdom intirely to the *Pope*, and to hold it of him by Rent; and they understand, that the *People*, in free Parliament only, made and declared all such *Dispensations* and *Resignations* void and null, and justly required those *Kings* to *renew* their *Oaths* to the Kingdom, to preserve their Liberties; and scorned, (with Indignation,) the *Pope's* Demands *(v)* of his pretended Rent for the *Kingdom*, declaring, that their *Kings* had no such patrimonial Right in the Kingdom, to subject it to any Powers on Earth.

They cannot hope, that a freely chosen Representative of this Kingdom can suffer such a Delusion to be put upon them, to be persuaded, that due Christian Liberty of Conscience requires them either to allow the foreign *Romish Laws* or *Canons* to contest for Power and Place with the *Laws* of *England*, or to suf-

(p) See the grievous Complaints of the Commons, in 25 *Ed. III.* 4. Provisos, and 6 *Rich. II.* 5. 27 *Ed. III.*

(q) See Parliament Roll 4 *Hen. IV.* 1 *Hen. V.*

(r) See the Statutes 3 *Hen. V.* Statutes 4. 7. *Hen. IV.* 8.

(s) So the *Pope* absolved *Hen. III.*

and *Ed. I.* from their Oath to keep the great Charter.

(t) King *John* made.

(v) See the Roll Part. 40. *Ed. III.* Num. 8. Rot. Claus. 3 *Ed. I.* calls King *John's Charter*, and granted to the *Pope* a most unjust and forceless Charter; since burnt.

fer any of the Subjects of *England* openly to profess themselves, their *Persons*, *Marriages*, or *Estates*, to be subject to any Foreigner's Jurisdiction; and to depend on their Authority, Offices, and Sanctions, and the Exercise of them, for their eternal Salvation, (which is, in Truth, to renounce their Subjection to *England*) or to own and avow to have the nearest Union and Communion with Foreigners, that openly profess themselves mortal Enemies to more than a Hundred to one of the whole Realm, and to be bound in Conscience to seek their Suppression or Destruction.

They cannot think, that a free *English* Parliament should not always know, that no Doctrines of Jesus Christ ever destroyed or changed the *Natural* and *Civil* Right of any Person or Nation; or allowed, that any Part of the People of a free Country should correspond with, or depend upon the declared Enemy of the far greatest Part of it; they have therefore resolved to overturn the very Foundation of our *Civil Government*, the Peoples *free Choice* of their *Deputies* for *Parliament*, that there may never be a free *Parliament* more in the *Kingdom*, which is a *Plot* much worse than their *Gun powder Treason*.

It seems they think it safest as yet, to keep a Shadow of Elections for their intended Convention, by forming *Bodies politic* of Cities and Towns, to name or return whom the *King* pleases, and by the specious Name of *Liberty* of *Conscience*, with Promises of Favour, and Threats of Displeasure, to deceive or affright the other Electors, to accept of those for their Deputies that the *King* shall offer; but if this Attempt upon the prime Fundamental of our whole *Civil Government* shall be suffered, the *King* may hereafter, with as much Justice, Law and Reason, call whom he pleaseth, from any Parts of the *Kingdom*, to consult with, and in the Name, and under Pretence of their Advice, change our Laws and Customs, impose Taxes, and alter at his Pleasure, the *(w)* *Succession of the Crown*.

We must with Sorrow shew your Highness, that they have so far prosecuted this their Design against our Government, that they have rendered it impossible to have a *legal free Parliament* elected and returned, in the present State of the Cities and Boroughs, the Sheriffs and Officers, and the Condition of the Electors, great Numbers of them are quite barred of their Freedom and Indifferency to elect, which our Law requires, by the declared Displeasure of the *King*, and the threatned and certain Loss of their Offices and Employments and Benefits, if they accept not of such for their Trustees, as have unworthily resolved or promised to *vote against our established Laws*, as the *King* will have them, without hearing the Reasons about them by the *Kingdom* in *Parliament*; and as we believe, without knowing the Intent and Purpose of the Laws, they promise to abrogate.

'Tis not now practicable, to have the *legal free Consent of the Kingdom*, unto the making or repealing of any Laws, (without which they cannot be obligatory,) until there be a just Restoration of the Customs and Liberties of the

(w) Note, That *Cromwell* took upon him such a Power, to send for Men by his Letters, without *Election*, and called them a *Parliament*, and made Acts, and intended to have changed the *Succession* of the *Crown* to his own Family, if those his Creatures could have agreed with him.

Cities and Boroughs, which have been illegally and treacherously surrendered, or unduly wrested from them, and legal Magistrates shall be duly chosen, to execute Writs for Elections, and make Returns, until there be a Revocation of the King's terrifying *Declaration* of the Unfitness for *Parliament*, and publick Employment of all that will not help to finish his great Work begun, of destroying all our *Penal Laws*, for preventing the *Popish Practices* against the *Rights of the Crown*, and the Realm.

Nor, until there be an absolute Renunciation of all the Promises, Engagements and Subscriptions of the Electors of Parliament taken by his Majesty's Orders, and Ministers to restrain their Freedom and Indifferency in their Elections. Thus the Cunning and Malice of our Popish Adversaries have cut off all our legal Means of Relief by the free Common Councils of the Kingdom, whilst they lay close Siege to take our Bodies and Souls Captive.

We need not remember your Highnesses, that these Attempts and Endeavours to subvert our Liberty in our Religion and Government, is a Part of that general Design, that was formed and concluded on many Years since, in the most secret Councils of the *Popish Princes*, chiefly managed by the Jesuits, to root out of all *Europe* the Profession of the Protestant reformed Religion, and the Peoples Liberties.

We will not mention the notorious actual Prosecutions of that Popish Resolution, in several Kingdoms and (x) Dominions, nor the treacherous Falseness of those Princes in their Treaties, Agreements and Oaths, nor the Oppressions, Bloodshed, and all Kinds of Unrighteousness that have been practised by them, in order to that general great Design.

The Instance alone of the *French King* is enough to be named instead of all, because he hath owned and published to the whole World his Part in that Design, and by comparing the Violences, Banishments, and Murders done upon the *Protestants* at the same Time, by other *Popish Princes*, (as they were able) with his publick Confessions of his long laid Design, we may make a true Judgment of the whole.

The *French King*, by his Edict (y) of 1685, hath declared, that *he entred into that Design from his coming to the Crown*; and it appears by the Edict (z) then prepared, and agreed by his Council of Conscience, that all his renewed Edicts in the *Protestants* Favour, his acknowledging and registering in Parliament their great Services for him, and his Advancement of many of them to the highest Dignities Military and Civil in his Kingdom, were done to flatter and deceive them; he calls God to be Witness of his Designs and Resolutions at that Time, to abolish their Religion by Degrees, and that he

(x) That is in *France*, the Dukedom of *Savoy*, the Kingdom of *Poland*, and many others.

(y) That Edict of 1685 is worthy to be read by every true *Protestant*.

(z) 'Tis fit to see in that Edict pre-

pared as it's published the Opinion they have of *Protestants*. That they are deemed incapable of having any Right to claim the Benefit of the Treaties, *Promises* or *Oaths* made to them by the *Papists*.

only attended his fit Opportunity for that great Work, as 'tis called by our King, and by that Edict.

In that Interim of his seeming Kindness to the *Protestants*, and solemn Professions to them and some of the *Protestant Princes*, for their observing faithfully the Law and Edict of *Nantz*, that was like the *French* Protestants great Charter, there were all possible secret Contrivances and Practices to prepare for that great Work, especially in *England*, that hath long been the Head of the reformed Religion, and the chief Terror of the *French King* and the *Popish World*; he shewed his Fear of the People of *England*, when he barbarously banished his now Majesty, and the late King in their Distress, rather than displease *Cromwell*,; he therefore applied his principal Councils and Endeavours to distract and weaken the *Protestants* of *England*, and to persuade and assist the late King covertly to increase and strengthen the *Popish Party*; for that End, his dearest Confessor the *Jesuite le Chaiz* was ordered to correspond with Mr. *Coleman*, that was then Secretary to his now Majesty, and the (a) Letters confessed by him before Thousands, shewed, that the Matter proposed was, *to root out of the World the Protestant Religion*, under the Name of the Northern Heresy; and ten Times more of the Particulars of that wretched Design had appeared, if all Mr. *Coleman's* latest Letters for two Years and a Half, that were brought to *Whitehall*, and many culled out of the rest, had not been there suppressed, and kept from the Sight of the Parliament; yet Mr. *Coleman* on his Tryal confidently avowed, before all the People, that Design of *Subverting the Protestant Religion*, and that he was only a subordinate Minister in it.

It appears by those Letters, that the *French King's* Money was to manage that Work, and the Letters brought into Parliament by the now Lord *Mountague*, acknowledged by the late King, to be written by his Order, prove to the World, that the late King was content to become the *French King's* Pensioner, for five Hundred Thousand Pound per Annum, to keep off the Meeting of Parliaments. We had then discovered the *Increase of Popery*, and the *Danger of the Protestant Religion*; and had thereupon formed the *Parliament's Test*, and were preparing other Laws for Security against the *Popish* Designs.

It hath also been manifest to the World, that all Kind of Devices and Artifices that the *Jesuits* Councils could invent, were, about the same Years, used to pervert the Faith and Religion of the *United Provinces*, or to betray them into the *French King's* Power, or at least a Dependance upon him.

'Tis now notorious to the World, that an Agreement was made between the *French King* and his late Majesty of *England*, to subdue and divide those *Provinces*, that they might no more be either a Support, or Refuge for the *Protestants*. We crave Pardon for our Boldness, that we humbly appeal to your *Highbness*, whether your Integrity and Constancy in the *Protestant Religion*, and your Fidelity to your Country's Freedom, were not, about those Years, vainly attack'd by those two Kings, or at least by one of them; and whether the Piety, Generosity, and brave Scorn and Indignation expressed at their

(a) See in *Coleman's* Letters in Print, published by the Parliament's Command.

Proposals, did not fix an Enmity in their Hearts against you, the Effects whereof you have suffered ever since.

The World hath also seen the Effects of the *French King's* Prosecution of the same Design, to take away the Support of the *Protestant Interest*, by his Pensions to the chief Men of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and to such as he could prevail with in the Court of *Brandenburg*, and all other Princes Courts that adhere to the *Protestant Interest*.

Yet the Chief of his Expence was upon our late King, and his Ministers and Counsellors, who concurred in all the secret Practices and Contrivances to weaken the Power of the *Protestants*, and to suffer the Greatness, Glory and Terror of the *French King* to be advanced; but he durst never openly and avowedly join with him in the great Work against the *Protestant Religion*, for Fear of his *Protestant Subjects*, he having deluded them, with so many solemn Protestations, of his Faithfulness to their Religion, and their Liberty.

The *French King* found, by Experience, that the *Parliaments* had prevailed with our King, to break all the Measures that they had taken together, for the Destruction of the *United Provinces*, by obliging him to a separate Peace with them, which had forced him to let fall his then spreading Plumes, and in crafty Ways, to seek and solicit a Truce; and therefore he durst not, during our King's Life, put in Execution his great Work, that he declares had been so long in his Heart, that by Torments, Murders, and all Sorts of barbarous Cruelties, to oppress the Professors and Profession of the *Reformed Religion*, and intirely to raze and expunge the Memory of it, as his Edicts and his Practices now declare to be his Intentions.

The *French King* durst not throw off his Disguise, and shew himself to be like a raving Wolf to his *Protestant Subjects*, until our now King had publickly espoused the *Popish Design*, which he had, together with him, long prosecuted in the Dark, and until he had begun to invade the *Protestants Liberties*, and Securities, his putting the *Military Powers* into *Popish Hands*, and to demand the *Parliament's* Consent to a Law, (which they refused) to authorize him, to make his *Papists* the *Guardians* of the *Protestant Religion and Lives*.

The *French King* then knew, that the People of *England* were in no Capacity to interpose in Behalf of his *Protestant Subjects*, however he should destroy them; and as his Edict says, being by the Truce without Fear of Disturbance, he intirely applied himself to the great Design; he sent his *Dragoons* to destroy the poor *Protestants* Goods, and to torment their Bodies with more Cruelty and Inhumanity than ever was practised since the Creation; he resolved, for his Glory, (as his Clergy told him) *to shew himself the first and most illustrious of the Church's Children, and the Extirpator of the Protestant Heresy*, which they told him, was a more solid and immortal Title than he acquired by all his Triumphs.

He then presented that Work of Extirpation, as *Saul* did to strange Countries, breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter; he sent to the Duke of *Savoy*, and as that Court complains, persuaded and frightened that Prince into a most unchristian and bloody Decree, to compel the most ancient *Protestants* in

in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, to turn *Papists* forthwith ; and they being faithful to their Religion, that Edict was pursued by the Help of his *Dragoons*, and the harmless *Protestants* tormented and murdered more cruelly than the worst of (b) *Vermine* or *Serpents*, until they were utterly destroyed, and their Country given to the *Papists*. That Court of *Savoy* seems still (c) ashamed of that horrid Wickedness, and says for their Excuse, *That the French King declared he would root out those Protestants by his own Force, and possess the Country, if the Duke would not have assisted therein.*

The Suppression of the *Protestants* of *England*, hath been always esteemed the principal Part of the *Popish* Design, to extirpate the *Protestant Religion*, and therefore all the *Romish* Councils, Policies and Industries, their Conspiracies, Poisoning and Massacres, have been long employed about it, and have perfectly gained our now *King* to serve their Design ; they have united him with the *French King*, that their conjoined Councils, Treasures and Strength, may finish their Work, of bringing *England* to the Obedience of their Church. 'Tis many Ways evident, that both the *Kings* are under the like Conduct, and our *King* proceeds in the same Methods against us, wherein the *French King* hath been successful, to destroy the *Protestants* of his Kingdom. His first Attempt is to subvert our *Civil Government and Laws, and the Freedom and Being of our Parliaments*, just as the *French King* first invaded the supreme legal Authority of *France*, which was vested in the Assembly of *Estates*, from whom alone he now derives his Crown. Our *King*, in Imitation of his Brother of *France*, strives to bring all the Offices and Magistracy of the Kingdom, that were legally of the People's Choice, to be solely and immediately depending on his absolute Will for their Being, whether they arise by our Common Law, or be instituted by Statutes or Charters. He endeavours, by various Artifices, to bring the Disposal of all the Properties and Estates of the People, and their Lives and Liberties, to be at his meer Will, by a Perversion of the instituted Course of our Juries, and by *Judges* and a *Chancellor* fit for that Purpose, and every Moment dependant on his Will ; he seeks to make his *Proclamations and Declarations* to have as much Power over our Laws, as the *French King's* Edicts : And after his Example, he establisheth a mercenary Army, to master and subdue the People to his Will.

If he can prevail in these Things, to overturn the Civil Government, then the Liberty of the *Protestant* Profession and of Conscience in all Forms, however seemingly settled by him, will be precarious, and he may as easily destroy it, as the *French King* hath abolished the irrevocable Edicts, Treaties or Laws of his Kingdom confirmed by his Oath, which were as good Security to those *Protestants*, as any *Magna Charta* that our *King* can make for us, or any Act of a Convention with the Name of a Parliament, which is possible for him to hold, in the State unto which he hath reduced the Kingdom.

Our *King* hath the same *French* Copy, by which he writ, assuring the *Protestants* of Grace and Clemency, giving them Promises of equal Liberty

(b) See the Relation of it printed.

(c) See Dr. *Burnet's* Letter from his personal Enquiry.

of Conscience with his *Papists*, in preferring unto Offices and Employments those whom he resolves to suppress and ruin, preventing the Execution of Laws, and in allowing Liberty of Conscience in some Notions, and the outward Forms of Worship in the Christian Religion, provided always, that they have no Regard or Conscience for the Substance of Christ's Religion in Justice and Righteousness, nor stumble at complying with him, or assisting him, in the highest Crimes against Jesus Christ, by invading the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and assuming a forcible Domination, to oppress whom he please, which is a Subversion of the very Foundation of Justice and Love amongst Men, and by Consequence of the Religion preached and established by Christ.

These Matters of Fact are Self-Evidences, and clearly shew, that our grievous Oppressions by our King are the Effects of the united Councils of the Popish Interest, whereof the *French King* is the Chief. That the Conspiracy against true Religion and Liberty that now appears in *England*, comprizes all the Protestant Princes and States in *Europe*; *England* is only first attacked, as the principal Fortress of the Protestant Profession, if the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* can be reduced into the Pattern of the *French King*, in Government and Religion, and the Strength of them be united against any single Protestant State or Prince they shall think fit to assault, if they can, by Artifices, keep the rest divided, which will not be hard for them, for there is little Hope of any long Defence of such a State.

The *French King* seems not unwilling to have it known, that the Popish Design is general, against all Profession of the Protestant Religion, tho' especially against *England*; he hath allowed the Bishop of *Cosnaet's* Speech to him at *Versailles* in 1685 to be published, who was authorized to be the Mouth of the Clergy of that Kingdom; he magnifies the King for suppressing the *Protestants* of his own Kingdom, and asks what they may not yet expect; *England*, saith he, is just offering to your Majesty one of the most glorious Occasions that you can desire; the *King of England*, by the Need which he will have of Succour, and of the Support of your Arms, to maintain him in the *Catholic Faith*, will make you quickly find Occasion, to give a Protection wholly of your self. We know very well, before the *French Clergy* declared it by that Bishop, that the same Head that contrived the Perversion or Destruction of so many Millions of the Protestants in that Kingdom, designed the Ruin of the *English* Religion and Liberty; but it surprized us, to see that Speech published by the *French King's* Authority, and that our King should suffer the Translation of it to pass freely in *England*, and through the World. We thought it beneath the Majesty of a *King of England*, to be content that his Subjects should be told, that he was to come under the Protection of a *King of France*, over whose Kings, and Kingdom, his Ancestors had so often triumphed; but it seems nothing is to be esteemed inglorious, that may serve the general Popish Design, of extirpating the Protestant Profession.

We need not put your Highness in Mind, that the same Speech acknowledges, that the Popish Councils, and Conspiracy against *England*, intend the like Ruin to the Religion and Freedom of the *United Provinces*; that Bishop

tells the King, that he hath undertook the Conquest of new Countries there to reestablish the Prelacy, the religious Worship, and the Altars; that *Holland* and *Germany* have been the Theatre of his Victories, only that Christ might triumph there, that is, that the Papists might trample upon the Protestants and their Religion; and this he speaks, (as he says,) in the very Spirit of the Church, and signifies their Hopes of Success against the poor Protestants to be unbounded, saying, *What may we not yet Expect.*

We must freely confess, we were too slow to believe this desperate Popish Plot against the whole Protestant Profession, and in our particular Case, we have been deluded, with our King's Promises, to protect and maintain our Religion, our Laws and Government, until we see them all undermined, and the Train laid to blow them up, by a packed Convention of Men pre-engaged, perverted or corrupted to serve the King's Will and Designs, that shall assume the Name of Parliament: We were not utterly insensible of the Danger of our Liberty in our Religion, and our Government, from the Time his now Majesty declared his late Majesty to have been a Papist; but who saw, that by their secret conjoined Councils, they had not been able to prevent the making some Laws to secure the Protestants, by excluding Papists from our Parliaments, and all Offices and Employments; and we hoped, that our King's Life would not be sufficient to overturn by Degrees, (as they had begun to proceed,) the excellent Foundations of our Civil Government, nor to extinguish the clear Light of the Truths of Christ professed in our Religion; and we were assured, that your Highnesses Minds were clearly enlightened in the Doctrines of the Protestant Religion, and adorned and accomplished with all Christian and Royal Virtues fit to possess the highest Throne.

Thereupon we encouraged each other, to suffer with Patience his Majesty's Attempts against our Laws and Liberties, presuming that your Highnesses would ere long be our joyful Deliverers, to the everlasting Confusion of the Popish Designs against our Government and Religion, and to the Vindication of the Innocency of the Protestant Martyrs in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*.

But as your Highnesses were the greatest Objects of our earthly Hopes, so the Thoughts of her Royal Highness's Succession to the Crown, in Conjunction with your Highness's Virtues, and Military Prowess and Magnanimity, were Matters of the greatest Horrour and Dread to all the Popish Councils of *Europe*; they have therefore applied themselves to various Consultations, sometimes it hath been proposed by his Majesty's Power, with a Parliament, by the deluding Names of *Liberty of Conscience*, and a *Magna Charta* therein, to fetter your Highness in your Accession to the Crown, with such Conditions as were obtained in Parliament, in the Cases of Queen *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; which they hoped to strengthen, by his Majesty's putting the Papists into Possession of all the Strength and Authority of the Kingdom, united with all the Power of the *French* King, that your quiet Admission to the Throne might not be possible, unless you should submit unto and depend upon the *Papists*, and the Conditions that they should impose; but they found it of greater Dif-

Difficulty than they at first imagined, to get a Parliament that would join with his Majesty in such a Project against your Highnesses; therefore some of the more cautious *Papists*, of considerable Fortunes, stumbled at the absolute Force of a mercenary Army, and the *French* Power to put a Force upon the *Heirefs* of the *Crown*; they propounded, that his Majesty should rather try the Force of his Paternal Power with her Royal *Highness*, and use all the Arguments of Interest to induce her either to change her Sentiments in her *Religion*, or at least to moderate her Thoughts concerning them, and incline her to concur in their full Liberty.

If such Endeavours should be hopeless, that then your *Highnesses* should be at least prevailed with, to declare your Consents to his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and your Concurrence in his Desires to a *Parliament* for the Repeal of all the *Penal Laws*, in Matters Ecclesiastical and the *Test*.

It was presumed, that your *Highnesses* might have been persuaded, that the *Laws* suspended and dispensed with by his Majesty, were only two or three *Laws* against the *Protestant Dissenters* holding their Conventicles, and some *Laws* made since the Reformation, only to compel *Papists* by great Penalties to come to Church, and to keep their Priests out of the Kingdom; and it was hoped, that your *Highnesses* Compassion to all Christians, and a Tenderness for the Liberty of Consciences, would have moved you, without further Examination, to have complied with his Majesty's Request.

It was believed, your *Highnesses* would never have enquired after the *Penal Laws* in Matters Ecclesiastical, made by the ancient *Papists* many Hundred Years since, against the horrid Invasions by the *Romish* Church, on the Rites of the Crown and Realm, whereby they had impoverished, enslaved, and almost ruined the Kingdom; nor that your *Highnesses* would have understood, that the King hath opened a Return to all those wicked Practices of that *Popish* Church, and that the Repeal of those *Laws* would settle them.

It was supposed, that your *Highnesses* had not known, that the *Penal Laws* in Matters Ecclesiastical contain most of the clearest authoritative Declarations, that are extant in any Records of the Rights of the *English Crown*, of the Form and Constitution of our Government, and of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, the Church of *Rome's* Claims, Usurpation and intolerable Abuses and Oppressions, having put a Necessity upon the Kings and *Parliaments*, to make those Declarations of Law, that are now ancient Evidences of the Inheritances of the Kings and People of inestimable Value.

It was imagined, that your *Highnesses* would not have discerned the Consequences of a general Repeal of the *Penal Laws* in Matters Ecclesiastical, that by enacting only his Majesty's Declaration, (as he propounds there) would be the most absolute and complete Establishment of Popery that the *Romish Church* can wish. All the Canons or *Laws* of the *Church* of *Rome* shall then have greater legal Force in *England*, than they have had in five Hundred Years past; and all her Authorities and Jurisdictions over our Persons and Estates will be in the same Manner legal, by ancient Usage, and

approved by *Parliament*, as ever they were heretofore in *England*, Part of *Magna Charta* it self will be repealed, that makes it *penal* to such as the Priest shall delude to give their Lands to *religious Houses*.

There was such a Confidence of deceiving your Highnesses, and obtaining your Consent to the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, that the Priests spread a Rumour, that you had agreed, and that his Majesty understood you well therein; a false Jesuit had the Impudence to whisper it as a Secret, that their general Design could not miscarry, seeing they were secretly assured, that the *Prince of Orange* would concur in it, when it was seasonable to declare himself.

We were certain of the Falseness of those Rumours, some of us knowing of Applications that were contrived by his Majesty's Order to your Highness in that Matter; and we were much surprized, when a Friend of ours at *Whitehall* told one of us, about the End of *August* last, that the Rumours of your Highnesses concurring with his Majesty were suddenly hushed; and that he heard a Whisper, that it was said with much Anger, that your Highnesses were obstinate in your Errors, and thought to make your selves popular with the Church of *England*, and he would trouble himself no more with you, but you should repent it.

Some few of us, who had often Conferences, concluded, that the King had changed his Measures, but could not imagine what was designed to offer to a *Parliament*, in lieu of a *Protestant* Successor's Consent, to oblige them to repeal the *Penal Laws* desired by his Majesty. It was not long before we heard it muttered, that the Queen was with Child, and then the *Papists* began to triumph, and the Priests gave out boldly, that it would set aside her Royal Highness's Right to the Succession, tho' it were a Daughter; and ignorantly and impudently affirmed, that if the *Queen* had a Daughter born, after the King came to the Crown, it ought to succeed before a Daughter born when he was but a Duke; but none but the *Papists* gave any Credit to the Reports that she was with Child; and the Fable of the Dutches of *Modena's* Request in Heaven or Purgatory, and the Lady of *Loretto's* helping her to conceive a Son, for the Sake of a fine Present, made all but the *Papists* believe it a meer Invention of the Priests, whatever should ensue.

The Story of it shewed it to be of the Linage of the Popish Legends, and was a Matter of Laughter and Derision amongst the People, and a Subject for Poets Lampoons, which were so common, that they were in *Whitehall* it self, and no Doubt they came to the Knowledge of his Majesty, and most of his Court. The more serious Protestants presently apprehended, that a suppositious Son was designed to abate your Highnesses growing Reputation and Power; all the Protestants of *Europe* then justly looking upon her Royal Highness as Heiress apparent to the *English* Crown, and your Highnesses in all Respects to be the fittest Head for the Protestant Interest, against the general Popish Design.

They knew this Device to be necessary, for supporting the Glory and Terror of the *French* King, against the greatning Reputation of your Highnesses, by the Expectancy of the *English* Crown; 'tis known, that he
dreads

dreads your Highnesses Vindication and Recovery of your own Rights, from his manifest Violence and Rapine, and your Patronage of the Protestant Interest in all *Europe*, against his arbitrary and bloody Designs.

He knows, that if her Royal Highness succeeds to the Crown of *England*, he will be quickly incapable of prosecuting his cruel intentions against the Protestants of other Countries; and it may be scarce capable of supporting his Grandeur and Triumph over his miserable Subjects.

The very Expectation for eight or nine Months, that the Queen might bring forth a Son, was greatly for the Popish Advantage; if the Trick should have failed in the Issue, by any unlucky Accident, it made a Stand for a Time of the Protestants of all Countries, in the great Expectations from your Highnesses; it raised triumphant Hopes in all Popish Countries; it strengthened the *English Papists* Hands and Hearts to prosecute their Design vigorously, it encouraged corrupt and Time-serving *Protestants* in Profession to fall in with their Party, and prevailed with many weak Dissenters, to make them believe a Succession of Popish *Princes*, and that their Liberty of Conscience is only to be expected from them; and that therefore they ought to serve in their Employments.

When we saw the Incredulity and Mockery of the Multitude, at the Story of the Queen's great Belly, and the sad Apprehensions of the more considerate, that for the politick Support of the Popish Design, a Counterfeit Son of the King's might be imposed on the Kingdom, we resolved to observe and keep Memorials of the Rise, Progress and Issue of the whole Matter, (as far as we could get Intelligence,) we presently perceived, that the Popish Priests were the prime Reporters, and most confident Asserters of the undoubted Truth of the Matter; and they boldly took upon them to presage, that the Queen was with Child of a Boy, that was to finish the Settlement of their *Church* in *England*, as certainly as if they had seen the *Fœtus* perfectly formed in her Womb; or rather as if they had been privy to the Plot of a suppositious Boy, and had their Cue in the Management of it.

Their Manner of Talk and Boasting increased the general Suspicion, we knew that Sort of Priests maintained the vilest Wickednesses to be lawful for their Church's Service, and that they have been notorious for Impostures and Forgeries of all Sorts; they once forged an *Eternal Gospel*, (as they called it) to support the Orders of the *Mendicant Fryers*; and if we may believe some of themselves, they have a Father Titler in some rich Convents, to forge Titles to any Man's Lands adjoining to theirs, when the Convents have a mind to them: Those Priests contrived Queen *Mary's* great Belly, for a Counterfeit Heir to the Crown, to have carried on their Catholick Cause, and as great publick Triumph and solemn Prayers for her Belly were made at *Rome*, and in all Popish Countries, as have been made in our Queen's Case: but their Design was unluckily crossed, when her Deliverance was expected, and their Joys and Prayers vanished in Smoak.

Some of those Priests were the Agents for the bloody and unnatural Usurpation of our King *Richard III.* A Priest preached at *Paul's Cross*, to make the People believe, that King *Edward IV.* his elder Brother, whose Sons
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King *Richard* had murdered, was a Bastard, not the lawful Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*; and that *Richard* was the true legitimate Son, and had been a long Time wronged of the Crown belonging to him.

It was a Priest's Invention and Management, to set up *Lambert Symnell* a Baker's Son against *Henry VII.* counterfeiting him to be Earl of *Warwick*, and laying Claim to the Crown, and was proclaimed King in *Ireland*, and marched into *England* with a good Army, to maintain his Pretence: And by the like Advice, *Perkin Warbeck* another Counterfeit, was set up against the same *Henry VII.* by *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, to be *Richard* the younger Son of *Edward IV.* and made ſuch a conſiderable Party in *Ireland*, and was ſo received and aſſiſted in *Scotland*, that he bid fair for the Crown: And we could not forget, what a cheating Trick the Jeſuits invented and practiſed of latter Years, about procuring an Heir to a Crown that is become their chief Support in *Europe*.

The Remembrance of theſe, and many other wicked Frauds of the *Romiſh Priests* of the like Import, to change the Succeſſions of Crowns to ſerve their Church, and ſeeing them ſo buſy and induſtrious to prepoſſeſs the *People's* Minds, with an Opinion that the Queen had a great Belly, and that it was a Son, when it was impoſſible in Nature to be known, if ſhe had been then really pregnant. Theſe Things we ſay put together, confirmed our Suſpicions, that they acted a Part as they were influenced, and that a counterfeit Son might be reſolved on, to be ſet up for Prince of *Wales*, as common Fame confidently reported.

The Collections and Obſervations we have ſince made, of the Things that occurred during the Queen's ſuppoſed Pregnancy, and about her pretended Delivery of this Son, hath made the Truth of the Matter ſo plain in our Apprehenſions, that now we no more ſuſpect, but conclude and believe this pretended Prince of *Wales* to be a meer Counterfeit; and we hold it our Duty to your Highneſs, to our Country, and to the whole *Proteſtant Intereſt*, (this Child being ſet up againſt all theſe,) to ſet before you all the Memorials we have taken in the whole Matter, ſeveral of us having been at laſt very near the Court, during the whole Tranſaction.

We crave Leave to put your Highneſſes in Mind, that before we can convincingly ſet forth the ſpecial and particular Facts and Circumſtances that we have remarked in this Matter, 'tis neceſſary, that we firſt remember and evince the Truth of ſome general Concluſions about the Proofs and Evidences whereby a true Judgment ought to be made of this ſuppoſed Prince; and if your Highneſſes ſhall be clearly ſatiſfied in the Truth of thoſe Concluſions, whereof we cannot doubt, you may be fully convinced by them alone, without further Heſitation or Enquiry, that this ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales* cannot be juſtly judged, by any Kind of Rules of Juſtice or Law whatſoever, to be in Truth born of the Queen.

The firſt certain Concluſion to be remembered is this, That by the univerſal Rules of Juſtice and Equity, any Child of our Queen's, (that was expected or hoped to be the Heir of the Crown of three *Kingdoms*, and to poſt-pone or ſet aſide an undoubted Heireſs apparent, and alſo the Right Expectant

pectant of a warlike Prince, and divers Princesses of the Blood) we say, such a Child ought to have been attested to be born of the Body of the Queen, of the personal certain Knowledge of proper Witnesses, suitable to the Case and Concern, in so great a Number, and of such unspotted Fame, undoubted Authority, and perfect Indifferency, that the Proofs of its Birth could never have been reasonably drawn into Doubt or Question, either in *England*, or any other Christian Kingdoms or States.

A Son of the *Queen's* Body had naturally and really made an Entry in the Moment of his Birth, upon the apparent Right of her Royal Highness: She had thereby rightfully ceased to be Heiress apparent to the Crown, and no Rules of natural Civil Justice, nor the Law of any Civil Government, will allow or suffer Entries to be made, and Persons to be outed of the Rights they apparently had in Judgment of Law, without sufficient Proof, either of Right Paramount to the others, or a Determination of these former Rights apparent.

Our *English* Laws, and special Statutes for that Purpose, abhor any Entry upon the apparent legal Right of another, either of the Will of the *King*, or of any Subject; the Admission of such a Practice is absolutely destructive of Property, and all Civil Justice and Government, it dissolves the whole Civil Government, and turns all into the confused Course of natural Right, wheresoever a Civil Government and Property is established on Entry of Will upon the legally apparent Right of others, without sufficient Manifestation of their own greater or better Rights, is directly contrary to God's eternal Law, of all Righteousness amongst Men.

Upon these certain infallible Foundations we build our Conclusion, that this Supposed *Prince of Wales*, born of the Body of the Queen, ought, by the Laws of *England*, the fundamental Rules of all Civil Justice and Government, and by the unalterable Laws of God, to be manifestly proved by them that pretend it beyond all possible Contradiction, in such Manner as is described and specified in the preceding Conclusion; and such Proofs ought to have been publicly divulged and made known to *England* and the World, before his Patrons ought to have entred in his Name, upon her Royal Highnesses Right, in the Judgment of our Laws, to be stiled and reputed the Heiress apparent to the Crown of *England*, and to assume to him that Honour and Glory, which her Highness justly had in *England*, and all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*, to be apparently the next Successor to the Crown of *England*.

Questionless all the civilized Kingdoms in the World that are hereditary, have pursued these Principles of Justice and Reason in their common Custom, to have their Princes born in the Presence of the Princes of the Blood, the chiefest Men of Religion, and the greatest Nobles and Officers in the highest Trust for the Kingdom, and the Ambassadors and Ministers of Foreign Kingdoms and States. That the Heirs of those great Inheritances might be so known and manifest, that it might not be possible for any Controversies to arise about their Births, and their being the Lineal Heirs of the respective Kingdoms. Whensoever Rights of any Kind are obtained, merely by Vir-
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tue of Birth, those that claim them are bound to prove, by Witnesses suitable to the respective Circumstances of every Case, the Reality of their pretended Birth, at their Peril of being justly excluded from the Rights they demand; yet Justice does not always require the like Witnesses and Clearnesses of Testimony, about the Birth of all common Persons, the Circumstances of their Cases being so different, that Witnesses of such Qualities, and in such a Number, as may be sufficient Proof for the Birth of one Heir, may justly be judged insufficient for the Birth of another.

But the Birth of the pretended *Prince of Wales* was attended with such Circumstances, that Justice required, that his Birth of the *Queen* should have been testified by a Plenty of such Witnesses, as their Proof might have amounted to the highest Degree of Certainty, that is possible to be built upon Human Testimony; doubtless the Circumstances of his pretended Birth were very extraordinary.

It was generally reputed and believed, that the *Queen's* Sicknesses and Infirmities had disabled her to bring forth a living Child; the famous Physician Dr. *Willis* shewed that Opinion to his Brethren, of one of her Children, when her Majesty was much stronger, saying, There were *mala stamma Vitæ*; and the popular Opinion therein was confirmed, by several Years Experience.

It was notorious, that two Hundred to one throughout the Kingdom did not believe the Report, that her Majesty was with Child, notwithstanding all that was said of it by the *King* and *Queen*, and the Prayers enjoined thereupon.

That her Majesty's Pregnancy was as little believed in Foreign Protestant Countries, as in *England*, and Pamphlets were published in several Countries, as well as in *England*, that declared the Report of the *Queen's* being with Child to be nothing more than an Artifice of the Jesuits, by those Hopes of a Popish Successor to the Crown, to encourage their Catholicks in their Designs, and to gain Profelytes.

It was publicly known, that there was a Jealousy in the greatest Part of the Kingdom, that the Popish Councils had designed to impose upon them a counterfeit *Prince of Wales*.

There were also Circumstances about the Birth of this supposed *Prince* of another Sort, and no less important. It was the general Opinion, that the Security or Danger of the Profession of the *Protestant Religion*, not only in *England*, but in all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*, would be the certain Consequence of her Majesty's bearing or not bearing a *Prince of Wales*.

The Birth of such a *Prince* was to be a great Diminution of many *Princes* and *Princesses*, in their Expectancy and Primity to the Succession to the three Crowns, and threatened *England* with the Danger and Misery of falling under an Infant *Prince* in Name, and in Truth under the Domination of *Rome*.

All these special Circumstances attending the Birth of this supposed *Prince of Wales*, being of such Nature, Import and Number, as the like never met together before, in the Expectations of the Birth of any *Prince* in the World.

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In this Case natural Justice common to all Nations, and the practical Reason of the special customary Law of *England*, in the Proof of Matters of Fact, we say, both universal Justice, and the peculiar Law of *England* required indispensibly, that there should have been such proper Proof, that this supposed Prince was born of the *Queen*, as was answerable unto all the special Circumstances in the Case; such Proof as had comprehended the Objections that might arise from every of them, as fully as was possible in the Nature of the Things, that the Testimony of his Birth might have been sufficient to have satisfied the most jealous and distrustful about it, in our own and foreign Countries, and to have removed all the Prejudices against it, that were known to have been spread far and near, by common Fame.

It was absolutely necessary in Justice, Law and Prudence, to have had such Proof of his Birth, as our precedent Conclusion hath asserted; that is,

That there had been Testimony of it, of personal and absolutely certain Knowledge. Women to have testified their personal Sight and Perception, of that very individual Child coming naturally out of the *Queen's* Womb, and Men to have witnessed their immediate free and full Sight and Inspection of that very Child, by the Womens Assistance in his pure natural Nakedness, with all the known Marks and Tokens of his being just separated from the Womb, and from those other Things that are natural to the Birth of a Child, the Effects of such Separation being there visible, and impossible to be hidden; such Testimony is always provided for in the Birth of every Prince of the Blood in *France*, tho' never so remote from the Crown.

That the Witnesses of those Matters had been fit and proper Witnesses, suitable to the Greatness of the Persons and Things that might be in Question, and to the vast extensive Consequence that may ensue thereupon. Nature, or the first Light from God created in the Minds of Mankind, dictated the Equity of those *Roman* Imperial Laws, that appointed those which asserted Filiation or Marriage to prove them, by fit or proper and most unquestionable Witnesses; most of the Writers about those Laws serve themselves therein of these Words severally, which we will for Shortness put together; *Matrimonium & filiationem qui asserunt, debent, probare pretestes, idoneos omni Exceptione majores*; they that alledge a Marriage or a Child being by Virtue whereof they claim, ought to prove it by Witnesses, that are above or beyond all possible Exception: In this Case there ought to have been such fit Witnesses, that nothing could have been objected against them in any Respect, either by *Englishmen* or Foreigners.

That the Witnesses that Law and Prudence required of both Sexes, had been fit and proper, in Respect of their Years, or Age; that the Women had been Matrons, whose Gravity and Sobriety were fit to attract some decent Reverence from the Men of like Quality, in their exposing to them nakedly the Works of Nature, as was unavoidably necessary.

That they had been fit and proper, in Regard of their Sufficiency of Knowledge and Understanding in the Matters of Child-bearing, such as knew by Experience all those Works of Nature, in what Manner the Mothers ought to be, and are customarily treated in their real Travail and Child-bearing, and

immediately after it, and what are the natural Symptoms in the Mother, that accompanies their real bringing forth of a Child, before it hath been its natural Time of nine Months in the Womb, and at its due natural Time, and also the Signs of a Child perfectly grown in the Womb, or brought to Light before its Time of Perfection; it was of Necessity that the Witnesses had been of such Knowledge and Experience in all these Matters, or so sufficiently informed about them, by others of Skill and Faithfulness, that it might have been evident to the Kingdom, that such Witnesses could not be imposed upon, deluded or deceived, by any cunning Artifices, to believe this pretended Prince to have been born of the Queen, if he were in Truth supposititious and counterfeit.

The general Rules of our Canon Law required, that the Witnesses had been publickly known to the Kingdom, by their Persons or their Names, their Interests, Concerns or Employments; our fundamental Laws have taken Care, that all Matters of Fact should be decided by Juries of the Neighbourhood where the Facts are done, that the Witnesses that testify them may be known to the Jurors; and Fraud is always suspected, if Persons unknown to the Neighbourhood of the Facts be produced to witness them, unless there be manifest Reason of their Knowledge of the Fact better than those that were near the Place, and known to the Jurors.

The Reason of our Law is of impregnable Force in the Case of the supposed Prince, that the Witnesses of his Birth should be Persons publickly known, on whose Knowledge, Truth and Credit, the whole Kingdom and the Christian World should rely in a Matter of such vast Consequence; obscure unknown Persons never publickly named or heard of in this or any foreign Kingdom, and above all obscure Foreigners, *French* or *Italians*, or others, ought not to be deemed fit or competent Witnesses, to satisfy the Kingdom in this Fact; indeed when Circumstances are considered, it will be evident, that the pretended Testimony ought to be rejected; and if it be offered, it justly puts a Prejudice upon their Pretences, in Regard there was a whole Kingdom, besides all the Eminent Ministers of Foreign Princes and States, out of which Witnesses might have been selected, that were publickly known, and heard of by all the People; and the Necessity of it was never more so manifest in any Case, it being known to his Majesty and his whole Court, that the Queen's being with Child was not generally believed, either in *England*, or Foreign Countries.

Common Justice required, that the Witnesses had been fit and proper, in Respect of their high distinguishing Quality, either that they had been dignified with some of the highest Ecclesiastical Dignities, as Archbishops or Bishops, or had been, by Birth or Creation, of the Degree of the greatest Nobility of the Kingdom; or that their extraordinary Worth had raised their Reputation, and had been honoured with the great and eminent Offices of Trust in the Realm.

Our Laws are impartial to High and Low, in hearing the Testimonies of Witnesses in every Case, and therefore they duly consider both the Circumstances of every Fact to be proved, and of every Witness, and his Capacity

to prove it, our Laws indeed judge not Truth and Integrity to be annexed and intailed to Dignity, Nobility, or Greatness, yet they justly claim the Testimonies of Person of great Dignity in the Church, or of noble Birth, and raised Knowledge and Fortunes, and independent upon others to be more free from Exception, (which this case requires,) than those that are of weak Understandings, without the Advantage of excellent Breeding and Instruction, or indigent, and bound to depend upon Favour of others for their Support, like Nurses and Midwives, and other Servants.

Therefore, (*Cæteris paribus*,) the Capacity and Probability of knowing the Facts and Indifferency of Witnesses of high and low Degree being equal, our Laws justly allow most Weight and Credit to the Testimony of dignified and noble Witnesses; and they are therefore required to prove the Fact of a Prince's Birth, whereupon depends the Right and Title to Kingdoms, to exclude the apparent Right of one, and to put another into Possession of the same.

Our Laws presume Persons of such high Degree to have greater Sense and Regard to Conscience, more Generosity and Contempt of Falshood, and more Tenderneſs of their Honour, than those of low Condition; and upon that Presumption, Noblemens Affirmation upon their Honour are in many Cases accepted by our Laws, in lieu of their Oaths, unto which all others are obliged in the same like Cases; and for that Reason, their Declarations of the Birth of a Prince, without their making Oath thereof judicially, have been as certainly relied upon by the Kingdom, in the Descent of the Inheritance without Dispute, as if they had sworn their Knowledge in the Forms of Justice.

There are also other circumstantial Reasons, unto which our Laws have Regard, for the greatest Value to be put upon the Testimony of the Nobility of both Sexes, about the Birth of a Prince; they are most accustomed to the Presence and Conversation of the King and Queen.

Such Ladies are justly presumed to be free from too great awful Distances, common to those of lower Quality, and to have more Audacity and Confidence to make such near Approaches to the Queen in her Travail and bringing forth, as are necessary, that they may be ocular Witnesses that they have seen the Child in its very Birth; and such Nobles are more bold and free, to take such a searching View of the Child in its naked Naturals, as may make them knowing Witnesses of its Birth, and absolutely certain that they are not deluded with a suppositious Child.

Such noble Witnesses are also known to have greater Obligations upon them than others, to prevent all possible Questions and Disputes, that may arise by any Uncertainties about the Succession to the Crown, which may divide and destroy the Kingdom, and their great Interest and Posterities: Their Conditions and Fortunes also are supposed, by our Laws, to be above Temptations by Bribes of Wealth or Honour, to connive at Falshood, or to stoop to serve a counterfeit Prince.

Upon all these Considerations, the Witnesses of the Birth of every *English* Prince ought to be of such high and noble Quality; and it was known to have been infinitely more necessary, that the Reason of our Law had been

exactly observed in the Case of this supposed Prince, than ever it was since the Foundation of the Kingdom, there never was any such Occasion to have stopped the Mouth of publick Fame, or to have shewed the justly jealous Subjects, that there was such fit and proper Witnesses, that a Prince was now born of the Queen as were unquestionable, without any possible Exception, whose Truth and Faithfulness might be relied upon securely. Justice also required for full Security, that there had been competent and sufficient Numbers of those fit and proper Witnesses, at least that there had been so many of them, as were able to obviate all Ways and Practices of Deceit, that it could not have been supposed to be possible that a Fraud had been put upon them.

This Sort of Caution is always just and necessary, in the Birth of our Princes, but in the present Case, there could have been no honest End, Intention or Pretence to have confined themselves to a small Number of Witnesses of Fact, wherein a Kingdom known to be filled with just Suspicions of an Imposture to be put upon them, were to be satisfied merely by the Witnesses Averment, and a Noble Princess also to be excluded from being Heiress apparent to the Crown.

Our Laws require Witnesses of Facts answerable to the Nature and Circumstances of them, and always require ample Testimonies, when the Parties that are obliged to prove them had it in their Powers and Choice, without Charge or Burden to themselves, to have multiplied their Witnesses to what Number they had pleased, and could not be ignorant of the Usefulness or Necessity of it, and yet more especially if the Fact were such, whereby great Benefit was to accrue to them, and answerable Loss unto others; in such a Case it would much abate the Strength of the Proof in the Course of our Law, if there were such a small Number of Witnesses, as might leave Room for any Objection, or the least Doubt of the Fact.

The Antient *Roman* Imperial Laws in the Cases of Subjects, when there was a Posthumous to be born, that might exclude another Heir apparent: We say, those Laws in common natural Equity to prevent a suppositious Child, appointed thirty Days to be given to the apparent Heir, and all others whose Right was concerned of the expected Time of her Travail, and Delivery, that on the Behalf of the Heir apparent, Women might be sent to be present to see the Birth of the Child that might become the Heir; that Law confined the Number to five free Women to be so sent, allowing her that was to be delivered to have also five Women of her own chusing, and no more, so that the Number to be present at her Delivery should not exceed ten, besides two Midwives and six Maid Servants that were no Witnesses.

This Rule was set down positively in the Empire, as the Dictate of natural Equity and Prudence; and although *England* hath no positive written Law that prescribes any set Number of Friends to be sent in such a Case, by the Heir apparent to see the Birth of such a Child, yet the Custom and Practice is in every such Case, (tho' no Fraud be suspected) to give Notice to the next Heir, and that some of their Friends are customarily sent, (to what Number they

they please,) to be present at the Birth of the Child that may be an Heir, to the Exclusion of another.

That Practice with us is not of Favour, but of legal Right, our Common Law generally binds all that set up a Claim to any thing that another hath, to give such Notice of his Pretence as is needful to make his just Defence, if he can, and to prove the Fact whereby he claims, by such a Number of Witnesses as may put the Truth of it out of Doubt to the Court of Judicature, but that Number in the Course of our Law, is greater or smaller, according to the Cause that appears of Jealousy or Distrust of the Truth of the Fact pretended.

These Rules of our Law, and the Reasons of them fully include the Case of a Pretence of a Child to be born to exclude an Heir apparent, and if there were many known Grounds of Suspicion in any such Case that it was designed to set up a *suppositious Child*, and a notorious common Fame of it, and no Notice were given of the Time expected of the Child's Birth, hoped to be Heir to the then Heir apparent, or to any that had Expectancies of the Inheritances. We say in such a Case, by the Rules and Practices of our Laws, a small Number of Witnesses of the Birth of a Child ought not to be believed, since they that should claim for such a Child might, by due Notice to the Parties concerned, have had such Witnesses as had put the *Child's Birth* beyond all Question.

Certainly by the Reason of our Common Law, there ought to be a much greater Number of Witnesses of the Birth of every of our Princes, than of the Birth of the Subjects Heirs; but our Law require, that the Birth of this pretended Prince of *Wales* should have been proved by a greater Number of Witnesses than was ever needful heretofore; in the Case of a Prince, there ought to have been so many fit and proper Persons present at his pretended Birth, that it might have been manifest to all that had heard it, that the Eyes of so many Witnesses of such Condition, Knowledge and Judgment could not have been deceived in what they had testified to have known, and seen, the Number ought to have been so considerable, that there could have been no reasonable Suspicion, that so many of both Sexes, and of various Dignities, Honours and Interests, (and some of them of Consanguinity with the former Heiress apparent,) had made a Confederacy amongst themselves, to abuse the Kingdom with a counterfeit Prince, and that so many had kept each others Counsel, in a Fraud and Falshood so odious and injurious.

It had been common Prudence as well as Justice to the Realm, that the Witnesses of the Birth had been very many, that amongst such a Number some of them might have been known in one Part of the Kingdom, and others in another Part, and that some of their Names and Qualities might have been known in foreign Countries, and for that Reason the Ministers of foreign Princes, (according to Custom) ought to have been some of the Witnesses, the Peoples Knowledge of the Names, Qualities or Persons of the Witnesses had much conduced to their fuller Assurance of the Truths, it would have appeared to them incredible, and almost impossible, that the Integrity of such and so many Witnesses could have been attacked either separately or jointly.

But on the contrary, seeing Custom and Law required a good Number of fit and proper Witnesses to have made up a Testimony of the Birth of a Prince
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that might have been truly said to have been *omni exceptione majus*, above all possible Objections against it; and seeing the Wit of Man cannot invent a Reason why the King and the Patrons of this pretended Prince of *Wales* did not provide such ample and unquestionable Testimonies, that he was born of the Queen, when they could not be ignorant that it was the Voice of common Fame in *England* and foreign Countries, that her Majesty's Conception of a Child was merely Fictitious, and that a suppositious Prince was designed; and seeing no Excuse or Pretence is published for the Neglect or Failure of such a Testimony of his Birth, we say (the Circumstances of the Case being considered) it's most unjust to expect or demand of your Highnesses, or of the People of *England*, or of Foreigners, a Belief and Acknowledgment that this pretended Prince of *Wales* was born of the Queen.

As our Common Law informs us who are fit and proper Witnesses, whose Testimonies ought to be received in this Case, and in the Proof of all matters of Fact respectively; so the same declares who are deemed to be unfit and disabled to be Witnesses, in all the various and respective Questions of Fact, it shews whose Testimonies ought not to be heard, and much less believed in divers Sorts of Facts that come into Question; if your Highnesses and the Kingdom be told of the Presence of such Persons to have been at the Birth of this pretended Prince, they ought not by our Laws to be accounted Witnesses, nor their Averments in the Case to be heard by your Highnesses or the Kingdom, and much less to be allowed to be of any Validity in the common Course of our Courts of Judicature; if Parties concerned to prove a Fact do knowingly offer for Witnesses such as our Laws reject in the Facts in Question, it turns to the Prejudice of their other Proof; we are therefore obliged to acquaint your Highnesses with the Actions, Qualities, Respects and Circumstances that have disabled many by Force of our common Law to be heard as Witnesses of the Birth of this pretended Prince of *Wales*.

First, our Laws utterly disable all those to be heard in the Case that have received either Gifts of Money, or Honours, or any other Reward or Benefits whatsoever for their pretended Assistance about his Birth, or by Reason or Occasion of that Pretence; 'tis the common Practice of our Law, that when a Witness is produced, the Adverse Party may examine him upon his Oath, whether he hath had Money or other Reward or Gift directly or indirectly, for or by Reason of the Matter in question, or from the Party in whose Behalf he is produced to testify, or from any of his Friends; if he cannot acquit himself thereof by his Oath, tho' it cannot be proved against him, our impartial Law denies such a Person not only to be partial in the Case, but corrupted, and bribed, and unworthy to be heard.

Our Law will not admit those to be Witnesses for the Birth of this supposed Prince of *Wales*, that have any Promise, Expectation or Hopes of any Advancement, Office, Place, or Benefit by or under him, if he shall be received and allowed by the Kingdom to be Prince of *Wales*; they that cannot purge themselves by their Oaths, from all such Promises, Expectations and Hopes, are not in the Judgment of our Law Persons indifferent and unconcerned in the Event of the Matter in Question, nor fit to be heard as Witnesses; their
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Testimonies being partly for themselves and their own Benefit, and the Allowance of such Testimonies in Judicature would in Consequence subvert all Civil Justice and Government. Our Law excludes all from being Witnesses to support the Pretence of the supposed Prince of *Wales*, that have such Dependence on the Patrons and Maintainers of him, that they are in Danger of Damage and Loss by them of any Kind, if they should displease them in their Testimony. Our Laws judge all such not to be free and of their own Right in the Case, but bound to serve and please the Patrons of the Cause, and therefore presume that they may be corrupted, by Fear of losing the Advantages they love, if they should impartially declare the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth of the Matter.

Our Laws seek to know the naked and intire Truth of all Facts that come into legal Question or Contest, and will not admit of any to be Witnesses of them, unless they appear to be free from Fears of any Prejudice to themselves, by speaking the Truth impartially. We are enforced by the Concern of all the Protestants, to speak more plainly than we would, we must say, that all that hold Offices of Profit and Honour, during the King's Will, are, by the Laws of *England*, excluded out of the Number of fit and competent Witnesses about the Birth of this Child, whom his Majesty hath proclaimed and maintains to be Prince of *Wales*; our good Laws have Regard to human Infirmities, and will not put a Temptation upon Men, to suffer them to be Witnesses in Matters wherein they may damnify themselves in the Loss of their Offices, if they happen to displease their Master in his Concern in the Case, by testifying clearly the whole Truth of it, they are not free in the Judgment of our Laws, to speak the Truth without Fear, and for that Reason are not to be received by the Kingdom as Witnesses in this Case.

Our Laws will never allow or suffer any to be Witnesses in this Case, who are known or may be proved to have Enmity or Prejudice of any Kind, upon any Account whatsoever to her Royal Highness, against whom most immediately this supposed Prince contends, she having been most unquestionably the Heir apparent of the Crown, and justly so remaining, until the Kingdom shall be satisfied by a sufficient Number of lawful Witnesses, that there is a Prince born, whereby her Claim to the next Succession shall be postponed, the Question of Fact to be decided by Witnesses is apparently between her Royal Highness and this supposed Prince; and 'tis an illegal, unanswerable and conclusive Exception against any to be received for Witnesses against her in his Behalf, that they are declared Enemies to her, and the professed Protestant Religion; the Destruction whereof they are bound in Conscience to endeavour; and for that Reason, such known Enemies to her Right of Succession to the Crown, that their Church have decreed and declared her Right, and the Right of all Protestants to any Authorities to be absolutely forfeited to the Papists for Protestants Heresy.

It cannot be denied, that all that are sincerely *Roman* Catholicks, and believe their own Church, do judge her Royal Highness to be an excommunicated Heretick by their Church, and that all her Rights in Possession and Reversion are thereby confiscated, and that they are obliged by the Law of
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their Church, in Conscience of their Religion, and by the Hope of Pardon of their Sins, to defeat and destroy, by all Ways and Means in their Power, all her Pretensions to the Descent of the Crown upon her, and to assist to the Investing the Right to the Succession in a *Roman* Catholick. We might here add, that our *English* Papists are all in Union and Communion with the Pope, as appears by his Nuntio in *London*; and he is, by the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, declared the publick or common Enemy of the Kingdom, near two hundred Years before *Henry VIII.*

'Tis manifest, that the *English* Papists are declared Enemies to her Royal Highness's Right in this Case, between her and the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and therefore, by the Laws of *England*, they cannot be Witnesses of the Fact in Question, neither ought their Testimonies therein to be offered to the Kingdom, to delude the People.

The Civil Law so fully concurs with our common Law, in rejecting Enemies to be Witnesses in the Cause of their Enemy, that it denies to give Credit to what they may testify in the Cause of their Enemy, with their dying Breath after they have received the Eucharist, that is, the general Conclusion of the Doctors of that Civil Law, *Inimicus etiamsi in articulo mortis constitutus, & accepisset Eucharistiam repellitur a testimonio causæ sui inimici*; we mention this, chiefly to shew, that 'tis not only by our *English* Laws, that our Papists are rejected from being Witnesses of the Birth of this pretended Prince against her Royal Highness, but by the ancient approved Rules of the Civil Laws that they generally acknowledge, and by the Judgment of their own Doctors.

Herein are only set forth to your Highness the Laws of *England*, that you may justly insist upon as your Right, to prevent the Church of *Rome*'s Conspiracies against you; we reflect not on the Credit or Truth of any *Roman* Catholick Lords or others, in giving their Testimonies in Matters of private Interests, wherein the Cause of their Church is not in Question, and the Laws of their Church bind them not to either Party; but since they are bound in this Case to be Enemies to her Royal Highness, our Law will not allow them to be believed, to her Prejudice; and they must openly renounce that common Honesty to which they pretend, if they offer themselves to the Kingdom to be competent Witnesses against her, in Behalf of this pretended Prince, when they are conscious to themselves, that not only our Laws, but natural Justice and Equity abhors such a Practice.

We must say with all due Reverence, and most humble Submission, that our Laws will not allow, that the Declaration or Testimony of his Majesty, or the Queen should be accepted, and believed in this Case as lawful Proof, that this pretended Prince was born of the Queen; 'tis sufficient for us, that our Laws will not suffer our Kings to descend into the Place of Witnesses, they will not admit them to testify their own Knowledge of the Facts, in any Case whatsoever, Criminal or Civil, but there's abundant Reason also from natural Equity and Civil Justice, that the Kingdom should not receive and rely upon the King's Affirmation, about the Birth of this supposed Prince; their Majesties have publicly espoused his Cause for their own in all Respects, and none on Earth, Kings or Subjects, may justly expect, or be suffered to supply

supply the Place of Witnesses in their own Case, since Civil Government is established; if they might lawfully be their own Proof for their Cause, they might as justly be Judges of their own Proofs, which in Consequence would turn up the Foundations of Civil Government; one of its chiefest original Intentions being to introduce a Course of Justice, that none might be their own Judges.

We would not speak thus plainly, if it were justly avoidable; we cast no Scandal hereby upon his Majesty, nor any Way come near the Crime of Detraction; we barely relate the Law of *England*, in this Case of his Majesty's Affirmation of the Birth of this pretended Prince, that it hath not the Force of legal Proof, or of the Testimony of one legal Witness; and his Majesty is obliged in Justice and Honour, by his Office and Oath, not to impose upon his Subjects to believe and rely upon his Affirmation or Word in this Case, (nor on the Queen's, that's necessarily included in his,) he cannot desire the People diffusively to change their ancient Customs and Laws, to substitute their King's Words or Assertions, in the Room of sworn legal Witnesses, to prove the Matters of the highest Moment about the Government.

If the Kingdom should allow the Affirmation of their Kings to be sufficient to make a lawful Prince of *Wales*, without such Witnesses of his Birth as our Law requires, they should consent to change the ancient Constitution of the *English* Monarchy, and so destroy the established legal Security of their Freedom and Estates; the Laws of *England* in this Case are not dissonant from the Laws of other Kingdoms, and the most absolute Empires; the Civil Law now received in most Christian Kingdoms, that was so adapted to absolute Government, that it was one of its Principles, that *principis verbum pro lege habendum est*, the Word of the Prince was to be taken for a Law; we say that Law never ascribed absolute Credit to the Prince's Affirmations of Matters of Fact, wherein the Subjects Rights were concerned, it passeth for a Rule of that Law in such Cases, *princeps indistincte non creditur*; the Emperor is not to be believed intirely, without Limitations and Restrictions, in his affirming Matters of Fact relating to his Subjects legal Interest and Securities.

The learned Doctors in that Law determine, that the Emperor's Affirmation that a Subject hath committed Treason or Rebellion against him ought not to be believed, or taken for a Proof; they say expressly, *Regi fides non adhibetur si attestatur talem fuisse proditorem*; likewise if he pretends and declares a Cause why he deprives any Subject, or Feudatory of his Interest, he is not to be believed, there must be Proof, and the Parties intended to be prejudiced must be cited and heard in their Defence.

They generally resolve, that when a King asserts or attests any Thing to the Prejudice of another, he is not to be therein believed, especially when his Affirmation is for his own Advantage, and to the Subjects Damage or Inconvenience; these are their Words, *quando ex assertione principi ipse principaliter sentiret commodum & subditi incommodum tam ipsi principi non creditur*.

The Emperor *Henry VI.* of *Germany* had a due Sense of the Justice and Reason of the Law herein about the Year 1200, he did not expect that the

People should believe the Affirmations of himself, and his Empress *Constantia*, about the Birth of a Prince, when there was a Rumour and Suspicion that *Constantia* was past her Age of Child-bearing, and feigned a great Belly; he gave the People plentiful Proof by Witnesses, more than Reason required, he prepared a most publick Place, wherein she remained, expecting her Time of Delivery, *ventre custodito*, with publick Watchers, or Keepers, that no suppositious Child might possibly be conveyed to her, and there, in the Sight of the People of the City, and all the Matrons, that would and could possibly approach her, (none being excluded) she brought forth a Prince, that was afterwards chosen Emperor *Frederick II.*

If it were needful, we could shew your Highness, that the Honour and Security of our Royal Family of *England*, with the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, were intended in the Constitution of our legal Monarchy, in such Manner, that the Kings should not have Power at their Will to change the Succession, or by any Means prevent the Descent of the Crown to the next in Blood; but if the Kingdom should believe his Majesty's Affirmation of this supposed Prince's Birth, without Proof thereof, according to the Laws and Customs of *England*, the next Succession were really and actually thereby put out of the legal Course, and referred to the Will of the King, which is in Effect to make the Crown patrimonial; whereas by the Laws and Customs of *England*, the Right to the Crown descends to the next of Blood, and the Successor is most properly to be stiled the Heir of the Kingdom, by Force of the Kingdom's Laws, and cannot be defeated of the Succession, by any Act of the Predecessor; if therefore the King should gain so vast a Power, by imposing on the People to believe his Attestation of this supposed Prince's Birth, 'tis manifest, that natural Justice as well as the Law of *England*, makes it of no Force or Effect, to the Prejudice of her Royal Highness, in her Esteem of being the Heiress apparent of the Crown.

We believe the Jesuits, and other Maintainers of this supposed Prince will claim, (as is their common Practice,) against these our Laws, whose Force detects and defeats their Impostures; they will pretend, that 'tis unreasonable to expect a Testimony of his Birth from such Witnesses, and in such Manner as are hereby described, exclusive of all *Roman* Catholicks; but the Reason and Wisdom of these Laws are irresistible, and 'tis a great Circumstance shewing their Guilt, that they are displeased with the Laws that prevent Falshood and Impostures, and require Proofs of Facts as clear as the Sun.

The just and innocent are never offended at any Law, that provide for Truth and Righteousness, they cannot but be conscious to themselves, that it was more easy to have provided such Witnesses as our Laws requires of a Prince's Birth, than to have had such as they provided, that would counterfeit to be Spectators, and be content, (as 'tis now said they were,) to see nothing of the Fact of which they were to be published to the Kingdom, to have been the knowing Eye Witnesses.

'Tis notorious, that the Presence of ten of the Protestant Nobility of either Sex, and other Persons of eminent Quality might have been as easily procured

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as one of the Catholicks, if it had been intended to deal justly and fairly with the Kingdom, and they know that the Protestants throughout *Europe*, (not the Papists) wanted and desired Satisfaction about the Queen's great Belly and her Delivery, the Suspicions of a counterfeit Prince were strong amongst them, and decry'd by all the Papists, they knew the Friends, and those of Consanguinity with her Royal Highness, were as ready to attend, if they had been called, as any Catholick whatsoever; and they were not ignorant, that Custom, Law and natural Justice required, that convenient Notice should have been given to her Royal Highness above all others, of the expected Time of the Queen's Delivery, that such noble Matrons as she had thought necessary might have been sent, to have continually attended near her Majesty, and to have been impartial Witnesses of the Birth beyond Exception; they understood the Custom of calling Embassadors to be present at the Queen's Delivery, and that a common Fame of a designed Imposture was spread in foreign Protestant Countries, and that there were Envoys and publick Ministers from some of them, especially that the *Dutch* had an Embassador there, and expected to have been called: They know that those Provisions for legal unquestionable Proof of the Birth that was pretended, had been no Hindrance of the Presence or Assistance of as many Papists of each Sex as her Majesty had desired; and she might have as intirely depended upon their only Help, if it had been her Pleasure, as if those lawful Witnesses had not been present.

The Popish Counsels delude his Majesty, if they persuade him, that any Pleas of Inadvertency, Neglect, or Ignorance, can satisfy the Kingdom, instead of the Proofs in the Case, that the Custom and Laws of *England* require; 'tis a Rule of our Law, that none shall make Advantage of their own Lachez, that is, their Failures or Neglects of what they ought to have done; less Evidence is never to be accepted in our Courts of Judicature, because the Party concerned was negligent in seeking it, or ignorant, when he might have known his Duty.

We presume your Highness in reading this, may be satisfied in the Truth of our first Preliminary Conclusion, which is necessary to be always remembered, in Order to a just Judgment to be made of this supposed Prince of *Wales*, and of the Things proper to be done by your Highness, by Reason or Occasion of his Pretences; we doubt not your Highness will clearly perceive what you may in Justice demand of his Majesty in the Case, preserving nevertheless a most *pious Sense of filial Duty*.

We may more remember your Highness, that as the Case now appears, no Acknowledgment of that pretended Prince can justly be required of your Highness by his Majesty. 'Tis contrary to Justice and our Laws, that her Royal Highness should depart from her Place and Claim of Heiress apparent to the Crown, and resign it to a Child, who is not yet lawfully witnessed to have been born of the Queen. We therefore put your Highness in Remembrance of a second Conclusion, fit to be premised in this Case, as an absolute Certainty to be insisted on, that is,

That neither the Laws of *England*, nor any natural or civil Justice, do require of your Highness any Kind of Testimonies or Proofs, that the Pretences of this supposed Prince of *Wales* are false and feigned, or that he was not born of the Queen.

Whosoever claims to be the natural and legitimate Son of any Family, 'tis wholly and solely incumbent on him to prove it, by the Laws and Customs of all Civil Government, and by the manifest Light of Nature; those two Rules of the Civil Law are adopted by all Countries into their Courses of Judicature, *Qualem quis se facit, pro fundamento intentionis suæ talem se debet probare*; and, *Filius qui petit hæreditatem tanquam filius debet probare filiationem*: If Sonship, or other Quality or Relation be the Ground of a Demand, that Foundation must be always proved by the Demandant; if he that pretends to be Heir by his Birth to any Inheritance, fails of such sufficient Witnesses as the respective Laws of Countries require, to prove his Proximity of Blood, there needs no Testimony on the Part of those that deny his Lineal Descent. The Course of the Law of *England* is known to most *Englishmen*, in the Trial of all Claims by Birth; the Claimant is always put to prove all that he sets forth of his Descent in his Declaration, and the least Defect of Proof is fatal to his Process, if the Defendant perceives the Plaintiff to want sufficient legal Testimony of his Descent and Birth; he never troubles the Court with Proofs on his Behalf, 'tis enough for him that he denies the Descent pretended, to shew the Insufficiency of the Witnesses, and their Testimony produced to prove it.

Your Highness is not obliged, either by our Laws or natural Justice, to have Witnesses to prove the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be an Imposture, her Royal Highness having been the legal acknowledged Heiress apparent of the Crown. Unless such lawful Witnesses, that he was born of the Queen, were known and published, as did satisfy the Kingdom, neither your Highness, nor any Princes or States, may in Justice acknowledge his Pretences, her Royal Highness ought to remain in the Esteem of the Kingdom, and of all Princes and States as the Heiress apparent of the Crown, at least until a Prince shall be legally known and declared; and 'tis a manifest Wrong to your Highness, to the Kingdom, and to all the Protestants Interest, to suffer this supposed Prince, silently and submissively, without publick Complaint of the Wrong, to assume the Name of Prince and Heir apparent to the Crown.

When the Popish League endeavoured to set aside the Claim of your Highness's Ancestor *Henry IV.* to the Crown of *France*, and proclaimed the Cardinal of *Bulloign* to be King, he sent Agents to the Pope, (tho' he was then a Protestant) and to all the Princes and States of *Christendom*, to manifest himself to be the right lawful Heir of that Crown, and the *Venetian* State, (to his vast Advantage,) contested it with the Pope's Nuntio, that they ought so to acknowledge him, because it appeared, that he was the right Heir.

His Right indeed was to be King in Possession, but there is the like Reason and Justice to support her Royal Highness's Title to the Crown in Reversion,

version, since another is set up, and declared throughout the World, to be the right Heir of it, immediately after his now Majesty. 'Tis undoubtedly just and reasonable for her, to demand and expect, that the Pretender's Birth, (so much and so justly suspected,) should be made manifest to the Kingdom by Witnesses, without Exception, according to the Law and Custom of *England*, and to natural Equity.

It may be of dangerous Consequence, to suffer a false Opinion of him in the Kingdom, and the World, to gain Strength by Time and Neglect; yet neither Law nor Equity puts any Burden of Proof in the Case upon your Highness; 'tis only incumbent upon your Highness, to declare the Wrong to your selves and the Kingdom by the pretended Prince, and to take Care that no illegal, imperfect, or fallacious Testimony in the Case be invented or obtruded upon your selves and the Kingdom, to support his Pretences; her Royal Highness's Claim and Right to be the next in Reversion, after his now Majesty, in the legal Descent of the Crown, ought to stand unshaken and unquestionable, in the Judgment of our Law and the Kingdom, notwithstanding any thing to the contrary, that hath been hitherto lawfully published or declared.

We cannot doubt, but 'tis here made manifest, that your Highness's publick Refusal to acknowledge this pretended Prince of *Wales* may be built upon such sure Foundations of Law and Justice, as can never be overturned; we would not therefore trouble your Highness, with all the Circumstances of the Case, which we have remarked in our Observations, that make it to us not only improbable, but incredible, that he was born of the Queen. Since 'tis not possible for us to send Witnesses Personally, to prove to your Highness every Circumstance that we have noted; and 'tis not just, that your Highness should take them up upon unknown Authority, since we cannot in Prudence subscribe our Names to this Memorial, nor so much as the Names of our Witnesses to the Facts, since the Proof of the Circumstances can never be a Foundation of positive unquestionable Certainty, but can only serve to make the Falshood and Jesuitical Contrivance in this Imposture more infamous and odious; since 'tis undoubtedly your Highness's Interest, never to depart from the manifest Principles of Law and Justice, which put it wholly and intirely upon the Maintainers of the supposed Prince, to prove him to be such as they pretend, with the highest human Certainty, that can be acquired by Witnesses, and to the Kingdom's full Satisfaction.

And since 'tis notoriously known, that above all others of the *Roman* Church, the Jesuits (which in this Matter will most earnestly contend against your Highness) have the greatest effronted Confidence to deny and forswear Matters of Fact, however certainly proved and known; and they would be glad to have any Thing offered in this Case, that might give them Room, or a Possibility for Dispute, and seeming Doubtfulness of Fact, that they might obscure the Truth, and deceive some of the People with their equivocal Affirmation, and impertinent Cavils at your Highness's Witnesses, or their Testimonies, and their bold Asseverations of Falshoods.

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Upon all these Considerations we shall restrain from the Relation of many very pregnant Circumstances that we had collected, which if they were taken jointly in their natural Order and due Connexion, would by their united Force strongly induce impartial Judges to conclude, that the Queen could not be the Mother of the supposed Prince.

We could give very great circumstantial Assurances to your Highness, that there never was, or appeared to be any reasonable natural Grounds for a Belief that her Majesty had conceived a Child. She never had the first most natural, known, and common Sign of Conception: her *Menses profluvium*, or *Termes*, continued their usual uncertain Course as formerly during the whole Time of her pretended great Belly; She did not conceal that it was with her after that Manner of Women in her Journey to *Bath*, nor that they continued some Days after the King left her there; and all the Industry used afterward to hide them in their Seasons, proved ineffectual, because those Things come to the Knowledge of more than were made privy to the whole Imposture designed.

Her Majesty having not that natural Sign of her *Termes* stopping, whereby Women usually conclude themselves to have conceived, from whence She could make a Reckoning, it seems by the King's Speech in Council, that their Majesties had both thought fit to publish her Conception to have been at the Time of the Present made to the Lady's Image at *Loretto*, upon the King's return to the Queen at *Bath*.

It was then too soon for them to be provided of a suppositious Child, and so might name any Time they pleased of her Conception, and then seek for a Child that might agree with it; and it appeared pious and great to make her Conception one of the Miracles of the Lady's Image, tho' it happened unluckily afterward, that they could not make the Times of her Conception and supposed Delivery to agree with Nature's most constant Time of nine Months.

The Confidants and Advisers about the Imposture, hearing the Voice of common Fame upon the King's declaring when the supposed new born Child was shewn, that he had now a Son, a strong and lively Prince, the meanest Child bearing Woman that were disinterested, saying thereupon in Mockery, that such a Child of about Eight Months was as great a Miracle as the Queen's Conception had been reported; we say, the Confidants fearing it might make the whole Story less credible and help to detect the Fraud, they have perswaded her Majesty to declare that She had miscounted the Time of her conceiving the Child, and that She knew very well, that She was with Child before her Use of the *Bath*; by this new reckoning they thought that it might be affirmed, that the Child was born at his due Time, and might be strong, and lively, as his Majesty had said, and they thought it an easy Sham to say Women misreckoned very often.

But it was unhappily forgotten, that her Majesty had continued and expressly affirmed her first reckoning several Weeks after her pretended Delivery; it was forgotten that it was known sufficiently that her Majesty had her *Termes* in her Journey to *Bath*, and four Days after the King's going from

from thence, which was a manifest Proof that there was then no Conception; it was not considered that if it be Truth that the Queen knew herself to have then conceived, as she hath lately declared; then it cannot be a misreckoning, and the meanest Physician she had at *Bath* would have told her, that if She had imagined a Conception as She now says, Bathing would probably destroy the Embryo.

It was not well remembred how the King had declared with her Majesty's Privy, the Miracle of the Time of her conceiving quite inconsistent with her now Account; neither was it thought of in the now Council, how her Majesty's Truth and Honour should be saved in her contrary Stories, of the Time of her conceiving even since her supposed Delivery; but we need not mention that, since the World knows how little Regard the Jesuite Confessors have to Truth.

Her Majesty shewed no Grounds to believe her Pregnancy by Nature's Progress there in the common natural Signs, that in four Months follow in every Woman, that hath a Child in her Womb, were wholly wanting in her Majesty; there was no Swelling, or Increase of the usual Proportion of her Breasts, nor was there any Milk ever seen to be in them (tho' one Lady took the Confidence once to affirm it) the Proportion of them was visibly the same to the Eyes of all that can be lawfully Witnesses, and were usually in her Presence, and none of those Ladies proper to be Witnesses could ever obtain the Satisfaction to see a Drop of Milk from her Breasts, tho' it had been her Majesty's Honour, Interest, and Pleasure to have shew'd it, if there had been any Reality in the Pretence of her Pregnancy.

We put this Circumstance into our Memorial not without some Mirth in our Meeting, because one of our Company said, he was now sure that neither her Majesty's Physicians nor the Jesuits were natural Philosophers, they might (said he) with very little Arts have caused the Queen's Breasts at her Age to have swelled with Milk so plentifully, that she might have easily milked it forth in Quantity in the Sight of the Princess of *Denmark* and all the Protestant Ladies of the Court; it may be done (said he) in rational, or animal Creatures, and he gave us Instances of undoubted Credit wherein it had been done to his Knowledge, and a Child suckled; and to divert us he offered to shew it in an Animal, he having also tried that Experiment, and thereby milked out the Milk from a young Creature's Udder that had never been with young; another of the Company said merrily, if that were so easy an Artifice, he wondred that the *Romish* Priests had not learned it, since 'tis known to the World that they have long had the Art of keeping the Virgin *Mary's* Milk above 1600 Years, and of multiplying the Quantity of it from Horse Loads to Cart Loads to disperse among their credulous Vulgar.

We humbly pray your Highnesses Pardon that we seem herein less serious than so great a Matter requires, we speak only the Words of Truth and Sobriety, but the comical Tricks of the *Romish* Priests (that commonly end in Tragedy) force us to represent them as they deserve.

There's another known Sign and Testimony of a Woman's Pregnancy, that is, the sensible stirring of the Child in the Womb, that was expected
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her Majesty should have shewn to the Ladies with Joy, especially to those Protestant Ladies of her Bedchamber that doubted (with the Protestant Dr. her then Physician) her being with Child, as far as they durst (when the quickening of a Child in her Womb was pretended, and published throughout the Kingdom;) it had been a Pleasure to her Majesty, and no Trouble (if it had been Real without Deceit) to have shewn the Motion of a Child in her Womb to honourable Matrons of her Bedchamber, that might have been in all Respects lawful Witneses of that Truth to the justly Jealous Kingdom; these might have touched her Belly, and had been proper Judges from their Experience of the true Motions of an Infant in the Womb, and some of Consanguinity to the Heiress apparent might have been admitted to that Favour, as our Laws and common Prudence directed for removing the Causes of Jealousy; but however industriously her Majesty's quickning with Child was spread abroad, yet the feeling of its Motions was never vouchsafed to any competent Witneses of it, to give the suspicious Kingdom a Ground to believe, that she was with Child.

The next visible and manifest Sign of the true natural Progress of a great Belly, is the Distension of all the Parts of the Body, that encircles and encompasseth the Womb; such is the Place and Manner wherein Nature hath prepared the Lodging of the growing Child in the Womb, that according to its Growth, and Increase, and the Quantity of Liquors, that are naturally and necessarily congested there, so are all the Circumambient Parts gradually extended, and enlarged to make Room; there never was nor naturally can be an Extension only of the *Peritoneum* the Rim of the Belly to give room to the Child, all Naturalists and Anatomists know that if in that Manner no Child could keep its natural Site in the Womb nor be born alive.

All Men and Women, that ever observed Women great with Child, know that all the Parts that inclose the Cavity swell until the Time of their Delivery approach; but this natural necessary Sign of Pregnancy so intirely failed in her Majesty, that skilful Spectators of both Sexes wondred, that better Arts were not used to make that visible Sign and Appearance of the Growth of a Child in her Womb; we were satisfied by skilful Matrons of great Experience, that attended on Purpose to observe her Majesty exactly, that all the outward Parts of her Body, that encompass the Womb, were of the same Proportion that they were at other Times, save only her Belly which was exceedingly copped up, and high, that shew'd like a great bellied Woman to them that looked upon her Majesty before; but said they, when we saw her Majesty walking, and looked upon her behind, and on each Side, we saw not the least Appearance in her of a great bellied Woman, we took Care to have the Fashion of her Majesty's Body observed by skilful Women at several Periods of Time during her supposed Pregnancy, and once a very short Time before her pretended Delivery, and we had always the same Account, we have here faithfully given your Highness.

We compared this Circumstance with another that we had marked, whereof we had from Time to Time full Assurance during all the four last Months Time of her Majesty's supposed being with Child, those being the Months wherein

wherein usually all the circumambient Parts of the Womb swell most, we were very well informed that in all these Months her Majesty, contrary to her former usual Course, always withdrew from her Chamber, and retired into her Cabinet or some other private Room, with two or three *Italians*, when She changed her Linnen, and would never permit any one of the Protestant Ladies of the Bedchamber to see her change her Linnen, as they had constantly done.

Those two Circumstances explained each other, and plainly shewed that the natural naked and true Shape of her Majesty's Body, as it was then, was not to be seen by those that were not of the Confederacy in the intended Imposture; those that were only capable of being lawful Witnesses for her Majesty against common Fame (if Fame had bely'd her) those were all excluded from a Possibility of seeing whether her Belly was truly and naturally great, and a few Foreigners of no Quality were only to keep the Secret of what her Majesty was to make the coping Belly.

Nothing can be more manifest than it is by all these Circumstances taken as they ought in Connexion each with other, that there hath nothing appeared of the natural Plainness and Simplicity that always accompany Truth, in the whole Demeanor of her Majesty from the Time of her pretended Conceiving a Child, to the very Time of her feigned Delivery of this supposed Prince of *Wales*; all that hath been acted in the Matter, hath plainly imported Trick and Design to hide and smother Nature's Works, that ought to have been most freely exposed to the whole World, if there had been any Truth in the Pretences that could have born the Light, we may securely affirm to your Highness, that in all the eight Months and four Days first reckoned to have been the Time of her Majesty's Pregnancy, or from the Time of her going to *Bath* in the new Reckoning, there never hath been any of these constant natural Signs in her Majesty, that could afford to any understanding Man or Woman a Ground to believe that She conceived a Child.

The Progress towards finishing the intended Imposture of this Prince of *Wales* hath been answerable to its Beginning. In the Preparation for her Majesty's supposed Delivery, there hath been no Regard to the Rules of natural Equity or Law, or common Prudence, nor any Appearance of that open Freedom and naturally plain Proceeding, that ought to have shewn that they did not fear the Kingdom, or the World knowing the Truth of all that should be done in that pretended natural Work of Bearing a Child, wherein the whole Kingdom, and so much of the World was concerned; if the Customs and Laws of *England*, or natural Equity had been consulted in the Circumstances of the Case about the Preparations needful for her Majesty's expected Deliverance of a Prince, the first of all Advices had certainly been to give early Notice to your Highness, and to others in the nearest Possibility or Expectance of succeeding to the Crown, of the Time of her expected Travail and Deliverance of a Prince, and of the Place of her Residence at such Time. That proper noble Matrons, and others, might have prepared themselves, and attended there, and have been present in their Behalf, which

might have suppressed and silenced for ever by their Testimonies all Suspicions of Fraud and Imposture.

But 'tis not only undeniable, that no such Notice was given either to her Royal Highness or to any of Consanguinity with her, nor to any other of the noble Matrons of *England*, but such Artifices were used as might most conceal the Time and intended Place of her pretended Travail, such feigned Time of her supposed Conception was published by the King and Queen, that neither her Royal Highness, nor any of the Nobility, could possibly foresee the Time when the Comedy that is now said to have been acted was to begin.

The Place where her Majesty was intended to lye in was kept in such Uncertainty, and often published so variously, sometimes that it should be at *Richmond*, sometimes at *Windsor*, another Time at *Hampton Court*, that none of the Nobles of either Sex, that were of the Kindred and Friends of the Heir apparent, nor of the Protestant Nobility, could know how to prepare themselves for Attendance on her Majesty, as was their Duty to their Majesties, her Royal Highness, and the Kingdom.

As the Publication of the Place was often changed, as if a Surprise in the Place was designed, so at last such a sudden and seeming hasty Resolution was taken a Day or two before her pretended Delivery, that her lying in should be at *St. James's*, tho' none expected the Time to be near by above three Weeks, that Commands were given for preparing her Lodgings there so hastily, that when her Majesty said on the *Friday*, She would lye there on *Saturday*, and it was told her it was not possible her Lodgings should be ready, She then said, She would lie there on the Floor.

It was hoped by all the Protestants, that the Princess of *Denmark* would have been a faithful Watcher for her own Sake, when the Time of her Majesty's Deliverance of her great Belly should come; tho' she had not been able, or She durst not give them Advice of the Occurrences in the Time of her Majesty's supposed Pregnancy, it was thought that She could not be avoided but She would be present to see what was brought forth, whether any thing or nothing; but Care was taken, that Advice should be given her when She wanted astringent Medicines, to go to the loosening Waters of the *Bath*, to keep her fourscore Miles distant till the pretended Prince should be born.

At the first Notice we had of her Majesty's passionate Declaration, that she would lie at *St. James's* on the *Saturday* Night, we could not conjecture that there was to be a pretended Prince brought forth on the *Sunday*, nor was there any Whispers of it, or the least natural feigned or counterfeit Sign of forerunning Pains of a Woman, whose Times of Travail approacheth. Her Majesty was late in the Night at Cards, and no Appearance of an Indisposition then, nor is any pretended to have been in the Night; but we learned by the Event on the *Sunday*, the Reason of her Majesty's fixed and immovable Resolution to lie at *St. James's*, on the *Saturday* Night, she was to seem to bring forth a Prince on the *Sunday*.

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There was a cunning Contrivance, to chuse a fit Time of that Day, it was to be between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning, that all or most of the Protestant Ladies might be at Church, and the Trick be over before their Return; and that the Midwife, Mrs. *Labany*, and the Favourite Mrs. *Tourain*, might have Freedom and Secrecy, as they had to act their Parts in the bringing forth of a suppositious Prince.

The Room also that was chosen, wherein the Trick was to be acted, was fit for the Purpose, and contrary to the Rules of common Prudence, to be chosen in a Case suspected for setting up a suppositious Child, and ought to have been avoided, if their Meaning had been just and good; there was a private Door within the Ruel of the Bed, into a Room, from whence a Child might be secretly brought, and put into the Bed, unseen by any that should attend in the Queen's Room, tho' at the Feet of the Bed, (none of them coming into the Ruel;) and by that Door the three Confidents, the Midwife, Mrs. *Labany*, and Mrs. *Tourain*, brought into her Majesty's Bed what they pleased unseen.

If they had wanted no secret Conveyance by that Door, common Prudence required, that they had nailed or sealed it up, to avoid confirming and increasing the Kingdom's just and known Jealousies, of imposing upon them a counterfeit Prince, when it should be known, that there was such secret Ways, as made it so easy to be done by Confederation, undiscerned by others that were in the Room; but it appeared by the Event, that the Privy Door was so necessary for the designed Imposture, that all the Transactions of it were managed by that Door, as is well known to all those Lords of the Council, that were brought for a Shew, not to see any Thing that was done, but only to be seen in the Bed-chamber with his Majesty, that their Names might be published to the People, as if they had been Witnesses of the Queen's being delivered of this pretended Prince.

The Civil Laws provided as a Rule of common natural Equity, that when a Woman was to be delivered of a Posthumous Child, that might defeat another appearing Heir, that the Chamber wherein she was to be delivered should have but one Door, and if there were more, that they should be sealed up with the Seals of both Parties, and that Keepers should be set at the single Door, and no Woman suffered to enter, until she was searched in all kinds, that no Child might be conveyed to the Woman in her real or supposed Travail; and tho' we have no express Statute that gives Direction in such Cases, yet our Common Law abhors all Appearance of Fraud about Inheritances, and hath appointed twelve of the most able Neighbours to judge of all the Signs and Appearances of Fraud, and setting up counterfeit Heirs, who may also judge upon presumptive Evidence, and reject any pretended Heir, where they see Signs of Fraud and Imposture, whereupon to ground their Judgment, and every one must at his Peril take Care, that there be no Grounds of Suspicion given of a suppositious Heir.

We have faithfully shewed your Highness what were the Preparations for her Majesty's supposed Time of Travail, wherein there appeared no Marks of an Intention to deal uprightly and openly with her Royal Highness, as

Heireſs apparent of the Crown, and with the Subjects of the Kingdom; nor was there any natural Signs that her Maſteſty really feared or expected the common Sorrows, Pains and Danger of a Woman in Travail, or made any ſuitable Proviſions.

We cannot learn, that there was in Readineſs ſo much as the uſual Inſtruments of Midwives, whereupon they commonly place all Women of Quality in their Time of Travail, that ſuch Aſſiſtance may be given them, by the Matrons and Midwives, as is not poſſible to be given on their Knees, which is the common Poſture of meaner Women, and leaſt of all, as they lie in their Bed, which is ſeldom uſed, until the Length of the Travail and Failure of Strength enforce it. There being many natural Reaſons for the Poſture of the Womens Bodies, helping them in their Travail.

Amongſt other ſuitable Proviſions, it had been certainly fit, that a Colledge of Phyſicians had been called to attend ſomewhere near to her Maſteſty, if ſhe had not known there could be no Need of them; and ſhe being ſure there could be no Hour of Danger to herſelf, in a feigned Travail, nor any ſudden Need of Phyſicians Advice, or Help to a ſtrong lively ſuppoſed Prince, that was intended then to be brought forth.

As all the Preparations for her Maſteſty's ſuppoſed Time of Travail, diſcovered to knowing and obſerving People, that there was not Reality in her Pretences made of a great Belly, ſo the Fiction and Fraud was made more manifeſt when the Trick came to be acted.

Her Maſteſty lying in Bed, with all the Curtains round cloſe drawn, all that was provided belonging naturally to a Child, and intended to be uſed by them, in their bringing forth the ſuppoſitious Prince, being prepared and ready within the inner Chamber, then her Maſteſty's feigned Travail began; and all theſe Things were by the Help of the Midwife, Mrs. *Labany* and Mrs. *Tourain*, the Confederates, brought through the Door, in the Wall by the Queen's Bed, and put between her Sheets, that is, a Child, and all that naturally attends a Birth, then the Midwife and the Confidants ſeemed very buſy about her Maſteſty in the Dark, none ſeeing what they did; and being afraid, as appeared by the Midwife's Words, that the Child which was prepared to ſleep to prevent its crying before it was got into the Bed, ſhould be ſtiſled by the Cloſeneſs of the Bed, they were forced to haſten the Queen's pretended Delivery, even beyond what was reaſonably to be believed, notwithstanding all that could be ſaid of the Lady of *Loretto*, or any other Saint's Aſſiſtance, therefore the Queen's ſuppoſed Deliverance was in very ſhort Time.

But nothing appearing in her Maſteſty like the real natural Travail of a Woman in Child-bearing, there were none of the uſual natural Signs in her Maſteſty of being in real Travail, which cannot be hidden; there was no Appearance of an Approaching Travail, by various intermitting Pangs, uſually very great, by the Infant's ſtruggling to free it ſelf of the Womb, no Shew of the Pains naturally and gradually increaſing, as more of the Ligatures came to be broken or rent, whereby every Infant is ſafely retained in the Womb, until its full Growth, and appointed Time; there were no Signs of her Maſteſty's

ty's known Weakness in bearing such Pangs in her State of Body, debilitated with long lingering Infirmities; there were no Signs of a violent Eruption of an untimely Birth from the Womb of eight Months and four Days, as her Majesty then reported it to have been.

All that was to be feigned was suddenly dispatched, and the Midwife delivered something close covered to Mrs. *Labany*, which could be nothing but the Child they had put in, and went with it together through the Privy Door, in the Ruel of the Bed into the next Room, in so great Haste, that it was not considered how plainly it might discover, that it was a meer feigned counterfeit Travail of the Queen's, if the Midwife durst quit her attending and assisting her Majesty in these Moments, when there was the greatest Necessity of her Skill and Assistance in her Office, and the most extreme Danger of her Majesty's Life, by any Neglect of her, if she had really brought forth any Child, as they were obliged to pretend.

Instead of fair open Freedom, in shewing that the Queen was really delivered of a Prince, which our Customs and Laws and natural Equity required, that all those Works of Nature might have been seen, and testified by noble Matrons; their pretended Birth of a Prince, and all that they did about it, was done in the Dark, with the Curtains close drawn round about the Bed, and under the Coverings of it, and none of either Sex permitted to see any Thing done about her Majesty, or her supposed Child, save only the Confederates; no others of those in the Bed-chamber, that drew as near as they might, were suffered to see what was taken out of the Bed, being something wholly covered, and immediately carried away by the private Door.

All hearkned after the common and most constant natural Sign of the Birth of a living Child, that is, its crying; but we are fully assured, from divers Lords of the Council, and others that were in the Bed-chamber, that the Crying of a Child was heard by none there, when the Pretence was that a Child was born, tho' the Midwife would not at first say it was a Prince.

We have related to your Highnesses no Circumstances, but such as are notoriously known, or could be judicially proved, before any impartial Court of Judicature, and therefore we will not offer to your Highness those Conjectures, (tho' we have them from good Hands,) of what was acted about the pretended Prince, in the Room from whence he was brought, and to which he was carried, before the Lords of the Council, or any others, were told, that there was a Prince born; but we have it of Certainty from those that were present, that during the whole fictitious Travail of the Queen's, and a considerable Time after it, his Majesty kept those Lords of the Council that were called not far from the Feet of her Majesty's Bed, that was close shut up; and they neither saw nor heard any Thing about the Birth of the supposed Prince, whereof they can be lawful Witnesses to the Kingdom, yet the Actors of this whole Imposture had the Confidence to publish forthwith to the Kingdom by Authority, that those Lords, and many Ladies of Quality, were present at the Queen's Delivery of a Prince, equivocating therein like the Jesuits, and falsely insinuating to the People, that those Lords, and many Matrons of the Nobility, had been such ocular Witnesses as our Laws require,
of

of the Queen's being delivered of a Prince; whereas in Truth all that were not of the Confederacy waited to no more Purpose, than if they had been ten Miles off her Bed-chamber.

After long waiting, his Majesty left them, and retired into the inner Room, where was Mrs. *Labany*, and the Confidents with the supposed Prince; and it was soon after said to the Lords, that a Prince being born, there was no more Need of them, whereupon several of them went away; and whatsoever was done in shewing a Child to those that stay'd, was not worthy of Enquiry, since it could be of no Use to your Highness or the Kingdom.

Yet we carefully observed and enquired after the Queen's supposed Deliverance of a Prince, whether there were any natural demonstrable Signs in her Majesty, that she had newly born a Child, that had broke its Way by Violence into the World, before Nature's Time, as she then affirmed; some of us know well the usual and necessary Consequences of such Force upon Nature in Women of such Tenderness and Weakness as her Majesty's; we expected to have heard of her great Weakness and Danger of her Life by a Fever, that commonly attends such untimely Births; we enquired after the Danger of her Majesty's Breasts, by the unusual Redundancy of Milk, because one had reported so long before, that she had Plenty of it in her Breasts; we employed proper Persons to ask what Woman had the Honour to draw her Breasts, or whether any Applications were made to her Breasts, to repel or dry the Milk; and also, to ask after the good Progress of her Majesty, in the natural Cleansings that follows Child-bearing; and of her Strength in bearing these unavoidable Consequences, whereby all Women of her Majesty's Tenderness and Weakness are greatly debilitated; but we could never learn, by our most diligent Inquiry, that there was any Appearance of these natural Effects of Child-bearing, tho' a good Doctor's Skill might have easily feigned all those, to the Delusion of all about her Majesty's Court.

We have now given your Highness an Abstract of many of the Circumstances which we had collected in this Affair; and must freely affirm, that we cannot observe, from the Beginning to the End of it, one Footstep of sincere Plainness: All that hath been done therein, from the Queen's pretended Conception, to her supposed Delivery of a Prince, hath shewed Desires and Intentions to hide the Truth of those natural Things, which they were obliged, by the Laws of *England*, by natural Justice, and by their own Honour and Interest, to have made demonstrable or provable, by sufficient Witnesses, to all the Kingdom, if there had been Truth in their Pretences.

There hath been such a total Neglect, slighting and disregard of all the necessary Rules of Law and Justice about needful Witnesses of the Birth of a Prince and Heir to the Crown (when they knew that most of the Kingdom suspected their setting up a Counterfeit) that it looks like a Contempt of your Highness and the whole Kingdom, as if no Satisfaction were due to her Royal Highness in her Admission of an Heir to the Crown before her, nor to the Kingdom in their Acknowledgment of a Prince to be the next Successor to the Crown.

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The most modest Judgment we can make of it, is, to think that a blind Zeal (always nourish'd by the *Romish* Church) to settle a Popish Successor, hath made them break through all the Rules of Righteousness, and stifle and extinguish all the natural Affections of a Father to a Child, to do a Service to their Church that is by their Doctrine so meritorious.

Your Highness will the better consider all these Circumstances mentioned, if you will please to call to Mind the Occasion and Time when this Design was first resolved to set up a Prince, to bar her Royal Highness of the immediate Succession to the Crown.

Be pleased to remember, that 'tis before observed, that the going to the *Bath*, and the Visit to St. *Winefred's Well*, and the Present made to the Lady were Preparations for a Report of the Queen's being with Child, and were all concluded upon about the End of *August* and Beginning of *September* 1687, and then was your Highness's Compliance with the Popish Design despaired of.

The Abstract of Mr. *Steward's* Letters to Mynheer *Fagel*, which we just now find printed, confirms all our Memorials in that Matter. He was pardoned and chosen by the King to have persuaded your Highness to a Consent that the penal Laws and Test should be repealed, which had been a full Establishment of Popery; in his two first Letters of *July* he seeks to persuade your Highness, that the King was resolved to preserve, and observe the true Right of Succession to the Crown, and was very desirous of your Highness's Consent and Concurrence in his Design, and troubled to find them so averse from it: In his next Letters of the same *July* he pressed that your Highness should have been disposed to hearken to a well chosen Informer, to be sent by his Majesty to persuade your Concurrence with him, and he pressed extremely for a hasty Answer, the new Councils for setting up a Suppositious Prince seem then to have been begun.

That Letter seems to threaten what we now see if your Highness refused; he doubled his Assurance to him that was to solicit your Highness, that if you were obstinate (as they call it) it will be fatal to the Dissenters, and be feared productive of Ills yet unheard off: And his Letter of *August* 5, seems to give your Highness your last Time to chuse the Settlement of Popery, or to resolve to be true to the Protestant Religion.

He says, if your Highness did what was desired by the King, it was the best Service to the Protestants, the highest Obligation on his Majesty, and the greatest Advancement of your own Interest, that you could think on; but if not, then all is contrary. There can be no other Meaning, in saying if your Highnesses refused, all is contrary, save only this, that the Protestants should then have no Mercy from the Papists; his Majesty would be so offended that he would become your Highness's Enemy; and it would be the Loss of your Highness's greatest Interest, that you can think on, which certainly could be no other then the just Expectancy of the three Kingdoms.

As these Letters threaten that the King would destroy your Highness's greatest Interest if you refused, so the Attempt of it soon after appeared.

It's now known, that in *September* and *October* the Resolutions were taken to publish that the Queen was with Child, but before it was publicly declared, that is, *October* 8, Mr. *Steward* says, he would use no more Arguments to your Highness, but he then laments your Highness's Loss of the Time of Compliance: Alas, said he, that Providence should not be understood. Then in *November* he speaks more plainly (notwithstanding your Highness's Moderation towards the Papists and their Liberty was shewn by Mynheer *Fagel's* Letter) he says that all Hope of your Highness's Concurrence in the King's Design was given over, and Men were become as cold in it there as your Highness were positive here: And upon his new Conference with the King, he not only shews the King's Dislike of that Letter, but says expressly, that your Highness's Answer was too long delay'd, and that the King was quite over that Matter. There can be no other reasonable Construction of this, than that the King had then resolved of another Way to prosecute the Popish Design, and Time hath now shewn and proved to the World that the Way resolved on was to set up this Suppositious Prince for a Popish Successor.

These Letters by the help of Time shew the Design when it was in Embrio, and helps to make a Judgment upon all the other Circumstances that we have mentioned; and no doubt if an Evidence made up of all the Circumstances that we have mentioned, in their Order and Connexion were given to any impartial Judges, it would be judged as strong a presumptive Evidence as ever was given; and in the Proceedings of our Laws against Criminals, Judgment hath passed against the Lives of many upon far less Evidence, this being as full as the Matter of the Thing can possibly suffer in your Highness and the Kingdom's Case.

But notwithstanding this Sort of circumstantial Evidence be sufficiently forcible and convincing to disinterested Persons, to prove this supposed Prince to be an Impostor, and it may be more Circumstances of the same Nature are known to your Highness, yet we most humbly pray your Highness to wave insisting upon any of them, as entirely as if you could neither prove nor know more about this pretended Prince than common Fame hath proclaimed without Contradiction.

It no Ways belongs to your Highnesses, nor to the Kingdom, to prove the Falshood of his Pretences, or any Circumstance about his Birth, and it would be very prejudicial for your Highness, to take upon you the Burden of producing Witnesses and Proofs, and admitting your Highness's Adversaries to dispute their Force and Sufficiency, when it belongs to them wholly and only, to bring forth such lawful Witnesses in due Numbers, as may satisfy your Highness and the Kingdom of the Truth of their Pretences, and it is an infinite Wrong to your Highness and the Kingdom, that they have not done it long since, if there had been a true Prince born of the Queen.

Since 'tis the Kingdom's great Concern as well as your Highnesses, we are the bolder to propose that the Method of Defence against the publick Injury, be made according to the known Laws and Customs of *England*; that is, That an open free Demand be made in the Name of her Royal Highness, as Heiress apparent of the Crown; and in behalf of all the People of the Realm,

that

that there be forthwith declared and published to the Kingdom a sufficient Number for this Case, of lawful Witnesses of either Sex, such as the Laws of *England* and natural Justice require in the Case, who do testify, that according to the usual Practice of their respective Sexes at the Birth of Princes, Heirs to Crowns, they were Eye Witnesses that the Child now called the Prince of *Wales* was naturally born of the Queen's Body.

'Tis but just regular and modest for your Highness to make that Demand, and your insisting upon it to be done immediately, without the least Delay, and is no more than the Right of your Highness and the Kingdom, that must be confessed by all that either know the Rules of natural Justice or the Laws of *England*: Our Laws require and demand an Entry to be made upon all Intruders into the Rights or Inheritances of another, there ought to be legal Interruptions made of all wrongful Possessions however obtained. A long Permission of an illegitimate Child to pass for a legitimate Heir, is of dangerous Consequence to the true Heir of an Inheritance; 'tis a known Rule both in our *English* Laws, and the Civil Laws, *Tacens longo tempore præsumitur consentire*, he that remains long without answering any Thing to an Intruder's Claim, seems to allow it.

We crave Pardon that we must freely tell your Highness, that it hath been our Astonishment that your Highness has been so long silent, and have deferred to make your just Demand, and that you have so long suffered her Royal Highness's Chaplains to pray publicly for this supposed Prince of *Wales*.

Your Highness's Heart cannot desire the God of Truth and Righteousness to prosper such an Invasion of your own and the Kingdom's Rights, nor to bless the Imposture as such, being set up (tho' an innocent Child) to be a Tool in the Hands of others to destroy the Protestant Profession, your Highness's Claims to the greatest Inheritance, and the best Civil Government known in the World. We believe your Highnesses to be true Christians, that tremble in the Worship and Prayers before the eternal Majesty, and therefore hope such a Shew of owning him will not be longer suffered to be acted before the great God, that searcheth all the Hearts of Princes and Subjects.

If your Highnesses shall first make this legal Demand proposed, and Satisfaction therein be not given by the Maintainers of the supposed Prince, without Delay, then natural Justice and our Laws dictate, that your Highnesses demand a Retraction by the publick Ministers of the King in all Christian Kingdoms and States, of the false News they have published of the Birth of a Prince of *Wales*, and their Vindication of her Royal Highness's Right apparent to the next Succession of the Crown.

When a wrongful Claimer to be Heir of an Inheritance cannot prove his true Descent, the Court wherein he sues his Claim, not only rejects and damns his false Pretences, but openly declares the counterfeit Tricks or Forgeries that they observe to have been attempted to support the false Claim; and our Laws enable the Heir that hath been disturbed, to demand by his Action against the false Pretender, Satisfaction for the Scandal of his lawful Title; and our Laws further require his Prosecution for Justice against all the

known Confederates in that intended Wrong and Fraud, for their several Crimes therein committed.

We are sensible, that most Catholick Princes have a Prejudice to us in the Rights we claim as *English* Protestants, not knowing our Laws and Liberties, and we have therefore proposed these two Demands to be first in Order made by your Highnesses in the behalf of her Royal Highness and the Kingdom, that we might convince them that we have Reason and Justice according to their own Laws and Rules of Right to seek your Highnesses Protection against the King's Practices (as they yet appear) in forcing us to stoop to a counterfeit Prince, and to change the Succession of the Crown and the whole Government, your Highnesses having therein a joint Concern with us and our Laws; and Nature itself, calls upon you to defend your own and the Kingdom's Right, to preserve the Succession of the Crown, as it is by the Laws established, which the King had no Pretence of Power to change.

But we must also humbly fly to your Highnesses to protect us against the horrible Destruction made by the King of all our Laws, for the Reformation of our Christian Religion, and our Security against the open professed and mortal Enemies of our Liberties therein; the King having declared to the World, that those Laws shall never hereafter be put in Execution; and to make our Case therein desperate, hath caused his Judges to justify him in what he hath done.

We must also pray your Highnesses Help against his Invasion of all our Civil Rights and Fundamental Liberties, and his utter Subversion of the free Government of *England* by its antient Customs and Laws.

We cannot doubt but your Highnesses will be convinced by this Memorial that we have not complained of our Oppressions until they are become intolerable, nor sought any Relief (save from *God* alone) until your Highnesses justly expected Inheritance, and the very Being of our Civil Government are in the most extream Danger of utter Ruin.

We are and have been truly loyal to the King, and never refused Obedience to any of his legal Commands, or any whatsoever that could consist with all our other Duties to God and our fellow Subjects. We have been content to suffer personal Wrongs and manifest Injustice, and considered the Corruption of Men, that Abuses and particular Wrongs will happen in all Governments, and ought patiently to be born, whilst the Fundamentals of Civil Government and Justice are sacredly preserved. Our Christian Charity taught us that 'tis better that a few suffer Wrongs, then to hazard for their just Relief more Effusion of Blood, or other Mischiefs than can be recompensed by their obtaining Right. We know the *Jesuits* Crafts might have clouded the Justice that might have been demanded in particular Cases, and we have therefore stay'd until the Justice of what we pray, is become demonstrable unto all that are not corruptly and wilfully blind, or led blindfold by the *Jesuits* or their *Romish* Priests.

We are sensible, that the King hath used the Name of the Royal Authority and Prerogative in all the lawless Powers that he hath exercised; and we durst not pray your Highness's Aid against his Doings, if there could be
reason-

reasonably any Doubt or Question, whether the Things he hath done, and daily doth, might be authorized by the Royal Powers and high Prerogatives which belong to the Kings of *England*.

'Tis most unquestionable, that the noble *English* Monarchy and Government had a legal Foundation, and was and is established upon Customs, Franchises and Laws peculiar to the *English* Nation. It was always free and independent upon all the Powers and Potentates on Earth: The Kings and the People are, and of Right were always free and absolute, to bind themselves by their own Laws, made by their joint Consent, and not otherwise; they could never be bound by any others than themselves, save only by the Laws of the most High GOD.

A King of *England* ceaseth to act by the *English* kingly Authority; or as a King of *England*, if he yield up himself or his Subjects to be bound or subjected to any other Laws, Canons or Jurisdictions, than such as are made, or freely received, by the mutual Agreement of the King, and the Representative Body of the Realm in Parliament.

'Tis declared, in the Statute 6 *Richard* II. 5. that the Crown of *England* had been so free at all Times, that it hath been in Subjection to no Realm; and that the same ought not, in any Thing touching the Regality, to be submitted to the Bishop of *Rome*, nor the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to be by him frustrated or defeated at his Will, to the perpetual Destruction of the King's Sovereignty, Crown and Regality, and of all the Realm. The Commons then prayed the King, and him required, by Way of Justice, to examine all the States of the Realm, how they would stand, to defend the Rights of the Crown and the Realm against the Pope; and it was thereupon ordained, that all that should pursue or bring any Bulls or Instruments from *Rome*, against the King's Regality, or his Realm, should be put out of the King's Protection, and incur a *Premunire*, which, as the Law then was, made it lawful for any Man to kill them.

Likewise the Statute of 24 *Henry* VIII. 12. and 25 *Henry* VIII. 21. say, That the Realm hath been, and is free from Subjection to Mans Laws, but only to such as have been devised and made within the same, for its own Welfare, or of their free Liberty, received by their Consent to them.

The King and Parliament, near four Hundred Years since, were so resolute to defend the Rights and Freedoms of the Crown and the Realm, against the Imposition of the Pope's Canons, and the Jurisdictions and Powers which he attempted to exercise, that notwithstanding they were Papists, yet they, by the Statute of 18 *Edward* III. Statute 1. Rot. Parliament, Number 38, declared the Pope to be the common Enemy to the King and the Realm, and so he stands now declared; and to the like Purpose is the Roll Parliament 17 *Edward* III. Number 59. Tho' these Statutes are not printed, their Force is the same, to make them to fall into the Condition of Enemies to the Kingdom that correspond with him or his Nuntio.

It never was in the Power of any King of *England*, to yield up or submit the Rights of the Crown, and the Realm and its Laws, Powers or Jurisdictions of any Sort, against the Will of the Realm in Parliament; so it was con-

passed 500 Years since, King *Henry VI.* in his Letter to Pope *Paschal*, *Notum habeat sanctitatis vestra quod me vivente [auxiliante Deo,] dignitates & usus regni nostri Angliæ non imminuentur, & si ego (quod obfit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem Magnates mei, & totus Angliæ populus nullo modo pateretur.* Be it known, (said he,) to your Holiness, that whilst I live, (by God's Assistance) the Authorities and Usages of the Kingdom of England shall never be diminished, but if I would so debase my self, (which GOD forbid,) my Nobles, and the whole People of England would by no Means suffer it.

King *John* indeed unworthily surrendered the Crown and Regalities to Pope *Innocent III.* and his Successors, and the Priest falsely put into that Charter, that it was by the Consent of his Council of Barons, he submitted to hold the Kingdom of the Pope; and that by yearly Rent again; but when Pope *Gregory X.* in the third of *Edward I.* sent for that pretended Rent, that noble Prince justly * answered, that he was bound by his Oath, in his Coronation, to preserve the Rights of the Kingdom untouched; and that he could do nothing that concerned the Crown, without the Advice of the People in Parliament, which are there called † *proceres*.

In the 40th *Edward III.* the Pope demanded the same Rents, and the King proposed it in Parliament, but they declared, that neither King *John* nor any other King had any Power to put himself, or the Realm and People into Subjection to the Pope, without their Consent in Parliament; and that if it were done by King *John*, it was done contrary to his Oath in his Coronation; and if the Pope attempted any Thing thereupon, against the King or his Subjects, they would resist him to their utmost Power.

The same King *Edward* the III. had only negligently suffered the Pope's Power to be too much used in the Kingdom, contrary to the Statute of *Carlisle*, 35 *Edward I.* as appears by the Parliament Roll 17, *Edward III.* Number 59, and the Commons in Parliament complained, that the Treasure of the Realm was transported to *Rome*, and the Secrets of the Realm discovered, by the foreign Priests sent hither; and they required of the King some Mercy, for that they neither could nor would any longer bear those strong Oppressions, or else that he would help them to expel out of this Realm the Pope's Power by Force, and thereupon were enacted against many of the Pope's Powers in this Realm, those severe Penal Laws, of 25 *Edward III.* 27 *Edward III.* 1. 38 *Edward III.* Statute II. Chap. I. all which our King hath now declared shall never hereafter be put in Execution.

That victorious Prince *Edward III.* tho' a Papist, yet pretended to no regal Prerogative of suspending the Laws made by the Kings and Parliaments against the Pope; he confesseth, in that Statute, of 35th *Edward I.* against the Pope's Power, that it held its Force, being not annulled by Parliament; and therefore he was bound, by his Oath, to see the same kept as a Law of the Realm, tho' that by Sufferance and Negligence it had been attempted to the contrary.

* See Roll. Clar. 3. Ed. Num. 9. Shed.

† See Coke's Inst. Fol. 13.

If the Effects of the *Romish* Jurisdictions in the Realm were looked upon as they are related in that 38th *Edward III.* 1. It would be manifest, that the King that would put the Kingdom into such a State, lays aside thereby his Kingly Office and Dignity, whilst he pursues these Intentions; that Statute saith, That by the Powers exercised by the Pope and Court of *Rome*, and the Dependants thereof, the good ancient Laws, Customs, and Franchises of the Realm were greatly impeached, blemished, and confounded; the Crown abated, the Treasure and Riches of the Realm carried away, the Inhabitants and Subjects of the Realm impoverished and troubled, and the great Men and Commons in Bodies and Goods damnified; surely there can be no Doubt, whether the King hath any Royal Prerogative to enable him either to stop the Execution of these penal Laws, that prevent the Kingdom from falling back into such a forlorn Estate, or to attempt, by Pretence of Liberty of Conscience for the *Romish* Priests and Emissaries, and their Practices, to enable them to work all the Mischief they can against those that would save the Kingdom from such Miseries.

Your Highnesses may be absolutely certain, that the King acts not by Virtue of the *English* regal Office or Prerogatives, in his authorizing Treasons to be daily committed against the Realm, by the Statute of 13th *Elizabeth*, 2. they that give or receive any Absolution or Reconciliation to *Rome* by the Pope's Authority, or any of his Priests, which the King licenseth and authorizeth to be done continually, those are declared high Traitors to the King and the Realm, and no Doubt Treason declared by a Statute against the Realm, are common Nufances of the highest Nature and Mischief; 'tis the Trust of the regal Office to prevent and punish them; and 'tis directly contrary to the Kingly Office, to assume Power to authorize or licence such Crimes.

'Tis unquestionable, that no King of *England* ever had Power to grant Offices to Persons disabled to bear them, by positive and direct Acts of Parliament, made for that very Purpose, and declared to be for the People's Security; nevertheless the King hath put most of the Offices of the Kingdom in the Hands of those that are so disabled.

'Tis as certain, it never was in the Power of our Kings, to dispossess at their Wills any of the Subjects of those Interests and Profits which they had for their Lives; nor to commission any to judge his Subjects finally in Matters Criminal or Civil by their Discretion, without any Regard to the Laws, Customs and Privileges of the Realm.

These and many other Powers exerted by the King, which we might name to your Highnesses, are not the Actings of an *English* legal Monarch, but an assumed despotical Power over the Persons, the Liberties and Interests of the Subjects; as if he alone had at least the Property paramount in all their Persons and their Interests, which in all Civil Governments belongs only to the lawful Legislators; and as if the People of *England* were Tenants of his meer Will to what they have, and had no Right nor Interest in their Laws, Customs or Franchises, nor any Justice to demand the Benefit of them.

Nothing can complete his Majesty's Renunciation of the Trusts and Obligation of the *English* regal Office, save only that he assumes, (as he now doth
actually

actually) to take from the Cities and Boroughs intirely all their Customs and Privileges, and free Election of their Magistrates, confirmed to them expressly by the great Charter, and many other Laws; and that he deprives all the rest of the People of their Liberty to chuse such Persons as they please, according to the Statutes, to consent for them to the Laws that bind them, their Estates and Lives, as he hath declared he will, and intends and is every Day doing; and then the ancient rightful and free *English* Government will be manifestly and intirely dissolved, and *Englishmen* shall have no legal Right to their Estates, their Wives and Children, or their Lives.

There will be then no legal *English* Monarchy in *England*, trusted by the Laws, with high Royal Prerogatives for the joint Safety and Benefit of the King and the Subjects, acknowledging themselves to be bound by an Oath, to maintain the Customs, Laws and Franchises of the Realm, and to take continual Care for the Execution of the Laws impartially; for that Purpose every Man shall then have equal and eternal Right to every Thing as this King will, and his Popish Forces shall dispose of it, and so long only as he shall please to continue in the same Mind with the same Force.

'Tis with bleeding Hearts, that in this manifest extreme Oppression and Danger we beg your Highnesses Aid to defend the Rights of the Crown, and the Realm.

There can be no Question of your Highnesses Right to defend the same, the legal Monarchy and Government, by our ancient Customs, Laws and Franchises, to save the ancient penal Laws against the Pope's Usurpations, and the latter Laws for the Reformation of our Religion from Popery; and to preserve the special Customs and Privileges of the Cities and Boroughs, as well as the general Customs of the Kingdom, our Customs and Laws only have vested in your Highness the next Right expectant of the *English* Crown, [and if no Prince shall be born, *Rege etiam remittente*,] tho' the King shall do all that's possible for him to hinder you.

If you suffer them to be destroyed, or to be disused and deemed to be of no Force, but as the King shall please, by his Judges and Courts, and by all that he shall possess of the Power of the Kingdom, your Highness's Claim and Rights expectant of the Crown is in like Manner destroyed and set aside; and the whole arbitrary Magistracy serving his Will and all his Popish Forces, Foreigners and Natives, will be engaged in Interest and misguided Conscience, to oppose your Highness's Claim; by the Laws and Customs of *England*, there will be indeed, in the State to which the King hath brought the Kingdom, no legal Magistrates nor Government in Being and Use, unto which her Royal Highness can immediately succeed, according to the Customs and Laws of *England*; the Kingdom must be a confused Multitude, and the strongest may subdue the rest to their Will.

As your Highnesses have a Right to save the Government, by Reason of your great Interest in it, so all the People have an unquestionable Right to seek your Highness's Aid therein; and 'tis one of their principal Duties of the Christian Religion, and will be one of the best outward Expressions of their Love to God, and Jesus Christ, to assist your Highnesses in all your righteous

teous Ways, defending their just Civil Government, being instituted by GOD for preserving Justice amongst human Societies.

The People that love their Neighbours and Countries as Christian Religion Commands, ought not carelessly nor irreligiously to suffer their Civil Government, their Laws, and all their Rights and Interest that their Country hold by them for themselves and Posterities, to be destroyed by any Man's Will, Superstition or Ambition.

He that was at first a legal supream Magistrate, and ought to have been obeyed if he would have so continued, tho' he had done many Injustices to particular Persons, he may cast off the Quality and Use of the Powers of a legal supream Magistrate, and use and exercise Power destructive to all the legal Trusts and Office; and then he divests himself of that Office and Trust of a lawful Magistracy, unto which the Laws of God and the Kingdom require Obedience.

The ancient Kings of *England* acknowledged the People's Right to save their free Government, if any of the Kings themselves would have dishonourably parted with the Rights of the Crown and the Realm; we mention the Letter of *Henry I.* to the *Pope*: And that great Prince *Edward I.* on the like Occasion of Power claimed by the *Pope*, not only writ to the *Pope* to the same Effect as *Henry I.* did, but by his Consent Letters were written to *Pope Boniface*, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, wherein they told the *Pope*, that they were bound by Oath to the Observation and Defence of their Liberty, Customs and ancient Laws, and would maintain them with all their Power and Force; and that they neither did, nor ever would, could, or ought to suffer the King, tho' he would, to do, or any Ways attempt what the *Pope* desired contrary to their Customs; since it would be to the Destruction of the Right of the Crown of *England*, and the Kingly Dignity, and the Subversion of the Statutes of the Kingdom, and Prejudice of their ancient Liberties, Customs and Laws.

Since then your Highnesses have an undoubted Right * to interpose between the King and us in your own and the Kingdom's Behalf, to save our ancient legal Government, and in special our Laws for the Reformation of our Christian Religion, we humbly offer, that besides the former Demands about the supposed Prince, your Highnesses will please to demand and insist immoveable,

That the ancient free Government of *England*, by its own Customs and Laws only made, or approved in Parliament, be immediately restored in all the Parts of it through the Kingdom; that is, that the Rights of the Crown and Freedom of the Realm be forthwith vindicated from all the Submissions publicly made to the *Pope* by the King that now is, to the Dishonour and Abasement of the *English* Crown, and Realm, and from all the Claims made by the *Romish* Church of any Powers and Jurisdictions whatsoever over the Christians or Church in *England*.

That all the Laws now in Force against the Admission of the Canons, and Jurisdiction of *Rome*, contrary to our Customs and Laws, and against the

* *Rot. Parliament.* 28 Ed. I. See *Coke's Institut.* 2. fol. 98.

Maintainers of them, be forthwith declared to be put in due Execution; and all Suspensions of them, or Dispensations with them, without the Authority of Parliament, be declared null and void.

That the ancient Customs, Liberties and Privileges for the City of *London*, and the whole Form and Course of its Government, be forthwith restored, the Customs thereof, being Part of the Common Law of *England*, and its Liberties be established by the great Charter, and many Acts of Parliament, that the Customs, free Election of their Magistrates, and all the Privileges of all the Cities and Boroughs of *England* confirmed by the greater Charter, and other Laws be duly restored.

That legal Officers, both Civil and Military, be settled in all the Places of Magistracy, and all the Commands throughout the Kingdom.

That all Commissions whatsoever be forthwith revoked, and declared null and void, whereby are granted any Powers of Discretion over the Persons or Interest of the Subjects, contrary to the Laws and Customs of *England*; especially the Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs, with its monstrous *non obstante*, to all our Laws.

That the Freedom of Elections, which is the Foundation of the Government, be duly vindicated, and all the most unworthy Pre-engagements revoked, and renounced, to elect and vote as the King would have them.

That the Kingdom may be restored as soon as possible to a Capacity of holding a legal Parliament, in such Form and Manner as the Laws require; by whose Help the Civil Government may be re-established, and Force and arbitrary Powers therein utterly abolished.

We crave your Highnesses Pardon, that we further humbly offer to your Highnesses, that Time and Accident always made Changes in the Usefulness of Laws; and that it hath so happened in our Penal Laws made for Uniformity in the Profession of Faith, and in the outward Worship of God; four of our succeeding Parliaments perceived the Abuse of these Laws, and the Mischief thereby to conscious Christians, and declared their Intention of relieving them, if the King would have permitted them, yet they endeavoured to stop the Execution of them, and desired a Settlement of Liberty of Conscience as is due to Christians.

In these Regards, and the Subversion of the whole Government, since made Necessity and Charity, many have the Force of Laws to enforce the Stay of the Execution of some of those Laws for Conformity, until those Matters may be settled in Parliament.

We therefore humbly pray your Highnesses to procure, as a Case of Necessity, that none be disturbed, until a legal Parliament shall have resolved the Case for the Profession of their Faith in Matters merely supernatural, or the outward Expression of their Worship, so as both terminate only in God, and neither wrong nor hurt any Man on Earth in Body, Goods, and good Name, but their own Souls only, if they be mistaken therein.

We now most humbly submit ourselves, and all herein contained, to your Highnesses Wisdom, Candour, and Charity, and shall pray the just and great God to fill your noble Souls with perfect Love and Wisdom, and all the most
resplendent

resplendent Virtues that are fit to shine in the highest Thrones and Power that ever the Sun beheld.

Sir, The Character we have had of your Worth, makes us confident of your Faithfulness to deliver the inclosed forthwith to his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, or in his Absence to her Royal Highness the Princess; we could not trust it by the Post, and therefore have sent it by an Express; which may perhaps make it longer in coming; the Messenger's only Order is to deliver it to one of your Servants, and we confide in your Integrity, and remain,

S I R,

Your most humble Servants,

Whom you may hereafter know.

The Speech of Sir *George Treby*, Kt. Recorder of the Honourable City of *London*, to his Highness the PRINCE of *ORANGE*, December the 20th, 1688.

May it please your Highness,

THE Lord Mayor being disabled by Sickness, your Highness is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, deputed to congratulate your Highness upon this great and glorious Occasion.

In which, labouring for Words, we cannot but come short in Expression.

Reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State, over-run by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and brought to the Point of Destruction, by the Conduct of Men (that were our true Invaders) that brake the Sacred Fences of our Laws, and (which was worst) the very Constitution of our Legislature.

So that there was no Remedy left but the last.

The only Person under Heaven that could apply this Remedy was your Highness.

You are of a Nation, whose Alliance, in all Times, has been agreeable and prosperous to us.

You are of a Family, most Illustrious, Benefactors to Mankind. To have the Title of Sovereign Prince, Stadtholder, and to have worn the *Imperial* Crown, are among their lesser Dignities. They have long enjoy'd a Dignity singular and transcendent, viz. To be Champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several Ages, to vindicate his Cause against the greatest Oppressions.

To this Divine Commission, our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave English Soldiers, rendred themselves and their Arms upon your appearing.

GREAT SIR,

When we look back to this last Month, and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Fulneſs of our preſent Deliverance, aſtoniſh'd, we think it miraculous.

Your Highneſs, led by the Hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of the People, has preſerved our deareſt Interests.

The Proteſtant Religion; which is primitive Chriſtianity reſtor'd.

Our Laws; which are our ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates; and without which this World were a Wilderneſs.

But, what Retribution can We make to your Highneſs.

Our Thoughts are full charged with Gratitude.

Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, in the Praises of all good Men amongſt us. And late Poſterity will celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time ſhall be no more.

Chapman Mayor.

*Cur' ſpecial' tent' die Jovis xx. die Decembr' 1688. Annoq; RR.
Jacobi Secundi Angl' &c. quarto.*

THis Court doth deſire Mr. Recorder to Print his Speech this Day made to the Prince of *Orange*, at the Time of this Court's attending his Highneſs with the Deputies of the ſeveral Wards, and other Members of the Common-Council.

Wagſtaffe.

The Names of the LORDS of his MAJESTY's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

HIS Maſteſty, the Day after he was proclaimed King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, was Graciouſly pleaſed to Summon divers Honourable Peers and Gentlemen to *Whitehall*, who were ſelected and ſworn of his Privy-Council, viz.

<i>His Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of</i>	<i>Earl of Bedford.</i>
<i>Canterbury.</i>	<i>Earl of Devonſhire.</i>
<i>The Right Reverend Biſhop of London</i>	<i>Earl of Maccleſfield.</i>
<i>His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.</i>	<i>Earl of Nottingham.</i>
<i>Marquis of Wincheſter.</i>	<i>Earl of Bath.</i>
<i>Marquis of Hallifax.</i>	<i>Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex.</i>
<i>Earl of Danby, Preſident.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Falconbridge.</i>
<i>Earl of Lindſay.</i>	<i>Lord Mordaunt.</i>
<i>Earl of Oxford.</i>	<i>Lord Newport.</i>
<i>Earl of Shrewſbury.</i>	<i>Lord Wharton.</i>

Lord

Lord Delamere.
 Lord Montague.
 Lord Lumley.
 Lord Churchill.
 The Heer Benting.
 Honourable Henry Sidney.

Honourable Edward Ruffel.
 Honourable Henry Powle.
 Richard Hampden, *Senior*.
 Sir Henry Capel.
 Hugh Boscawen, *Esq*;
 Sir Robert Howard.

A True List of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeffes,
 summoned by the Letter of his Highness the PRINCE
 of ORANGE, to meet at *Westminster* the 22d of
January 1688-9, as they have been returned to the
 Office of the Clerk of the Crown in *Chancery*.

Bedfordshire 4.

THE Hon. Edward Ruffel, *Esq*;
 William Duncombe, *Esq*;
 Town of Bedford.
 Thomas Christie, *Esq*;
 Thomas Hillerdon, *Esq*;

Berks 9.

The Hon. Mountague Bertie, Lord
 Norris.
 Sir Henry Winchcombe, *Bart*.
 Borough of New-Windsor.
 Henry Powle, *Esq*;
 Sir Christopher Wren, *Knt*.
 Borough of Reading.
 Sir William Rich, *Bart*.
 Sir Henry Fane, *Knight of the Bath*.
 Borough of Wallingford.
 Thomas Tipping, *Esq*;
 John Dormer, *Esq*;
 Thomas Tipping, *Esq*;
 William Jennens, *Esq*;
 Borough of Abington.
 Thomas Medlycott, *Esq*;

Bucks 14.

The Hon. Thomas Wharton, *Esq*;
 Sir Thomas Lee, *Bart*.

Town of Buckingham.

Sir Richard Temple, *Knight of the*
Bath and Bart.
 Sir Ralph Verney, *Bart*.
 Borough of Chipping-Wicomb.
 Thomas Lewes, *Esq*;
 William Jephson, *Esq*;
 Borough of Aylesbury.
 Thomas Lee, *Esq*;
 Richard Beake, *Esq*;
 Borough of Agmondesham.
 Sir William Drake, *Knt*.
 Edmond Waller, *Esq*;
 Borough of Wendover.
 Richard Hampden, *Esq*;
 John Hampden, *Esq*;
 Borough of Great-Marlow.
 Anthony Viscount Falkland.
 Sir John Borlace, *Bart*.

Cambridge 6.

Sir Levinus Bennet, *Bart*.
 Sir Robert Cotton, *Knt*,
 University of Cambridge.
 Sir Robert Sawyer, *Knt*.
 Isaac Newton, *Master of Arts*.
 Town of Cambridge.
 Sir Thomas Chichley, *Knt*.
 John Cotton, *Esq*;

Chester 4.*Sir Robert Cotton, Knt. and Bart.**John Mainwaring, Esq;**City of Chester.**Roger Whitley, Esq;**George Mainwaring, Alderman.***Cornwall** 44.*Sir John Carew, Bart.**Hugh Boscawen, Esq;**Borough of Dunhivid, alias Launceston.**William Harbord, Esq;**Edward Ruffel, Esq;**Borough of Leskard.**Sir Bourcheir Wrey, Bart. and Knt.
of the Bath.**John Buller, Esq;**Borough of Lestwithiel.**The Hon. Francis Robarts, Esq;**Walter Kendall, Esq;**Borough of Truro.**Sir Henry Ashurst, Knt.**Henry Vincent, Esq;**John Tredenham, Esq;**John Manley, Jun. Esq;**Borough of Bodmin.**Sir John Cutler, Knt. and Bart.**Nicholas Glynn, Esq;**Borough of Helston.**Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart.**Charles Godolphin, Esq;**Borough of Saltash.**The Hon. Bernard Grenville, Esq;**John Wadon, Esq;**Borough of Camelford.**Ambrose Manaton, Esq;**Henry Manaton, Esq;**Borough of Port-Higham, alias Wesslow.**Peircy Kirke, Esq;**James Kendal, Esq;**Borough of Grampound.**Edward Herle, Esq;**John Tanner, Esq;**Borough of Eastlow.**Charles Trelawney, Esq;**Henry Trelawney, Esq;**Borough of Penryn.**Anthony Rowe, Esq;**Alexander Pendarves, Esq;**Borough of Tregony.**Charles Boscawen, Esq;**Hugh Fortescue, Esq;**Borough of Bosliney.**Sir Peter Colleton, Bart.**Humphry Nicoll, Esq;**Borough of St. Ives.**James Praed, Esq;**Walter Vincent, Esq;**Borough of Foway.**Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq;**Shadrach Vincent, Esq;**Borough of St. Germans.**Sir Walter Moyle, Knt.**Daniel Elyott, Esq;**Borough of St. Michael.**Charles, Lord Viscount Fanshaw.**Francis Vivian, Esq;**Borough of Newport.**Sir William Morrice, Bart.**John Speccott, Esq;**Borough of St. Mawes.**Sir Joseph Tredenham, Knt.**Henry Seymour, Esq;**Borough of Kellington.**Sir John Coryton, Bart.**Jonathan Prideaux, Esq;***Cumberland** 6.*Sir George Fletcher, Bart.**Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven,
Bart.**City of Carlisle.**Sir Christopher Musgrave, Knt. and
Bart.**Jeremiah Bubb, Esq;**Borough of Cockermouth.**Sir Henry Capell, Knt.**Henry Fletcher, Esq;***Derby** 4.*Sir John Gell, Bart.**Sir Gilbert Clarke, Knt.*

Town of Derby.

The Hon. Anchitell Gray, *Esq*;
John Coke, *Esq*;

Devonshire 26.

Francis Courtney, *Esq*;
Samuel Rolle, *Esq*;

City of Exeter.

Sir Edward Seymour, *Bart.*
Henry Pollexfen, *Esq*;

Borough of Totnes.

Sir John Fowell, *Bart.*
Rawlin Mallack, *Esq*;

Borough of Plymouth.

Sir John Maynard, *Serj. at Law.*
Arthur Herbert, *Esq*;

Borough of Oakehampton.

William Cary, *Esq*;
Henry Nortleigh, *Esq*;

Borough of Barnstable.

Sir Arthur Chichester, *Bart.*
Richard Lee of Winslade, *Esq*;

Borough of Plympton.

Sir George Treby, *Knt.*
John Pollexfen, *Merchant.*

Borough of Honiton.

Richard Courtenay of Collyton, *Esq*;
Edmond Walrond of Bovey, *Esq*;

Borough of Tavistock.

The Hon. Robert Ruffel, *Esq*;
Sir Francis Drake, *Bart.*

Borough of Ashburton.

Sir Walter Yonge, *Bart.*
Thomas Reynell, *Esq*;

Borough of Clifton, Dartmouth, and
Hardness.

Charles Boon, *Esq*;
William Hayne, *Merchant.*

Borough of Beeralston.

Sir John Maynard, *Knt. Serjeant at*
Law.

John Elwel, *Esq*;
Borough of Tiverton.

Samuel Foote, *Esq*;
William Colman, *Esq*;

Dorsetshire 20.

Thomas Strangways, *Esq*;
Thomas Freke, *Esq*;

Town of Pool.

Sir Nathaniel Napier, *Bart.*
Henry Trenchard, *Esq*;
Thomas Chaffin, *Esq*;
Henry Trenchard, *Esq*;

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}
}

Borough of Dorchester.

Gerard Napier, *Esq*;
Thomas Trenchard, *Esq*;

Borough of Lyme-Regis.

John Pole, *Esq*;
John Burridge, *Esq*;

Borough of Weymouth.

Michael Harvey, *Esq*;
Henry Henning, *Esq*;

Borough of Melcolm-Regis.

Sir John Morton, *Bart.*
Sir Robert Napier, *Knt. and Bart.*

Borough of Bridport.

Richard Brodrep, *Esq*;
John Manley, *sen. Esq*;

Borough of Shafton, alias Shaftsbury.

Sir Matthew Andrews, *Knt.*
Edward Nicholas, *Esq*;

Borough of Wareham.

Thomas Erle, *Esq*;
George Ryves, *Esq*;

Borough of Corf-Castle.

Richard Fownes, *Esq*;
William Okeden, *Esq*;

Durham 4.

William Lampton, *Esq*;
Robert Byerley, *Esq*;

City of Durham.

George Morland, *Esq*;
Henry Lyddel, *Esq*;

Essex 8.

Henry Mildmay, *Esq*;
John Wroth, *Esq*;

Borough of Colchester.

Samuel Reynolds, *Esq*;
Isaac Rebow, *Esq*;

Borough

326 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Borough of Malden.
Sir Thomas Darcy, Bart.
Charles Montague, Esq;
Borough of Harwich.
Sir Thomas Middleton, Knt.
John Eldred, Esq;

Gloucestershire 8.
Sir John Guyse, Bart.
Sir Ralph Dutton, Bart.
City of Gloucester.
Sir Duncombe Colechester, Knt.
William Cooke, Esq;
Borough of Cirencester.
Thomas Master, Esq;
John How, Esq;
Borough of Tewkesbury.
Richard Dowdeswell, Esq;
Sir Francis Ruffel, Bart.

Herefordshire 8.
Sir John Morgan, Bart.
Sir Edward Harley, Knt. of the Bath.
City of Hereford.
Sir William Gregory, Serjeant at Law.
Paul Foley, Esq;
Borough of Lempster.
Thomas Conyngesby, Esq;
John Dutton Colt, Esq;
Borough of Weobly.
John Birch, Esq;
James Morgan, Esq;

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Sir Charles Cesar, Knt.
Borough of St. Albans.
Sir Samuel Grimston, Bart.
George Churchill, Esq;
Borough of Hertford.
Sir William Cowper, Bart.
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The Hon. Robert Mountague, Esq;
Sir Robert Bernard, Bart.

Borough of Huntington.
The Hon. Sidney Wortley alias Moun-
tague, Esq;
John Bigg, Esq;

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The Hon. Sir Vere Fane, Knight of the
Bath.
Sir John Knatchbull Bart.
City of Canterbury.
Sir William Honynwood, Bart.
Henry Lee, Esq;
City of Rochester.
Sir John Bancks, Bart.
Sir Roger Twisden, Bart.
Borough of Maidstone.
Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart.
Caleb Bancks, Esq;
Borough of Queenborough.
James Herbert, Esq;
Robert Crawford, Esq;

Lancashire 14.
Charles Lord Brandon Gerrard.
Sir Charles Haughton, Bart.
Borough of Lancaster.
— Presten, Esq;
— Rawlinson, Esq;
Borough of Preston in Amounderness.
The Hon. James Stanley, Esq;
Thomas Patten, Esq;
Borough of Newton.
Sir John Chichley, Knt.
Francis Cholmondeley, Esq;
Borough of Wigan.
Sir Edward Chisnall, Knt.
William Bankes, Esq;
Borough of Clitheroe.
Christopher Wilkinson, Esq;
Anthony Parker, Esq;
Borough of Liverpoole.
The Hon. Richard Lord Colechester.
Thomas Norris of Speake, Esq;

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Bennet Lord Sherrard.
Sir Thomas Halford, Bart.

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Borough of Leicester.

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Lawrence Carter, *Esq*;

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The Right Hon. George Lord Viscount
Castleton.

Sir Thomas Hufsey, *Bart.*

City of Lincoln.

Sir Henry Monfon, *Bart.*

Sir Christopher Nevile, *Knt.*

Borough of Boston.

The Hon. Robert Lord Willoughby of
Ersby.

Sir William Yorke, *Knt.*

Borough of Great Grimsby.

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Sir Edward Ayscogh, *Knt.*

Town of Stamford.

Charles Bertie, *Esq*;

William Hyde, *Esq*;

Borough of Grantham

Sir John Brownlowe, *Bart.*

Sir William Ellis, *Bart.*

Middlesex 8.

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Ralph Hawtrey, *Esq*;

City of Westminster.

Sir William Poultney, *Knt.*

The Hon. Philip Howard, *Esq*;

London.

Sir Patience Ward, *Knt.*

Sir Robert Clayton, *Knt.*

William Love, *Esq*;

Thomas Pilkington, *Esq*;

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Charles Marquis of Worcester.

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Borough of Monmouth.

John Arnold, *Esq*;

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Sir Henry Hobart, *Knt.* and *Bart.*

City of Norwich.

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Thomas Blofeild, *Esq*;

Town of Lyn-Regis.

Sir John Turner, *Knt.*

Sigismund Trafford, *Esq*;

Town of Great Yarmouth.

George England, *Esq*;

Samuel Fuller, *Esq*;

Borough of Thetford.

William Harbord, *Esq*;

Sir Henry Hobart, *Knt.* and *Bart.*

Borough of Castlerising.

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Edward Harby, *Esq*;

City of Peterborough.

Charles Fitz-Williams, *Esq*;

Gilbert Dolben, *Esq*;

Town of Northampton.

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Sir William Langham, *Knt.*

Town of Brackley.

The Hon. Richard Lord Wenman.

John Parkhurst, *Esq*;

Borough of Higham Ferrers.

Sir Rice Rudd, *Bart.*

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Philip Bickerstaff, *Esq*;

Town of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sir William Blacket, *Bart.*

Sir Ralph Carr, *Knt.*

Borough of Morpeth.

The Hon. Charles Lord Morpeth.

Roger Fenwick, *Esq*;

Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

Francis Blake, *Esq*;

Philip Babington, *Esq*;

Nottingham 8.

John Lord Houghton.

Sir Scroop How, *Knt.*

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Town of Nottingham.
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Edward Bigland, Serjeant at Law.
Borough of Eastretford.
The Hon. Evelin Peirpoint, Esq;
John Thornagh, Esq;
Town of Newark upon Trent.
The Right Hon. William Lord Eland,
The Hon. Nicholas Sanderfon, Esq;

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Sir John Cope, Bart.
University of Oxon.
The Hon. Heneage Finch, Esq;
Sir Thomas Clargis, Knt.
City of Oxon.
The Hon. Henry Bertie, Esq;
Sir Edward Norreys, Knt.
Borough of New-Woodstock.
Sir John Doyley, Bart.
Sir Thomas Littleton, Bart.
Borough of Banbury.
Sir Robert Dashwood, Knt. and Bart.

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Sir Thomas Mackworth, Bart.
Bennet Sherard, Esq;

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Edward Kynaston of Oattly, Esq;
Town of Salop.
The Hon. Andrew Newport, Esq;
Sir Francis Edwards, Bart.
Borough of Bruges, alias Bridgenorth.
Sir William Whitmore, Bart.
Sir Edward Acton, Bart.
Borough of Ludlow.
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Charles Baldwyn, Esq;
Borough of Wenlock.
George Weld, Esq;
William Forester, Esq;
Town of Bishop's-Castle.
Richard More, Esq;
Walter Wareing, Esq;

Somerset 18.
George Horner, Esq;
Edward Gorges, Esq;
City of Bristol.
Sir Richard Hart, Knt.
Sir John Knight, Knt.
City of Bath.
Maurice Visc. Fitz-Harding.
Sir William Basset, Knt.
City of Wells.
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Thomas Wyndham, Esq;
Borough of Taunton.
Sir William Portman, Knt. of the Bath,
and Bart.
John Sandford, Esq;
Borough of Bridgwater.
Sir Francis Warr, Bart.
Henry Bull, Esq;
Borough of Minhead.
Francis Litterel, Esq;
Nathaniel Palmer, Esq;
Borough of Ilchester.
Sir Edward Wyndham, Bart.
William Helyar, jun. Esq;
Borough of Milborn-port.
John Hunt, Esq;
Thomas Saunders, Esq;

Southampton 26.
The Rt. Hon. Charles Earl of Wilt-
shire.
The Hon. William Lord Powlet.
City of Winchester.
The Hon. William Lord Powlett.
Francis Morley, Esq;
Town of Southampton.
Sir Benjamin Newland, Knt.
Richard Bret, Esq;
Town of Portsmouth.
Richard Norton, Esq;
Henry Slingsby, Esq;
Borough of Yarmouth.
Sir Robert Holmes, Knt.
Fitton Gerrard, Esq;

Borough

Borough of Petersfield.

Richard Norton, *Esq;* }
 Thomas Bilson, *Esq;* }
 Thomas Bilson, *Esq;* }
 Robert Michel, *Esq;* }

Borough of Newport, alias Medona.
Sir Robert Dillington, Bart.
Sir William Stepnens, Knt.

Borough of Stockbridge.

Oliver St. John, *Esq;*
 Richard Whitehead, *Esq;*

Borough of Newtown.

The Rt. Hon. Richard Earl of Ranelagh.
 Thomas Done, *Esq;*

Borough of Christ Church.

Francis Gwyn, *Esq;*
 William Ettrick, *Esq;*

Borough of Whitchurch.

Henry Wallop, *Esq;*
The Honourable James Ruffel, Esq;

Borough of Lymmington.

Richard Holt, *Esq;*
 John Burrard, *Esq;*

Borough of Andover.

Francis Powlet of Ampert, *Esq;*
 John Pollen of Andover, *Esq;*

Staffordshire 10.

The Hon. John Gray, Esq;
Sir Walter Baggot, Bart.

City of Litchfield.

Sir Michael Biddulph, Bart.
 Robert Burdett, *Esq;*

Borough of Stafford.

Philip Foley, *Esq;*
 John Chetwind, *Esq;*

Borough of Newcastle Under-line

William Leveson Gower, *Esq;*
 John Lawton, *Esq;*

Borough of Tamworth.

The Hon. Henry Sidney, Esq;
Sir Henry Gough, Knt.

Suffolk 16.

Sir John Cordel, Bart.
Sir John Rous, Bart.

Borough of Ipswich.

Sir John Barker, Bart.
 Peyton Ventriss, *Esq;*

Borough of Dunwich.

The Hon. Roger North, Esq; }
Sir Thomas Allen, Bart. }
Sir Philip Skippon, Knt. }
Sir Robert Rich, Knt. and Bart. }

Borough of Orford.

Sir John Duke, Bart.
 Thomas Glemham, *Esq;*

Borough of Alborough.

Sir Henry Johnson, Knt.
 William Johnson, *Esq;*

Borough of Sudbury.

Sir John Poley, Knt.
 Philip Gurdon, *Esq;*

Borough of Eye.

Thomas Knyvel, *Esq;*
 Henry Pooley, *Esq;*

Borough of St. Edmondsbury.

Sir Robert Davers, Bart.
Sir Thomas Hervey, Knt.

Surrey 14.

Sir Richard Onslow, Bart.
 George Evelyn, *Esq;*

Borough of Southwark.

Sir Peter Rich, Knt.
 John Arnold, *Esq;*

Borough of Blechingly.

Thomas Howard, *Esq;*
 John Glyd, *Esq;*

Borough of Ryegate.

Roger James, *Esq;*
Sir John Parsons, Knt.

Borough of Guilford.

Foot Onslow, *Merchant.*
 John Weston, *Esq;*

Borough of Gatton.

Sir John Thompson, Bart.
 Thomas Turgis, *Esq;*

Borough of Haslemere.

White Tichborne, *Esq;*
 Denzil Onslow, *Esq;*

Suf-

330 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Sussex 20.

Sir John Pelham, *Bart.*
Sir William Thomas, *Bart.*
City of Chichester.
 Thomas Miller, *Esq;*
 Thomas May, *Esq;*
Borough of Horsham.
 Anthony Everfield, *Esq;*
 John Machell, *Esq;*
Borough of Midhurst.
Sir William Morley, *Knt. of the* Bath.
 John Lewkener, *Esq;*
Borough of Lewes.
 Thomas Pelham, *Esq;*
 Richard Bridger, *Esq;*
Borough of Shoreham.
Sir Edward Hungerford, *Knt. of the*
 Bath.
 John Monke, *Esq;*
Borough of Bramber.
 John Alford, *Esq;*
 Charles Goring, *jun. Esq;*
Borough of Steyning.
Sir John Fagge, *Bart.*
Sir John Morton, *Knt.*
Borough of East-Grinstead.
Sir Thomas Dyke, *Bart.*
 Thomas Sackville, *Esq;*
Borough of Arundel.
 William Morley, *Esq;*
 William Garway, *Esq;*

Warwickshire 6.

Sir Richard Newdigate, *Bart.*
Sir Richard Verney, *Knt.*
City of Coventry.
Sir Roger Cave, *Bart.*
 John Stratford, *Esq;*
Borough of Warwick.
 William Lord Digby.
 William Colmore, *Esq;*

Westmorland 4.

Sir John Lowther of Lowther, *Bart.*
 Henry Wharton, *Esq;*

Borough of Apulby.

Philip Mulgrave, *Esq;*
 Richard Lowther, *Esq;*

Wiltshire 34.

The Rt. Hon. Edward Vis. Cornbury.
Sir Thomas Mompeffon, *Knt.*
City of New-Sarum.
 Thomas Hobby, *Esq;*
 Giles Eyre, *Esq;*
Borough of Wilton.
 Thomas Penruddock, *Esq;*
 Thomas Wyndham, *Esq;*
Borough of Downton.
Sir Charles Rawleigh, *Knt.*
 Maurice Bocland, *Esq;*
Borough of Hindon.
 Robert Hyde, *Esq;*
 John Milner, *Esq;*
Borough of Westbury.
 Richard Lewis, *Esq;*
The Hon. Peregrine Bertie *the elder,*
Esq;
Borough of Heyresbury.
 William Ash, *Esq;*
 William Sacheverell, *Esq;*
Borough of Calne.
 Henry Chivers, *Esq;*
 Lionel Duckett, *Esq;*
Borough of the Devizes.
Sir William Pinfent, *Bart.*
 Walter Grubbe, *Esq;*
Borough of Chippenham.
 Henry Baynton, *Esq;*
 Nicholas Baynton, *Esq;*
Borough of Malmesbury.
The Hon. Henry Wharton, *Esq;*
 Charles Godfrey, *Esq;*
Borough of Cricklade.
 Charles Fox, *Esq;*
 Edmond Webb, *Esq;*
Borough of Great-Bedwin.
Sir Edmund Warnford, *Knt.*
 John Wildman *the elder,* *Esq;*

Borough

Borough of Lugderfale.

John Smith, *Esq*;

John Deane, *Esq*;

Borough of Old-Sarum.

John Young, *Esq*;

Thomas Pitt, *Esq*;

Borough of Wootonbasset.

Henry St. John, *Esq*;

John Wildman, *jun. Esq*;

Borough of Marlborough.

Sir John Ernle, *Knt. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

Sir George Willoughby, *Knt.*

Worcestershire 9.

Sir James Rushout, *Bart.*

Thomas Foley, *Esq*;

City of Worcester.

William Bromley, *Esq*;

John Somers, *Esq*;

Borough of Droitwich.

Richard Lord Coote.

Samuel Sandys, *Esq*;

Borough of Evesham.

Henry Parker, *Esq*;

Sir John Mathews, *Knt.*

Borough of Bewdley.

Henry Herbert, *Esq*;

Yorkshire 30.

Thomas Lord Fairfax.

Sir John Kay, *Bart.*

City of York.

The Rt. Hon. Peregrine Osborn, *Vis. Dumblain.*

Edward Thompson, *Alderman.*

Town of Kingston upon Hull.

William Gee, *Esq*;

John Ramsden, *Esq*;

Borough of Knaresborough.

William Stockdale, *Esq*;

The Lord Vis. Latimer

Thomas Fawkes, *Esq*;

Borough of Scarborough.

William Harbord, *Esq*;

Francis Thompson, *Esq*;

Borough of Rippon.

Sir Edward Blackett, *Bart.*

Sir Jonathan Jennings, *Knt.*

Borough of Richmond.

The Hon. John Darcy, *Esq*;

Thomas Yorke, *Esq*;

Borough of Heydon.

Matthew Appleyard, *Esq*;

Henry Guy, *Esq*;

Borough of Boroughbridge.

Sir Henry Goodstoke, *Knt. and Bart.*

Christopher Vane, *Esq*;

Borough of Dalton.

Sir William Strickland, *Bart.*

William Palmes, *Esq*;

Borough of Thriske.

Thomas Franckland, *Esq*;

Richard Staines, *Esq*;

Borough of Aldborough.

Sir Michael Wentworth, *Knt.*

Christopher Tancred, *Esq*;

Borough of Beverley.

Sir John Hotham, *Bart.*

Sir Michael Wharton, *Knt.*

Borough of North-Allerton.

William Robinson, *Esq*;

Thomas Lascells, *Esq*;

Borough of Pontefract.

John Lord Vis. Downe.

Sir Thomas Yarburgh, *Knt.*

BARONS of the Cinque-Ports, 16.

Port of Hastings.

John Ashburnham, *Esq*;

Thomas Munn, *Esq*;

Town of Winchelsea.

Richard Austen, *Esq*;

Samuel Weston, *Esq*;

Town of Rye.

Sir John Darrel, *Knt.*

Thomas Frewin, *Esq*;

Port of New-Rumney:

John Brewer, *Esq*;

James Chadwick, *Esq*;

U u 2

Port

332 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Port of Hythe.

Edward Hales, *Esq;*

Julius Deeds, *Esq;*

Port of Dover.

Sir Bazil Dixwell, *Bart.*

Thomas Papillon, *Esq;*

Port of Sandwich.

Sir James Oxinden, *Knt. and Bart.*

John Thurbarne, *Esq;*

Port of Seaford.

William Champion, *Esq;*

Sir Nicholas Pelham, *Knt.*

Town of Carnarvan.

Denby 2.

Sir Richard Middleton, *Bart.*

Town of Denby.

Edward Brereton, *Esq;*

Flint 2.

Sir Roger Puleston, *Knt.*

Town of Flint.

Sir John Hanmer, *Knt. and Bart.*

Glamorgan 2.

Buffy Mansell, *Esq;*

Town of Cardiffe.

Thomas Mansell, *Esq;*

Merioneth 1.

Sir John Wynne, *Knt.*

Pembroke 3.

Sir Hugh Owen, *Bart.*

Town of Haverford-west.

William Wogan, *Esq;*

Town of Pembroke.

Arthur Owen, *Esq;*

Montgomery 2.

Edward Vaughan of Logdiarth, *Esq;*

Town of Montgomery.

Charles Herbert, *Esq;*

Radnor 2.

Sir Rowland Gwyn, *Knt.*

Town of New-Radnor.

Richard Williams, *Esq;*

W A L E S 24.

Anglesey 2.

The Lord Bulkeley.

Town of Bewmaris.

Sir William Williams *Knt. and Bart.*

Brecon 2.

Edward Jones, *Esq;*

Town of Brecon.

Thomas Morgan of Tredegar, *Esq;*

Cardigan 2.

John Lewis, *Esq;*

Town of Cardigan.

Hector Philips, *Esq;*

Carmarthen 2.

Sir Rice Rudd, *Bart.*

Town of Carmarthen.

Richard Vaughan, *Esq;*

Carnarvan 2.

In all 513

His

HIS MAJESTY'S Gracious Message to the Convocation,
sent by the Earl of *Nottingham*, 1689.

WILLIAM R.

HIS Majesty has summoned this Convocation, not only because 'tis usual upon holding of a Parliament, but out of a pious Zeal to do every Thing that may tend to the best Establishment of the Church of *England*, which is so eminent a Part of the Reformation, and is certainly the best suited to the Constitution of this Government; and therefore does most signally deserve, and shall always have both his Favour and Protection; and he doubts not, but that you will assist him in promoting the Welfare of it, so that no Prejudices, with which some Men may have laboured to possess you, shall disappoint his good Intentions, or deprive the Church of any Benefit from your Consultations. His Majesty therefore expects, that the Things that shall be proposed, shall be calmly and impartially considered by you, and assures you, that he will offer nothing to you but what shall be for the Honour, Peace and Advantage both of the Protestant Religion in general, and particularly of the Church of *England*.

The Humble Address of the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation assembled, in Thanks to HIS MAJESTY, for His Gracious Message.

WE Your Majesty's most Loyal and most Dutiful Subjects, the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, in Convocation assembled, having received a most Gracious Message from Your Majesty, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, hold our selves bound in Duty and Gratitude to return our most humble Acknowledgments for the same: And for the Pious Zeal and Care Your Majesty is pleased to express therein for the Honour, Peace, Advantage, and Establishment of the Church of *England*. Whereby, we doubt not, the Interest of the Protestant Religion in all other Protestant Churches, which is dear to Us, will be the better secured under the Influence of Your Majesty's Government and Protection. And We crave Leave to assure Your Majesty, that in Pursuance of that Trust and Confidence You repose in us, We will consider whatsoever shall be offered to Us from Your Majesty, without Prejudice, and with all Calmness and Impartiality: And that We will constantly pay the Fidelity, and Allegiance, which We have all sworn to Your Majesty and the Queen; whom we pray God to continue long, and happily to reign over Us.

His Majesty's most Gracious Answer to the Address of the Bishops and Clergy, delivered by the Lord Bishop of *London*, President of the Convocation.

My LORDS,

I Take this Address very kindly from the Convocation: You may depend upon it, that all I have promised, and all that I can do for the Service of the Church of *England*, I will do: And I give you this new Assurance, that I will improve all Occasions and Opportunities for its Service.

His MAJESTY's Letter to the Right Reverend Father in GOD *Henry* Lord Bishop of *London*, to be communicated to the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, 1689.

WILLIAM R.

Right Reverend Father in God, We Greet you well. Whereas the Advancement of the Honour and Service of Almighty God, and of the Protestant Religion, which by his wonderful Providence hath been preserved and Established in these Kingdoms, ought to be the Chief Part of our Royal Care: In Order to this, as We have oftentimes declared, That We would take the Church of *England* by Law Established, into Our particular Protection and Favour; So We take this Occasion to renew these Assurances, being resolved to do all We can for the Support and Strengthening of it; Preserving withal the Liberty of Conscience to all Our other Protestant Subjects, which by Our Laws they now Enjoy.

And because the Welfare, Peace and Honour of this Church, depends so much upon all Persons faithfully doing their Duties in their several Places and Functions; We therefore first of all Charge and Require you the Bishops of this Our Church, to Apply your selves with all Diligence and Zeal to the Duties of your Episcopal Function, according to the Word of God, the Orders of this Church, and the Laws of this Our Realm.

More especially as to Ordination of Ministers, We require you to use all possible Care and Strictness, in Examining and Enquiring into the Lives and Learning of such Persons, as desire to be Admitted into Holy Orders, and herein constantly to observe the (a) Canons relating thereunto, the Neglect whereof We shall strictly enquire into, and take Care that it be Punished according to Law.

(a) Can. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.

We also Charge and Require you to keep a strict Watch over all the Clergy in your respective Diocesses, to see that they be duly Resident upon their Livings, according to the Laws in that Case provided, and that there they be Constant and Diligent in their Duties, performing the Publick Offices of Worship Gravely and Devoutly, Preaching the Word of God Plainly and Practically, without running into needless Controversies, and Administring the Holy Sacraments frequently, with that Reverence which is due to the Institutions of Christ; Also Catechising the Youth, Visiting the Sick and Distressed, and doing all such Things in their Stations as may tend to promote the Honour of God and true Religion, together with Peace and Charity among all their Neighbours; Themselves giving a good Example to their Flock, by walking before them in all holy Conversation and Godliness.

And the more effectually to prevent the Scandals that may arise by any Disorders in the Lives of those who ought to be Examples to others, you shall Admonish them Religiously to observe the * Canon Entitled, *Sober Conversation required in Ministers*. And you shall Severely and Impartially proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures against all such of your Clergy, as shall be found guilty of any Notorious Violation of this, or any other Law or Canon relating to their Duty.

And for the better Encouragement of Deserving Men, as We intend to make it a Rule to Our Self, so We also require it of you, in Disposing of Church Preferments, to have a Special Regard to such Persons as by their Piety, Learning, Diligence and Peaceableness, do most promote the Honour of God, and the Edification of his Church.

And because, as our Duty requires, We most earnestly Desire, and shall Endeavour a General Reformation of the Lives and Manners of all Our Subjects, and being that which must Establish Our Throne, and Secure to Our People their Religion, Happiness and Peace, all which seem to be in great Danger at this Time, by Reason of that overflowing of Vice, which is too Notorious in this as well as other Neighbouring Nations; We therefore Require you to Order all the Clergy to Preach frequently against those particular Sins and Vices which are most prevailing in this Realm; And that on every of those Lord's Days on which any such Sermon is to be Preached, they do also Read to their People such Statute-Law or Laws as are provided against that Vice or Sin which is their Subject on that Day; as namely, against (b) Blasphemy, Swearing and Cursing; Against (c) Perjury; Against (d) Drunkenness; and against (e) Prophanation of the Lord's Day: All which Statutes We have Ordered to be Printed together with these Our Letters, that so they may be transmitted by you to every Parish within this our Realm.

And whereas there is as yet no sufficient Provision by any Statute Law for the Punishing of Adultery and Fornication, you shall therefore require all Church-Wardens in your Dioceses, to present impartially all those that are Guilty of any Crimes in their several Parishes; and upon such Presentments,

(*) Can. 75. (b) 21 Jac. Cap. 20. (c) 5 Eliz. Cap. 9. (d) 4 Jac. Cap. 5.
21 Jac. Cap. 7. (e) 29 Car. II. Cap. 7.

We Require you to proceed without Delay, and upon sufficient Proof, to inflict those Censures which are appointed by Our Ecclesiastical Laws against such Offenders: In doing whereof, according to your Duty, you shall not want Our effectual Assistance and Support.

And for the better Carrying on of so good a Work, We do in the last Place Charge and Require you to Preach frequently your selves, to Confer often with your Clergy, and to Enquire by all proper Means into all Abuses and Corruptions in your Dioceses, in Order to a full and speedy Reformation. And all this, not only as you shall Answer it to Us, but also as Considering the great Charge that God hath Committed to you, and the Account that you must give him for it at the Great Day. And so we bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 13th Day of February, 1689-90, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,—

Shrewsbury.

Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of *Ireland*, humbly submitted to the most noble Assembly of LORDS and COMMONS at the great Convention at *Westminster*.

I. **T**HAT *Ireland* is part of the Dominions of England, and a Kingdom subordinate to it.—This appears not only by the Appeals that are made from the *Chancery* there, to the House of Lords here, and by Writ of Error from the *King's Bench* there, to the *King's Bench* here; but also by the Patents which often pass under the Great Seal of *England*, for Lands, Honours and Offices in *Ireland*, and by the Obligation which an *English* Act of Parliament lays on *Ireland*, when it is particularly named.

II. That *the Crown* of England hath good Title to *Ireland*.—Not only by Descent from *Eva* Daughter of *Dermond Mac Morough*, King of *Leinster*, whose Ancestors were Monarchs of *Ireland*; but also by lawful Conquest in a just War, and by the repeated Oaths and voluntary Submissions of the *Irish* Potentates and Gentry in all Ages, and by several Statutes of Recognition, and Acts of Parliament in that Kingdom, and by above Five Hundred Years Prescription.

III. That *Whoever* hath the Crown of England, is ipso facto Sovereign of *Ireland*; and to levy War against such Person, is Treason.—This is the natural Result of the first Assertion; and besides what may be collected from the Statute of 11 Hen. 7. of paying Obedience to the King for the Time being; it was so at Common Law, and cannot be otherwise in Reason; for there is that

that Correlation between Protection and Allegiance, that they must stand and fall together, and there is no Difference in this Case, between *Ireland* and the Isle of *Wight*, or any other Part of the Dominions of the Crown of *England*.

IV. That *the Lords and Commons of England have always been zealously concerned for, and liberally contributed to the Preservation of Ireland*. — This appears by the many Subsidies and other Aids they have in all Ages given towards the Support of that Kingdom; for *Ireland* was always a Charge to *England*, until the *Act of Settlement* was made: It cost this Kingdom near 300,000 *l. per Annum* for some Years in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the Rebellion in 1641, drain'd *England* of some Millions of Money, and of many Thousands of Men, and yet all this was well spent, because,

V. *Without the Subjection of Ireland, England cannot flourish, and perhaps not subsist*. — For every Harbour in *Munster* would be more prejudicial to the Trade of *England*, than either *Sally* or *Algiers* ever was, that Island being so situate, that *England* cannot trade with *Spain*, the *Levant*, *Africa*, the *East Indies* or the *West*, without sailing almost in View of the old Head of *Kinsale*, so that *England* must traffick at vast Disadvantage, Hazard, and Charge in armed and double mann'd Vessels, or with great Convoys. Add to this, that *Ireland* would be always in close League with the Enemies of *England*, and yearly supply a vast Number of able Bodies to annoy it.

VI. That *Ireland was never in so much Danger as it is now*; — For the Confederacy was never so general before, the *Irish* never had such Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, they never had the City of *Dublin*, they never had the whole Kingdom in their Possession, or under their Power; and which is more than all the rest, they never had the Colour or Pretence of Authority before this Time.

VII. That *the Protestants there, unless speedily relieved, must necessarily be ruin'd*. — For the *Irish* having no Money, cannot support their vast Army, without Free Quarter on the *English*. Add to this, the Decay and full Stop of Trade, and the many other insupportable Difficulties they labour under, and their Ruin will appear inevitable without present Relief.

VIII. That *no People in the World are in so miserable a Condition as the Protestants of Ireland*. — For they are not only insulted over by their own Servants, and in a certain Way of Beggary, but are also in continual Fear, and under imminent Danger of being massacred.

IX. That *the English Government hath been easy and favourable to the Irish*. — And this evidently appears by one slight Instance, *viz.* That the Grand Jury and the whole County of *Cork* had more Trouble and Charge to get rid of two *Irish* Attorneys in the Sheriffs Court, and at last could not effect it, than the *Irish* have had to turn out most of the Civil and Military Protestant Officers in that Kingdom, though some of them had got good Patents for their Places; and it is beyond Dispute, that for many Years past, the *Irish* never wanted such Friends at *Whitehall*, as made their Affairs run glib in all Courts of Judicature, and elsewhere.

X. That *nevertheless many of the Irish, and some degenerate English, would rather live under any Government than that of England.* — And this happens partly from the Difference of Humours, Manners and Customs between them and us, and partly because they look upon the first Conquest of *Ireland*, and the subsequent Confiscations to be injurious, and think a Foreigner would restore them; but chiefly this Aversion is to be attributed to the Difference in Religion, they conceiving us to be obstinate incorrigible Hereticks, and therefore they have often invited the *Pope, French and Spaniard* to accept of the Government of that Kingdom.

XI. That *Ten Thousand English well furnished and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the Irish in that Kingdom.* — The first Assertion is true, and the second is rational; for allowing the *Irish* Gentry to be brave enough, yet the Commoners have not Courage or Skill equal to the *English*, or near it; nor can the *Irish* keep more than ten or twelve Thousand Men together any long time, for want of Forage and other Necessaries.

XII. *However, less than fifteen, or perhaps twenty Thousand Men ought not now to attempt Ireland;* — because it will be necessary to make Descents in several Places; and when Garrisons, and other necessary Detachments are deducted, there will not remain above ten or twelve Thousand for the Field.

XIII. *If these Twenty Thousand were divided into three Bodies, in all Probability there would be none, or very weak and short Resistance.* — For if four Thousand landed in *Ulster*, six Thousand in *Munster*, and ten Thousand in the Heart of the Kingdom, the *Irish* would be distracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither Officers nor Soldiers capable to make three distinct Armies; Experience will manifest, that in that Case, finding themselves attack'd on all Sides, *Tyrconnel* would retire to *Athlone*, and thence to *Galway*, and in the first Ship he could get, shift for himself as well as he could.

XIV. *However reasonable Conditions should not be denied them, if they will submit quietly.* — For besides, that it may prevent much Mischief, and save the Effusion of Christian Blood, it is unchristian to force them to Desperation; they should have Indemnity for what is past, and a Connivance at the private Exercise of their Religion, by a competent Number of Priests for the future: This Offer justifies our Moderation, and if refus'd, leaves them without Excuse.

XV. *Whatever Conditions are offered them, will be rejected or postpon'd unless back'd with a sufficient Force.* — For they are in Hopes of Aid from *France*, and have very little Foresight of what is future; it is not unusual among them, to defy one Day what they tremble at the next: It has been always a principal Maxim in their Politicks, to Procrastinate and Delay their Submission, in Hopes of imaginary Succours, until they plung'd themselves sometimes into a Sea of Misery, and it looks as if their Destiny inclines that Way now.

XVI. *That the Irish Estates are sufficient to defray the Charge of reducing them to their Duty.* — For of ten Millions of Plantation-Acres of Land, which there

there are in *Ireland*, the Irish have a fourth Part, which to be purchased, is worth three Millions of Pounds.

XVII. *That the Protestants are already damnified to that Value, and in three Months more will suffer as much again.* — For besides the Interruption in Trade and Business, bad Debts, and the particular Wrongs and Injuries done them, the Losses of those that were forced to fly to *England* and elsewhere, the very Land is one third Part lessened in the yearly Value; and the two thirds remaining, is not worth so many Years Purchase by a third Part, as it was *Anno 1684*. For example, three hundred Pound *per Annum*, at twelve Years Purchase, being three thousand six hundred Pound, is now but two hundred Pound, at eight Years Purchase, which is one thousand six hundred Pound.

XVIII. *The Protestants of Ireland had been eternally ruin'd, if it were not for the Glorious Atchievements of the Prince of Orange.* — For if they are in so ill Condition at this Day, in what Case would they have been, if *France* had Leisure and Means to assist the *Irish*, and *England* (in a Civil War) not able to relieve the Protestants there.

XIX. *The Polity and true Scheme of Government was totally overturned in Ireland.* — For where Reason, and the Interest of *England* required, That the English Colony should be protected by an *English* Army; and whereas a Protestant Parliament in *Ireland* had raised a great Revenue to the Crown, mostly paid by Protestants, in order to maintain a Protestant Army, on the quite contrary that Army was disbanded, with Circumstances as bad as the Fact, and Papists introduced to guard us against themselves; and *Irish* brought to garrison within those Walls that were purposely built to keep them out.

XX. *The Law was likewise subverted.* — For the Force and Energy of the Law being resolved into Tryals by Jury: When the Judge, Sheriff, Jury, Witness and Party were all of a Piece, and that in a Country where Perjury is so frequent, that *Irish Evidence* is become proverbially scandalous; what could an *English* Protestant expect, but that many notorious Murders should pass unpunished, many forg'd Deeds should be trump't up, and many Hundreds of *English* Indicted, drawn in Question, and prosecuted without so much as a Probability or Colour of Truth.

XXI. *These Injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our Religion and Nation destroyed there by Law.* — For they dissolv'd all Corporations, on forged or frivolous Pretences, and in so precipitate a Manner, that they did not give competent Time to draw, much less to review the Pleadings. They projected to call the eldest Sons of Popish Noblemen by Writ, and so made themselves sure of both Houses of an *Irish* Parliament.

XXII. *That the disbanded Protestant Officers deserve, and are fit to be employed in the Recovery of Ireland.* — They deserve it, and all the Countenance that can be shewn them, because they have suffered much (and few People consider how much) meerly for their Religion and Country. And they are fit, because they are acquainted with the Country, the Climate, and the Inhabitants, and are beyond Objection zealous in this Cause.

XXIII. *That the Prince wants neither Courage, Conduct, Reputation, or Zeal.* — His Attempt in *England* manifested his Courage, his Success de-

monstrated his Conduct, and confirmed his Reputation; and for the rest, the same Motives that induced him to come hither, are still in being, and will prevail to advance his victorious Arms to *Ireland*.

XXIV. *There is nothing wanting but a settled legal Authority and Money.* — For though Necessity justifies *pro hac vice*, yet our Laws knows no Authority but what is Regal; without that there can be no Parliament, nor indeed no Obligation to Obedience (or at most but temporary). And as for Money though it is impossible to make a general Tax seasonably for the Relief of *Ireland*, yet perhaps a good Vote of espousing the *Irish* Concern, may give Credit to raise a Fund, for a Service so necessary and beneficial to *England*.

XXV. *The Army will be in more Danger of Famine than Sword.* — For besides that the Enemy will destroy and burn all he can, there is not in the Country Provision enough for both Armies, and therefore great Magazines must be erected at *Chester, Bristol, Milford, &c.* how much Money soever it may cost.

XXVI. *All private Undertakings, in this Matter of Ireland, are vain.* — For no one Body is able to do much, and Confederacies and Partnerships are lame and uncertain, because the Failure of any one spoils all. Nor did any private Undertaker of publick Affairs, ever succeed in *Ireland*; witness Sir *Thomas Smith's* Project in the *Ardes*, and *Walter* Earl of *Essex* his in *Clandeboy* and the *Ferny*.

XXVII. *That whoever takes Commission here to raise Men in Ireland, does that Country a great deal of Wrong.* — For either he takes some poor dispirited People, or such Farmers, Labourers or Tradesmen, as would be more useful in their Vocation: Or he takes others that would of their own Accord, and without Pay in the Militia, or otherwise fight for their Lives, Families and Estates; every way he robs the Country of People, he hinders those that else would be raised here, and go from hence; and he makes the Government depend on a broken Reed, for it is impossible any Men should be raised and accoutred there time enough to do Service, and fit to do it.

Lastly, *Though the Irish should submit, yet Ireland will need a considerable English Army.* — For that Kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be Danger of some *French* Attempt. But besides all this, he knows little of *Ireland*, who thinks that the *Irish* Army (when disbanded) will ever be brought to work for their Living. On the contrary, many of them will turn Tories; so that if there be not a good Army in the Kingdom, it will be as unsafe and troublesome as in time of War.

A Vindication of the Proceedings of the late Parliament of *ENGLAND*, *An. Dom.* 1689, being the First in the Reign of Their present Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY.

By JOHN LORD SOMMERS.

I. **T**HE Proceedings of the late Parliament were so fair, so prudent, so necessary, and so advantageous to the Nation, to the Protestant Interest in general, and in particular to the Church of *England*, that all true *Englishmen* must needs acknowledge they owe to the then Representatives of the Nation, their Privileges, their Liberties, their Lives, their Religion, their present and future Security from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, had they done nothing else but enacted the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.

So that it is now, and perhaps but now, that we may call our selves the Free-born Subjects of *England*, as being fully secured, for ever, by this Act, from the heavy and insupportable Yoke of Arbitrary Power, the necessary Consequence of a Power of dispensing, or suspending of Laws, without Consent of Parliament.

II. Their settling the Crown upon the Head of a Protestant Prince, who is the very Centre, the chief Prop and Pillar of the Protestant Religion, secures all Protestants not only at Home, but likewise in all other Parts of *Europe*; insomuch that it is upon him only that we ground all our Hopes of seeing, e'er long, *Lewis XIV.* called to a just Account for all his Unjust, Arbitrary, and Tyrannical Proceedings against his own Subjects, as likewise against his injured and weaker Neighbours.

III. Their not acting in the least, after the Example of their Neighbours, against Prelacy, but rather favouring it by such Acts as fit only Episcopal Men for publick Employments, gives all reasonable Satisfaction to the Church of *England*; without any just Offence, either given to the Dissenters, who, under the present Government, enjoy, to their own Hearts Desire, their long wish'd for Liberty, without being liable to the Lash of the Law, for serving God after their own Way: Notwithstanding all this, so hard, yea, so impossible a Thing it is to content all Parties; not a few vent their Malice in every Corner, yea, and in Print too, against the King and Parliament, though all their Proceedings hitherto tend so directly to the general Good of the Nation, that we must either want common Understanding not to see it, or prove most ungrateful to our Representatives not to acknowledge such an evident Truth as this is with our most thankful Returns. To proceed with some Method in this designed Vindication of the late Parliament, I shall, first, take a summary View of the late Condition of our Affairs; and, secondly, give a full Answer to whatever is maliciously suggested to the unthinking
Mul-

Multitude; yea, and in printed Pamphlets likewise, to the seducing of the simple, and to the great Encouragement of the professed Enemies and Disturbers of the present Government.

IV. If we consider in what Condition we were in, the two last Years of King *James's* Reign, we may remember we were given up for lost by all our Friends in *Europe*, and did think so to our selves, it being then impossible for us to imagine from whence our Relief should come. A Power of dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, was already so fully established, that the very humble petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assum'd Power, was Crime enough for the Commitment and Prosecution of divers worthy Prelates: The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes was a sort of Inquisition; or, at least, a certain Fore-runner of the new Way of converting People, by the irresistible Eloquence of arm'd Dragoons: The levying Money for, and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the same was granted by the Parliament, was nothing else but a preparatory Contrivance, to try afterwards a *French* Experiment upon the Gold and Silver of the Nation: The horrible and illegal Punishments inflicted by corrupt Judges, excessive Fines and Bails, and several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons, upon whom the same were to be levyed; and all the other Injustices, Grievances, and Irregularities of those Days, were but previous Dispositions to the new Modelling of the Nation into a Frame, the more easily to be wrought upon by the *Romish* Priests, in Case their weak Arguments could not prevail, as 'twas impossible they should have prevailed, in a Nation so well provided and stock'd with solid Learning, both against Error, and Superstition.

V. If this was our Condition within our selves, it was made much worse by the dismal Prospect of the threatening *French* Greatness: The *French* King's known and close Engagements with the late King *James*, the sudden Growth of his Power, both by Sea and by Land, seem'd to threaten all his Neighbours with the utmost Desolation, unless, by laying aside the Use of their Reason, they acted all like Fools, and turned Papists; which could not secure them neither from Oppression and Slavery, since none are greater Slaves, nor so unmercifully oppressed as the *French* Papists themselves: This is but a short and summary View of the publick Calamities and Miseries we lay under, till our Deliverer came over to free us from them, by the best Methods our Representatives could fall upon for our Safety in Times to come; which are certainly such as give full Satisfaction to all good Men, and loyal Subjects, that are not still in love with Popery and Slavery, both of Body and Soul, which always attends it: So that the present Posture of our Affairs is now such, that we have all reason to hope, if we can but agree among our selves, this Kingdom may become again, as 'twas of old, the Terror of *France*. *Europe* never bid fairer for a Level of the *French* Monarch, he being now surrounded on all Sides, by those he has made his irreconcilable Enemies, by his daily Breaches of Oaths, by his Oppressions and Invasions, contrary to all Treaties made with him, either of Peace or Truce.

VI. We

VI. We cannot then but highly commend the prudent Measures of the last Parliament, for supplying his Majesty with Necessaries, towards a vigorous Prosecution of this present War the Nation so long wish'd for in vain; the *French* Interest prevailing too much formerly at the Court of *England*, against the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of the *English* Nation. Such then as complain of some present Hardships, always unavoidable in time of War, and would fain work the People into a Belief of a happier Condition under another Change of Affairs, seem not to understand their true Interest; for must we expose our selves to a certain Ruin, to the Loss of our Lives and Liberties, by not contributing liberally to the Maintenance of a War, so necessary in this present Juncture of our Affairs? Our *All* lies now at the Stake, our Lives, Properties, Liberties, and Religion: Should any *Tax*, or *Impost*, put us out of Humour, and cause us to wish for a Change, as if we could pretend to any Security, in case Things were settled again upon the same Foundation they were on before?

VII. Are we not sufficiently acquainted, from daily Experience, with this undoubted Popish Principle, *That a Papist is obliged to break his Oath taken not to extirpate Heresy, as soon as he is in a Capacity to root out what he thinks Heresy, under a no less Pain than that of Eternal Damnation?* King *Lewis* has satisfied all the World, by what he has lately done, that this is no Calumny; and King *James* cleared all our Doubts upon the Matter, by what he likewise really did, and endeavoured to do.

VIII. But a late Seditious Pamphlet tells us a Tragical Story of the Decay and Loss of Trade by this present War, *That the Dutch run away with our Trade at Sea, and the French with our Ships:* This is but a meer groundless Flourish, that can only make Impression upon some weak Minds, that neither understand their own Interest, than that of the Nation they are in; 'tis true, we have lost several Ships, and that is unavoidable in the Beginning of any War as well as in this, till the Merchant-Men bound homewards are informed of a War declared, which must needs require some Time; but of late we have lost none, or we have taken the Equivalent of our Losses from the Enemy; and for the Time to come, his Majesty has taken such Measures, that it shall not be hereafter in the Power of the *French* to put a Stop to our Trade, either into *Holland*, *Spain*, the *East Countries*, or *West* and *East Indies*; and as for the *Dutch*, 'tis a groundless Supposition, though too often in the Mouths of such as are disaffected to the Government, *That they run away with our Trade*, since the contrary may be easily made out to an unprejudiced Mind; do we not trade still, as well as the *Dutch*, both to the *East* and *West Indies*, to *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, *Hamburgh*, and *Poland*? Do the *French* allow them free Passage more than to us? And if they send abroad greater Merchant Fleets, and perhaps under greater Convoys than we do; by so doing they rather lend us a helping Hand, than wrong us; because in the mean time they clear the Seas of *French* Privateers, which makes of Course our Voyages the safer, and great Convoys not so absolutely necessary, as they would be at another time, when we were not in Union with the *Dutch*: So that such Reflections are either but idle and frothy Discourses, or made upon a Design to raise

Sedition, and stir up the Nation against the present Government: But grant that what this disaffected Pamphleteer says were really true, as it is not, in the full Measure he would have it, let us Balance our present Decay of Trade on the one Side, and on the other Hand the Consequences of not prosecuting vigorously the present War against the *French*, and we shall easily discover either the gross Mistakes of such as discourse after this Rate, or their real Designs to ruin their Country, by preferring a small Inconveniency of not so full a Trade, to the very Being of Liberty and Religion, and perhaps of the Nation itself.

IX. For let us allow to this pretended Politician, the desired Change of Government he seems to aim at, this can never happen but in one of these three Ways, either by the returning of King *James* again, or by the Invasion of King *Lewis*, or by a Civil War at Home; which last Thing, if some do really intend, they design nothing else but their own Ruin, and that of their Country; and if they would have King *James* to come again, must he come in by Conquest? If he ever recovers *England* by Conquest, where are then our Properties, our Liberties, our Religion, our Laws, and whatever Privileges we now glory in, and that no other Subjects in the World can boast of? Would they have King *James* come in again by Agreement? Besides, the apparent Impossibility of the Thing, upon several and obvious Accounts, I would willingly be satisfied, as I was saying before, how we can trust him after so many Violations of his Word; and since by the Principles of his Religion, he is obliged in Conscience not to keep either Word given, or Oath taken, to protect and promote Heresy, if he is once in Power to destroy it. If our Pamphleteer pretends to a Change of Government, by a *French* Invasion, he must either be a professed *French* Papist, or a very bad *English* Protestant, and quite of a different Temper from all true *Englishmen*, who have stood in Opposition from all Times to the *French* Interest, not only upon the Account of the Protestant Religion, but likewise because of their Civil Rights, which both they must of Necessity part with, if the *French* ever got footing in *England*.

X. I confess, as Things now stand, there is little or no Danger at all of their attempting the Conquest of their ancient Conquerors, the *English*, because of our Union at present against *France*, with so many powerful Allies; but yet, if we take not Hold of this Opportunity by the Fore-lock, I know not what may happen in another Scene of Affairs, in case we were left alone to deal with the *French*; who by the Connivance of the last two Reigns, are become so formidable at Sea, as to be a Match either for us, or the *Hollanders*. Now, can any Man of Reach blame the King, for recommending so often to the late Parliament, the absolute Necessity of prosecuting vigorously the present War, in this present Juncture of our Affairs, or find Fault with the Representatives of the Nation, for supplying him with the necessary Sinews of War, especially since he has offered to give them an Account of the Disposal of their Money, for the very Uses they designed it for: Neither can we be jealous of his Majesty's Design in calling in Foreigners, in Order to the speedy Reduction of *Ireland*, because 'tis a Matter of great Consequence, for the

the humbling of *France*, both by Sea and Land, together with our Allies, to put an End to our Domestick Broils with all possible Expedition; and this cannot be better performed, than by joining to our own Forces a Body of Veteran and experienced Foreigners.

XI. But this looks, says some of our Male-contents, as if his Majesty mistrusted his own Subjects, which if narrowly looked into, is a meer groundless Asperson, since all his Majesty's Forces, both by Sea and by Land, an inconsiderable Number of Foreigners excepted, are Natives, either of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*: Does the *French* King mistrust his own Subjects, because of his joining with them several foreign Nations, as *Switzers*, *Italians*, and both *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish* upon Occasion; the true Reason of this common Practice is, that an Army consisting of Forces of different Nations, is upon this Account more formidable than it would be, if it consisted of meer Natives, that both those Foreigners, and the Natives, fighting through Emulation, leave no Stone unturned to outdo one another; the observing of this Maxim made the *Dutch* a free People, to the Pitch we see them in at this Day. The *French* likewise owe in Part their present Greatness to the Valour of the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Switzers*, who fighting not so much out of any particular Kindness to them, as for their own Reputation, were wont to overthrow whatever stood in their Way, to the great Advantage of the *French*, under whose Pay they then were: Undoubtedly this is his Majesty's Design in sending for Foreigners, that the Natives may act their Parts the better by Emulation and Example; so that though it be allowed to be true, as certainly it is, that King *William* has a sufficient Number of his own Subjects to reduce *Ireland*, and those of an unquestionable Valour too; yet it is Prudence in him to call in Strangers, to give Life and a new Vigour to his Armies upon Occasion.

XII. But in our Case there is another Reason not to be dissembled, why the present Government thinks it necessary to make Use of Foreigners for our Assistance; and it is this, That tho' the Nation be full of stout and valiant Men, that might alone do the Business, yet 'tis to be considered in this unparallel'd Juncture of our Affairs, that if we divide the three Kingdoms into six Parts, two I doubt, at least, would prove either *JACOBITES*, or disaffected to the present Government: Now, what if the King raised an Army, consisting in Part of *Jacobites*, or of Persons disaffected to the present Government, since 'tis hard to know the Bottom of Mens Hearts; what if I say this happened, might not such an Accident as this, not altogether impossible, endanger the whole Nation, and throw it into the greatest Confusion imaginable, either by setting up King *James* again, and the *French* Interest, or by converting this ancient and moderate Monarchy into a Commonwealth, which would prove perhaps no less the Ruin of the Nation, than an absolute, arbitrary, and tyrannical Government? Is it not then more advisable now, and I am sure those that love their Religion, and the present Interest, will be of my Opinion, to make Use of this Juncture of Foreigners, together with the Natives, to keep a little in Awe the hidden *Jacobites*, and such as are disaffected to this Government, lest they undertake to ruin the Nation, upon

the first fair Opportunity to execute their treasonable and pernicious Designs? This Complaint of our Male contents had been more plausible in another Juncture of Time, than in such an one as this is, which once successfully over, and a Peace concluded, we are secured by our Laws from our own standing Forces, as well as from Foreigners. In the mean Time we ought to look to our selves, as all wise Men ought to do, and secure our selves against pressing and present Dangers the best Way we can, without minding remoter Accidents, and merely possible Events, that are not yet so much as in Prospect; for upon mere Apprehensions, and groundless Fears, of what is never like to happen, to put a Veil before our Eyes, hindering us to see the Brink of the Precipice we now stand upon, is an unaccountable Piece of Folly, or rather Madness, that no Man having his Wits about him can be guilty of; yet we must needs prove guilty of such a Piece of Madness and Folly, if through a groundless Fear of what can never happen in *England*, as Things are now ordered, we should scruple to secure our selves by the Help of Foreigners from the *Jacobites* and the Male contents, who might perhaps get the Upper-hand, if not prevented in Time, by some good Method, as this is now thought to be.

XIII. No farther Incroachments upon our Rights and Privileges are to be feared in Time to come, since the bad Success of all our late Kings is an Example to all their Successors, wherein they may read their Destiny, if they understood so little their own Interest, as to act arbitrarily, as some of their Predecessors did, to the great Disturbance indeed of their Subjects for a Time; but at last, to the utter Ruin of themselves and their Adherents: His present Majesty is so fully persuaded of this Truth, *viz.* That the Sovereign's Greatness in *England* depends chiefly and only upon the Love of his Subjects; that taking his Interest and the People's to be the same, as really it is, and always ought to be, to shun the dangerous Factions of Court and Country, he prudently complied with their just Desires, to whatever they thought fit to be done for the Common-Good. I am then of Opinion, that *England* was never so happy as 'tis now, [laying aside the Consideration of the present War so absolutely necessary,] because of the good Understanding of the King and his Subjects, though our seditious Pamphleteer leaves no Stone unturned to divide them; whoever he is, he must needs be a Man of a strangely disaffected Spirit, since he blames the late Parliament, for allowing his Majesty so much Power, as makes him a true King, and not the bare Representation and Shadow of one, as he would really be, if according to the Project suggested by this Man, he should not be allowed so much as the Liberty of chusing his own Counsellors, nor of proroguing Parliaments either, upon Occasion, &c.

XIV. The suspending and stopping, or *staying*, as he calls it, of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, puts him in a great Fit against the late Parliament, as having by this Suspension wronged the Liberty of the Subjects; yet if before we give our last Judgment upon the Matter, we consider as we should do, all Things impartially, not suffering our selves to be byassed, by a wrong Apprehension of Things, we shall easily discover that the suspending of that Act,

Act, at that Time, was the only Way to secure our Properties and Liberties, by preventing a Civil and Domestick War, which in all Likelyhood had ensued, had it not been prevented in Time, by empowering the King to secure such as, because of their Quality, or their former Engagements with the then Malecontents, were likeliest to prove Ringleaders to new Disturbances, in a Time when Things were not as yet settled upon so sure a Foundation as they now are.

XV. But nothing is more insufferable in this seditious Pamphleteer, than his affected Jealousy of his Majesty's being a sincere Protestant; as if the Nation should be the more afraid of him upon this Account, because forsooth the Parliament is likelier to give him more Power, than if he were a Papist, or of a contrary Religion to that of the Nation. This is such an unaccountable Reflexion, that I cannot but wonder to hear it from the Mouth of any Man, that either pretends to common Sense or Reason; for, first, At this Rate of arguing, it would be better for us to have a King we hated and feared, than one of the same Religion we loved, and were sure of; which is such an absurd Inference, that none but a mad Man can propose it as reasonable. Secondly, Grant what he says to be true, as it is not, our Religion, however, is secure, and perhaps the securer, the greater Power we trust him with. But, Thirdly, As our late Representatives gave so much Power to our glorious Deliverer, as made him a King, and a powerful one too, so on the other Hand, they have had so much Regard to the Safety of the People, as to secure their Privileges and Civil Rights from any future Incroachments of the Prerogative, as may easily be made out by the late Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.

XVI. The Popish Subjects are generally so oppressed, by their absolute Sovereigns, that through an excessive Flattery, and Fear of Blows, they seem to worship their Kings as Gods, allowing them an illimited Power, which no Man of Sense can admit of in a Being of a limited Nature, or at least allowing them to be the Fathers, and absolute Masters of their People, though the Kings generally came out of the People's Loins, as being at first made by them, and not the People out of theirs; and though Subjects ought not to lord it over their Sovereigns as Masters, yet they ought not to be their Slaves neither, but are to enjoy under their Government such Privileges and Liberties as may settle them in an unalterable State of Happiness, that the Princes themselves may not destroy at Pleasure; for as nothing is more rational than that we should submit in all Things to the absolute Power of God over us, so nothing is more unreasonable, than a blind Obedience to earthly Princes, as if they were as infallible as God himself; whereas their very Kingship proves sometimes an Occasion to make them the more liable, both to Error, as being often misinformed of Things, and to Sin likewise, if they are not truly religious, as King *William* undoubtedly is, because of their uncontrolled Power of doing what they please.

XVII. For these, and other Reasons of that Kind, though *William* III. whom God long preserve, be the mildest and moderatest Prince that ever

sat upon the *English* Throne, yet our Representatives, to secure us from the Encroachments of this and all succeeding Ages, have thought fit to declare and establish the Rights of the People so fully, and upon such a sure Foundation, that *England* now is the securest and happiest Nation in the World, if the Natives can be but sensible of their own Happiness. *Fœlices nimium bona si sua nōrint Agricolas!*

XVIII. Four Things especially declared in this Act, secure us from Oppression, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power. First, The rejecting of either a dispensing or suspending Power. Secondly, All Grants of Money for, or to the Use of the Crown, reserved to the Parliament for the Time in Being. Thirdly, The disbanding of standing Armies in Time of Peace, unless the Parliament give Consent to the keeping them on Foot. Fourthly, The settling of the Succession of the Crown. I need mention nothing else contained in this Act, to shew that we are the only Subjects in the World, that can boast of Freedom and Liberty, in case our Princes cannot dispense with our Laws, as they cannot without our Leave, since they are not to give us, for the only Reason of their Kingly Actions, *Tel est nostre bon plaisir, Their Good-Will and Pleasure*, as the *French* King does; for however the *French* Modes have taken with us of late, we could never yet fall in Love with so absolute a Mode as this. As our Kings must act by Law, and not absolutely, though real Kings, they do nothing of Moment, but by and with the Advice of their Parliaments: Our Happiness then consists in this, that our Princes are tied up to the Law, as well as we, and upon an especial Account obliged to keep it up in its full Force; because if they destroyed the Law, they destroy at the same Time themselves, by overthrowing the very Foundation of their Kingly Grandeur, and regal Power: So that our Government not being arbitrary, but legal, not absolute, but political, our Princes can never become arbitrary, absolute, or Tyrants, without forfeiting at the same Time Their Royal Character, by the Breach of the essential Conditions of their regal Power, which are to act according to the ancient Customs, and standing Laws of the Nation. If we are happy upon this Account, that our Kings can neither suspend nor destroy our Laws, we are no less to be envied, that our Purses are secured from the Encroachments of an aspiring Covetousness, by that Part of this Act, which tells us, *That levying Money for, or to the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in other Manner, than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.*

XIX. We may easily think our Security greater than that of any other Nation in *Europe*, if we reflect but a Moment upon this important Article, that we are never obliged to open our Purses, but by the Order and Consent of our Representatives, whom we have trusted with the Care of our Interest; which being equally theirs at the same Time, we have no Reason to fear that they ever lay any Taxes upon us, but when 'tis absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Lives, Liberties and Religion, as all seeing Men confess it to be, in the present Juncture of our Affairs, to prevent the Return of Popery and arbitrary Power. This Privilege has made our Government to be

be envied by all our Neighbour Nations, and the happiest that can be imagined; for there being no surer Way for a Prince to become absolute, arbitrary, and a Tyrant, than to impoverish his Subjects to that Degree of Want and Misery, as may force them for Subsistence to comply with all his Desires, whether just or unjust, he is disabled by this Act from doing them any Mischief that Way; I mean, by squeezing the Blood out of their Veins; that is, the Money out of their Pockets, for any Design he might have of ruling over them as meer Slaves: To the Want of Privilege, we may chiefly ascribe the Slavery the *French* Nation groans under, their Prince disposing absolutely of their Estates at Pleasure, and laying such heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, as leave them not Money enough to buy Leather Shoes, instead of which they are forced to make Use of Wooden ones; so that the *French* are not so much in the wrong, as one would think, when in their flattering Panegyricks they style him sometimes their God, since they in a Manner are his Creatures, whom he creates or destroys, by the least Word of his Mouth; for so absolute his Power is, that his Will is the only Law they can depend upon, insomuch, that when he publisheth his Orders for gathering of Money, if his Subjects cannot supply him otherwise, they must sell their Goods, and whatever they have, to give him what he demands; yea, I have known in *France* poor People sell their Beds, and lie upon Straw, sell their Pots, Kettles, and all their necessary Household Goods, to content the unmerciful Collectors of the King's Taxes. By this little Hint we may easily see, how much happier we are, as being laden with no Burthens but what we are able to bear, and enjoying securely our Estates, and whatever we can call our own, under the Protection of our Laws. Should we then leave any Stone unturned to keep our selves as we are, by opposing to our utmost such a cruel Conqueror, as the *French* King would undoubtedly prove, if he ever, to our great Misfortune, subdued us?

XX. But let us speak one Word to the third Thing I mentioned before, that by this Act we are to have no standing Army in Time of Peace; the Advantage whereof we may easily conceive, if we look a little aside towards our Neighbours the *French*, they suffer patiently in Time of War the heaviest Taxes, and would not think themselves so much to be pitied, as now they are, if a Peace concluded with the Enemy bettered their Condition, for they are then in a worse Condition, in a Manner, than they were before, because the standing Armies empower their Prince to do what he pleases in Time of Peace; 'tis then that he looks about him, to consider who has got together any considerable Treasures, that he may ease them of them, though lawfully gained, and by good Services done to the Crown; so that it is no Wonder if the *French* Subjects chuse at any Time War rather than Peace, because in Time of Peace, their King's Armies are wholly employed against them, whereas in the Time of a settled War, they are partly taken up in opposing a foreign Enemy. Let the impartial Reader judge from the Premises, of the Happiness of the *English* Subjects, compared with the miserable Condition of the *French*.

XXI. The late Parliament has done another Thing, without which, notwithstanding all our other Advantages contained in this Act, our Happiness had not been lasting, as it is now like to be for ever; and it is the settling of the Succession of the Crown upon Protestants, and none but Protestants: The Words of the Act are so remarkable, that I think it fit to insert them here, before I give you my Reflexions upon them.

Whereas it has been found by sad Experience, that it is inconsistent with the Safety of this Protestant Kingdom, to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King, or Queen, marrying a Papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray, that it may be enacted, that all, and every Person, and Persons, that is, or shall be reconciled to, or hold Communion with the See, or Church of Rome; or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction within the same; and in all, or every such Case, or Cases, the People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby absolved of their Allegiance, and the said Crown, and Government, shall from Time to Time descend to, and be enjoyed by such Person or Persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the same Person or Persons, so reconciled, holding Communion, or professing or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

XXII. Nothing more certain than what is here asserted, that it is inconsistent with the Safety of this Protestant Kingdom, to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen, marrying a Papist: If we look back to the publick Transactions, in the Days of King *Charles I.* we shall soon be convinced of this undeniable Truth, since we may derive all our Domestick and Civil Disturbances, from his marrying a Popish *French* Princess, who at last became so troublesome to him, that he was forced to send home to *France* again all her Attendants, in Hopes to bring her to a better Temper, by removing from her such Popish Emissaries, as were thought to put her upon some dangerous Designs, which made the Nation jealous of her secret Intrigues with *France*; yea, and sometimes of the very King's Religion, as if he had been perverted by the Queen, or her Priests, or had shewn himself somewhat too much inclined to the Popish Way of Worship; but whether Things were just as the People fancied them, or not, it is certain this unlucky Match was the Occasion of our Civil Wars, and of so much Bloodshed in these three Nations: Such another Suspicion as this, was the secret Spring of all our Domestick Troubles, during the Reign of King *Charles II.* for though he professed outwardly the Protestant Religion, yet the People, upon what Grounds I know not well, could not be sometimes satisfied, but that he was either a Papist, or Popishly inclined; and upon this very Account, the Nation was always apprehensive of *French* Pensioners, of Popish Plots, of Tyran-

Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power: Now such Apprehensions and Fears could not but be the Seed of Divisions among us, of Heart-burnings, and either of grounded, or groundless Jealousies, to the endangering the Peace and Safety of the whole Kingdom: So true it is, that it is inconsistent with the Safety of this Kingdom to be governed by a Prince thought to be Popishly affected, but sure far more to be governed by a sincere, zealous, and professed Papist, as we all know King *James* gloried to be; how near we were the Brink of our Ruin during his Reign, and how unavoidable our entire Ruin was, had he reigned longer over us, is so evident to all seeing Men, that I need not enlarge upon the Matter here. I shall only add in this Place, in order to make out the Truth of what is asserted by the late Parliament, *that it is inconsistent with the Safety of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Papist*, that when our Prince is a real Papist, he is obliged by the Principles of his Religion, to do his utmost Endeavours to submit his Subjects to the Pope's Jurisdiction.

XXIII. First, because he must then of Course look upon his Subjects as real Hereticks, and Schismaticks, whom if he do not root out by all possible Means, he is liable to be deposed by the Pope, according to the famous and known Decision of the third Council of *Lateran*; how then can a Protestant Nation put any Trust in such a Prince, whose whole Business is, and ought to be, to destroy their Religion, and force them to return to the old *Romish* Superstitions again? And if Subjects cannot trust their Sovereign, it is but rational to think they will take all imaginable Measures to prevent their own Ruin, and that of their Religion, always dearer to them, if they have any Piety at all, than their very Lives; but these very Measures, how just soever, must needs breed Stirs in a Nation, to the general Disturbance of the Natives; since the Politick Body, no more than the Natural, can be a Moment in a quiet Temper, without a free and friendly Intercourse and Communication between the Head and the Members. Secondly, If a Popish Prince is obliged in Conscience, as I elsewhere intimated he is, neither to stand to his Promise, nor Word given, to protect Hereticks, and Heresy, how can he sincerely promise to maintain and defend our Church; or rather how can we be so silly as to believe he will maintain it, since it is not in his Power to do it, in Case he finds himself in a Posture to undertake its Ruin? But, Thirdly, to be somewhat more particular, the Safety of this Nation was inconsistent with the Government of the late King *James*, upon a particular Account that I shall here mention.

XXIV. Of all the different Persecutions of the Church of God, none can be compared to the late Persecution of *France*, both for its Cruelty, and Novelty. The *Roman* Emperors, I confess, exercised all imaginable Barbarities upon the Bodies of the Primitive Christians, but never attempted, or pretended any Right over their Souls, and Consciences; they banished them, tortured them, invented all sorts of Death to destroy them, but the Art of Dragooning Men into Religion, was reserved to be the Contrivance of *Lewis XIV.* Though he was engaged by the most solemn Edicts of *Nants* and *Nisme*, and by his Coronation Oath, to protect and defend the *French* Protestants,
with

with all their Rights and Privileges: Had he declared he would suffer no longer the *Hugonots* in his Kingdom, and ordered them upon that Account to depart out of it, if they could not change their Religion, we had not complained so much of his Severity, how Anti-Christian soever; but not to suffer his Subjects to leave him, nor to live with him, without turning to his Principle, and that not by Argument, but by all the Wounds the Dragooning Sword could inflict, that of Death only, which in this Case was the least, excepted, is such an Example of Cruelty, as is not to be parallell'd by the greatest Fury of the *Roman* Persecutions; and which without doubt contributed not a little to our late happy Revolution, by determining the *English* through an absolute Necessity to do what they did for their own Safety; for had they not Reason to look to themselves, considering the Proceedings of the *French* King, contrary to all his Oaths and Promises, to maintain, defend, and protect the *Hugonots*; they could not but know that the late King *James* was more devoted to the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, than *Lewis XIV.* himself: so that they could not in Prudence but take the Measures they have so successfully taken, for their own Preservation, and that of the Protestant Interest in general. In one Word, nothing could be more terrible to the *English*, who are so much in love with Liberty and Property, than to see themselves threatned to be dragoon'd out of both, by the help of such a powerful Ally as *Lewis XIV.* The late Parliament then considering the great Progress King *James* had made, in a very short Time, towards the bringing in of the *French* Method of converting People to Popery, and what Impressions such a Precedent as that of *France* might make upon a Prince, that needeth no Spur to the Promoting of his own Religion, thought it fit, and absolutely necessary, for the Safety of the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of this Kingdom, to exclude for ever from the Imperial Throne of *England* all Popish Princes; whereby not *England* only is secured from such Troubles, as always ensue upon any Jealousy between the King and the People from different Principles of Religion, but likewise all the Protestant Princes abroad, are encouraged to stand their Ground against Popish Invaders, since they may be sure of seasonable Succours upon Occasion, from the Protestant Princes of this powerful Monarchy.

Though what has been hitherto said, does sufficiently justify all the Proceedings of the King, and late Parliament, to the Satisfaction of all such as are but impartial Men, and not disaffected to the present Government; yet because some Men seem discontented at two Things not done by the late Parliament, and which they think ought not to have been omitted, as being undoubtedly of no small Consequence for the publick Concerns, and Peace of the Nation; it may not be amiss in this Place, to clear all their Scruples upon these two Heads, *viz.* Why the late Parliament neither settled the Militia of the Kingdom, nor passed the Act of Indemnity, though earnestly pressed to it by the King, in order to the quieting of Peoples Minds. As to what relates to the settling the Militia of the Kingdom, it is to be considered, that how necessary soever it may seem to be, it was neither perhaps possible as then Things stood, nor expedient to settle it, by Reason of the
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uncertain, and unknown Disposition of most Men's Minds at first, in all great and sudden Revolutions, but more especially in such an extraordinary and unprecedented one as ours was ; for since our greatest Strength consists in our Militia, can any Man of Sense think, or say, 'twas either fit, or secure, in the then Posture of our Affairs, to deliver up the very Bulwark of the Nation, into the Hands of such high Officers, as the Lieutenants of the Militia are in *England*, till it was better known if those who were fit for such Places, were really Men of such a Temper, as the present Government might trust to, and rely upon : For extraordinary Revolutions of State being much of the Nature of the great Waters, tossed to and fro by boisterous Winds, do always require some Time before they are settled again in such a Calm, as may encourage both private Men to follow their former Measures, and likewise those who sit at the Helm to undertake, and prosecute the fittest Methods for securing themselves, and the People under their Government, from new Dangers and Storms, always to be feared after a sudden and unexpected Calm, as ours was ; we were under such a dismal Cloud of imminent and threatening Dangers, a little before the Heavens cleared up from the *Dutch* Coast, that we do wonder at this very Day, to see our selves escaped such an unavoidable Shipwreck, as we thought our selves then exposed to ; but it is not enough that we are got on Shore, and a *Terra Firma* to stand upon, unless by looking nearer into the Matter, we consider seriously with our selves, how to maintain our Ground, and settle what we have done upon a sure Foundation ; for as our late happy Revolution was a real one, how odd soever, and unlooked for, so considering how easily Men change their Resolutions, and because it might be immediately succeeded by an unhappy one after the like Manner, it was a Piece of great Prudence in our late Representatives, not to be over hasty in settling the Militia of the Nation, till both they and the King were thoroughly acquainted with those who were to be trusted with Commissions of such an high Concern ; but it being impossible they should understand their real Temper, while all Things were as yet on float, no wonder if they deferred the settling of the Militia, till the Hearts of Men were known to be first settled, which Time only could inform them of. As to the Act of Indemnity, it is clear there was little or no Inconveniency to defer it for a while ; for since it relates mostly to such as have been guilty of Irregularities, and illegal Proceedings in the late Reign, where is the Harm if the Government keep them somewhat in Awe, by deferring their Pardons to more settled Times, lest they might prove Ringleaders to new Changes, if they were not check'd by the fear of the Punishment their past Crimes deserve ? For it is a groundless Reflection to say, that the not passing of the Act of Indemnity encourageth them to do their utmost Endeavours towards the bringing in of King *James* again, since it is clear to all Men acquainted with the present Posture of his Majesty's Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, that they must needs despair of ever being secure, if they hope for no Security till King *James* is settled upon his abdicated Throne again : And may not I be allowed to say, that to judge of Things to come, by the present Temper of the Nation, they are in no

VOL. II. Z z Danger

Danger at all, or at least not so great as some would have them apprehend it to be, because of the great Moderation the Government has hitherto shewn, and will undoubtedly shew hereafter, to all such as are willing to comply with the present, that is the Protestant Interest, in Opposition to Popery, and the *French* King's Designs against our Properties, and Liberties, if by the Help of the *Irish* Papists, and other Male-Contents, he were enabled to conquer us. But to mention here another pressing particular relating to this Subject, since it is well known, that at the sitting down of the late Parliament, the King, by the Advice, yea, and earnest Request too of our late Representatives, entered into a necessary War against *France* on the one Hand, and against the *Irish* Papists in *Ireland* on the other Hand, I would fain know from any not designing Man, what was fittest to be done in this Case, was the Time to be trifled away with the settling of the Militia, and passing an Act of Indemnity, before any Supplies had been granted his Majesty, for maintaining this Kingdom, and his Subjects, against the formidable *French* King's Fleets at Sea, and his *Irish* Forces at Land, commanded by the late King *James* in *Ireland*? Sure all Men of Sense must needs confess, that this *Principal* was first to be minded before any such *Accessories*, as undoubtedly these were, in that Juncture of our Affairs. Now it is methinks evident, that the ordering the Sinews of great Warlike Preparations both by Sea, and by Land then, as now so necessary, could not but take up a great deal of Time, especially when the Money is to be levied, in due Proportion, upon all the chief Subjects of the Nation; the necessary Debates upon such Occasions, about the Sum it self to be raised, upon what, and the Manner how it is to be gathered, are Things of such a Nature, as cannot be done on a sudden, whatever Men's Endeavours may be to bring them in a short Time to a Period. The late Transactions of the last Parliament, besides the Nature of the Thing it self, are evident Proofs of what I do here affirm, to all such as understand any Thing in Affairs of this Kind, never done in *England*, otherwise than by Meetings, Conferences, Committees, Debates, Votes, and such other like Methods used in Parliament, upon all Matters of a General, and National Concern. To conclude, notwithstanding all that I have said, grant it was expedient, though I have sufficiently proved it was not, to settle the Militia of the Kingdom, and pass the Act of Indemnity, before any Thing else; these so much talked of Omissions, are both inconsiderable in themselves, since we smart not yet for them, and not at all dangerous in their Consequences, which if really hurtful, may easily be prevented by the next Parliament.

To the most Reverend Fathers in God, WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all ENGLAND and Metropolitan, and JOHN Lord Archbishop of *York*, Primate of ENGLAND and Metropolitan.

JAMES R.

MOST Reverend Fathers in God, We Greet you well. Whereas the bold Abuses, and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have not only by the Experience of former Ages been found to tend to the Dishonour of God, the Scandal of Religion, and Disturbance of the Peace both of Church and State, but did also (through the Licentiousness of the late Rebellious Times) much increase, to the Inflaming, Fomenting, and Heightening of the sad Distempers and Confusions that were then among us: And whereas even at this present (notwithstanding the merciful Providence of God, so signally manifested in Restoring Our Royal Family, and the Lawful Government of these Realms, and putting an End to the great Rebellion, and notwithstanding the Pious Care and Endeavours of Our late Dear Brother, and Our Self ever since, to govern Our Realms in Peace and Tranquility) it may justly be feared that in sundry Parts of this Realm, there want not Men of unquiet and factious Spirits, who instead of Preaching the pure Word of God, and building up the People in Faith and Holiness, will (if they be not restrained) make it a great Part of their Business to beget in the Minds of their Hearers, an evil Opinion of their Governors, by insinuating Fears and Jealousies, to dispose them to Discontent, and to season them with such unsound and dangerous Principles as may lead them into Disobedience, Schism, and Rebellion: And whereas also sundry young Divines, and Preachers, either out of a Spirit of Contention and Contradiction, or in a vain Ostentation of their Learning, take upon them in their Popular Sermons, to handle the deep Points of God's Eternal Councils and Decrees, or to meddle with the Affairs of State and Government, or to wrangle about Forms and Gestures, and other fruitless Disputes and Controversies, serving rather to amuse than profit the Hearers; which is done for the most Part, and with the greatest Confidence, by such Persons as least understand them: We out of our Princely Care and Zeal for the Honour of God, the Advancement of Piety, Peace, and true Religion, and for the Preventing for the future, as much as lieth in Us, the many and great Inconveniences and Mischiefs that will unavoidably ensue, if a timely Stop be not given to these and the like growing Abuses; do, according to the Examples of several of Our Predecessors of Blessed Memory, by these Our special Letters straitly Charge and Command you, to use your utmost Care and Diligence that these Directions, which upon long and serious Consideration, Our late Dear

356 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Brother thought good to give concerning Preachers, * and which We upon like Consideration have approved and caused to be reprinted, and herewith sent unto you, be from henceforth duly and strictly observed by all the Bishops and others concerned therein within your Provinces. And to this End Our Will and Pleasure is, That you forthwith send them Copies of these Our Directions, to be by them speedily communicated to every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, and Preacher in every Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parish-Church within their several Diocesses: And that you earnestly Require them to employ their utmost Endeavour for the due Observation of the same, whereof we shall expect a strict Account, both of you, and every one of them: And these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that Behalf.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 5th Day of March 1685, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

Sunderland P.

D I R E C T I O N S concerning P R E A C H E R S.

I. **T**HAT no Preachers in their Sermons presume to meddle with Matters of State, to model new Governments, or take upon them to declare, limit, or bound out the Power and Authority of Sovereign Princes, or to state and determine the Differences between Princes and the People; but that upon all good Occasions they faithfully Instruct the People in their bounden Duty of Subjection and Obedience to their Governours, Superiour, and Subordinate of all Sorts, and to the established Laws according to the Word of God, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as it is contained in the Homilies of Obedience, and the Articles of Religion set forth by publick Authority.

II. That they be admonished not to spend their Time, and Study in the Search of Abstruse and Speculative Notions, especially in and about the deep Points of Election and Reprobation, together with the Incomprehensible Manner of the Concurrence of God's free Grace, and Man's free Will, and such other Controversies as depend thereupon: But howsoever that they presume not positively, and doctrinally to determine any Thing concerning the same.

III. That they forbear in their Sermons ordinarily and causelessly to enter upon the handling of any other Controversies of less Moment and Difficulty: But whensoever they are occasioned by Invitation from the Text they Preach upon, or that in Regard of the Auditory they Preach unto, it may seem

requisite or expedient so to do; That in such Cases they do it with all Modesty, Gravity and Candour, asserting the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, from the Cavils and Objections of such as are Adversaries to either, without Bitterness, Railing, Jeering, or other unnecessary or unseemly Provocation.

IV. That for the more edifying of the People in Faith and Godliness (the aforesaid Abuses laid aside) all Ministers and Preachers in their several respective Cures shall not only diligently apply themselves to Catechise the younger Sort according as in the Book of Common Prayer is appointed; but also shall in their ordinary Sermons insist chiefly upon Catechetical Doctrines (wherein are contained all the necessary and undoubted Verities of Christian Religion) declaring withal unto their Congregations what Influences such Doctrines ought to have into their Lives and Conversations, and stirring them up effectually, as well by their Examples, as their Doctrines, to the Practice of such Religious and Moral Duties as are the proper Results of the said Doctrines, as Self-denial, Contempt of the World, Humility, Patience, Meekness, Temperance, Justice, Mercy, Obedience, and the like; and to a Detestation and Shunning of Sin, especially such Sins as are so rife among us, and common to the Age we live in; such are those usually stiled the seven Deadly ones, in short, all Kind of Debauchery, Sensuality, Rebellion, Profaneness, Atheism, and the like. And because the late Licentious Times have corrupted Religion, even in the very Roots and Foundations, that where there is an Afternoon's Exercise, it be especially spent, either in explaining some Part of the Church Catechism, or in preaching upon some such Text of Scripture, as will properly and naturally lead to the handling of something contained in it, or may conduce to the Exposition of the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church, (as Occasion shall be offered,) the only Cause they grew into Contempt amongst the People being this, that they were not understood. That also the Minister, as often as conveniently he can, read the Prayers himself; and when he cannot so do, he procure or provide some fit Person in Holy Orders, who may do it with that Gravity, Distinctness, Devotion, and Reverence as becomes so holy an Action: And whensoever by Reason of his Infirmary, or the Concurrence of other Offices, the Time may seem too short, or he unable to perform the Office of both Prayers and Sermon at Length, he rather shorten his Discourse or Sermon, than omit any Thing of the Prayers, lest he incur the Penalty of the Act for Uniformity, requiring them to be read according as the Book directs.

V. And further, Our Will and Pleasure is, That all Ministers within their several Cures, be enjoined publickly to read over unto the People, such Canons as are or shall be in Force, at least once, and the thirty-nine Articles twice every Year, to the End they may the better understand, and be the more thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, and not so easily drawn away from it, as formerly they have been.

VI. Since preaching was not anciently the Work of every Priest, but was restrained to the choicest Persons for Gravity, Prudence and Learning; the
Arch.

Archbishops and Bishops of this Kingdom are to take great Care whom they licence to preach; and that all Grants and Licences of this Kind heretofore made by any Chancellor, Official, Commissary, or other Secular Person, (who are presumed not to be so Competent Judges in Matters of this Nature) be accounted void and null, unless the same shall likewise be allowed by the Archbishop or the Bishop of the Diocese, and that all Licences of Preachers hereafter to be made or granted by any Archbishop or Bishop, shall be only during Pleasure; otherwise, to be void, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the same had never been made nor granted.

VII. Lastly, that for the better observing of the Lord's-Day, too much neglected of late, they shall, as by often and serious Admonitions and sharp Reproofs, endeavour to draw off People from such idle, debauched, and profane Courses as dishonour God, bring a Scandal on Religion, and Contempt on the Laws and Authority Ecclesiastical and Civil, so shall they very earnestly persuade them to frequent Divine Service on the Lord's Day, and other Festivals appointed by the Church to be kept solemn; and in case any Person shall resort unto any Taverns or Ale-Houses, or use any unlawful Sports and Exercises on such Days, the Minister shall exhort those which are in Authority, in their several Parishes and Congregations, carefully to look after all such Offenders in any Kind whatsoever, together with all those that abet, receive, or entertain them, that they may be proceeded against, according to the Laws and Quality of their Offences, that all such Disorders may, for the Time to come, be prevented.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 5th Day of March, 1685, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

Sunderland. P.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The Humble Petition of *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and divers of the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, (now present with him,) in Behalf of themselves, and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Diocesses.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT the great Averseness they find in themselves, to the distributing and publishing in all their Churches your Majesty's late Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, proceeds neither from any Want of Duty and Obedience to your Majesty, (our Holy Mother the Church of *England*, being both

both in her Principles and in her constant Practice unquestionably loyal; and having, to her great Honour, been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your Gracious Majesty;) nor yet from any Want of due Tender-ness to Dissenters, in Relation to whom they are willing to come to such a Temper as shall be thought fit, when that Matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other Considerations from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing Power as has been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years 1662, and 1672, and in the Beginning of your Majesty's Reign; and is a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it all over the Nation, and the solemn Publication of it once again, even in God's House, and in the Time of his Divine Service, must amount to, in common and reasonable Construction.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased, not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration.

And Your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray.

Will. Cant.
Will. Asap.
Fr. Ely.
Jo. Cicester.

Tho. Bathon, and Wellen
Tho. Peterburgen.
Jonath. Bristol.

His Majesty's Answer was to this Effect.

I Have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of *England*, especially from some of you. If I change my Mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my Command shall be obeyed.

The Humble Address of the *Presbyterians*, presented to the King by Mr. *Hurst*, Mr. *Chester*, Mr. *Slater*, Mr. *Cox*, Mr. *Roswell*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Deal*, and Mr. *Reynolds*. With his Majesty's Gracious Answer.

May it please Your Most Sacred Majesty,

TO believe the Thankfulness of our Hearts, beyond any Expressions of our Lips or Pens, for Your most Gracious *Declaration* for *Liberty* for us, in the Worship of *God*, which we trust we shall ever value above our Property, as that without which we could enjoy nothing which we could call our own, without the greatest Uneasiness imaginable: But your Majesty having in the same *Declaration* also secured that unto us, both by Your Royal *Word* and *Act*: What could Your Majesty have done more for us? Or what is left for us further to ask of the King? *And* forasmuch as it hath pleased Your most Excellent Majesty, to give this safe *Port* to your poor Subjects, so long tossed with Tempests, and justly to believe, that *Loyalty* is not intailed to a Party, as we hope we shall ever justify the Credit, which Your Majesty's Charity in that Point hath given us; so we shall not cease to bow our Knees to the God whom we serve, and by whom Kings Reign, beseeching him to recompense this Royal Favour to Your Majesty, with Length of Days, uninterrupted Health, Felicity in Your Royal Relations, Success in Your Great Councils and Affairs, and finally, with the most Glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, heartily crying, as with one Voice, *Let the King live for ever.*

Subscribed on the Behalf of our selves, and the rest of our Persuasion.

The KING's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Have already found two good Effects of my Declaration; the Easing and Pleasing my Subjects You speak of, and my restoring to God the Empire over *Conscience*: It has been my Judgment a long Time, that none has or ought to have any Power over the *Conscience*, but God. I understand there are some Jealousies among my Subjects, that I have done this in a Design: But you look like Gentlemen of too great Ingenuity to entertain any such Suspicion.

Gentlemen, I protest before God, and I desire you to tell all Manner of People of all Persuasions, as you have Opportunity to converse with them, that I have no other Design than that I have spoke of.

And

And *Gentlemen*, I hope to live to see the Day when you shall as well have *Magna Charta* for the *Liberty of Conscience*, as you have had for your Properties.

And now *Gentlemen*, do You so Preach to Your Hearers as they may be good Christians, and then I do not question but they will be good Subjects.

A short Discourse concerning the Reading his MAJESTY's late Declaration in the Churches. Set forth by the Right Reverend Father in God, HERBERT Lord Bishop of *Hereford*. 1688.

WHEN the Command for Reading the King's Declaration came down first, accompanied with the Petition of my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other Bishops, humbly praying to be excused from the Publishing those Declarations, I disputed with my self so long, that I grew into a perfect Agony at last, and could take no Rest all that Night. For two great Evils appeared before me, both contrary one to the other, and yet an absolute Necessity of my falling into one of them, either Disobedience to the King's Commands, or a Separation and Schism from my Metropolitan and other worthy Bishops, whose Judgments I truly revered in most Things, and whose Integrity in all Things. This made that Night very dismal to me, till at length, the Day coming on, I got up and began to consider Things with less troubled Thoughts, and more calmly and seriously to weigh the whole Matter. And the first Thing that represented it self unto me, as an Anchor to fix and hold fast my Soul, and compose my Conscience, was that Saying, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake*. 1 Pet. ii. 13. and again, *Ver. 17. Fear God, honour the King*. This was said by St. *Peter*, who, we believe, was guided by the Holy Ghost, and therefore we take it as the express Command of God, and ought to observe it in every Thing that is not flatly contrary to the Word of God, or, at least, most evidently deduced from the Word of God, so that every common Understanding must needs see it. Now the King expressly commanding his Declaration to be Read in all Churches, without requiring him that Reads it to declare, either his Consent, Assent, Allowing, or Liking of it, I would gladly know how any Man can shew me that to do this is contrary to God's Holy Word. If you say, that this Declaration contains a Dispensing Power contrary to the Laws of the Land, as is declared in the Parliament 1662. and 1672. Let it be so. Is it therefore contrary to the Word of God? Shew it me. If the King would vouchsafe to ask my Judgment, I would humbly and earnestly beseech him not to use his Dispensing Power in that high Manner. And I farther call God to Witness, that I would readily and cheerfully lay down my Life to compose the mis-

rable Breaches that are in these Nations on this Account. But if after all, the King tells me, he hath this Dispensing Power inherent in his Majesty by Right, and will use it whether I will or nill; what can I poor Wretch do? or what can all my Brethren, the Bishops, lawfully do, but submit unto his Majesty's Will and have Patience? but, as a Paper lately come forth saith, in Reading this his Majesty's Declaration in the House of God, I do thereby declare my Consent unto it: For I ought to Read nothing there but what I do approve of. Where doth he find this so exprest in the Word of God? Or from what Text doth it necessarily and evidently follow? Can this be as clearly deduced from thence, or is it as plainly exprest as that on the contrary Side, that I am to submit to every Ordinance of Man: This is the Saying I stick close to, and require him to shew me out of the Word of God, that to read any Thing in the House of God, is declaring my Consent unto it: And therefore his Affirmation without some such Proof from Scripture signifies nothing. Nay, to set Scripture aside, and to discourse of Matters by common Understanding: If I should read unto the People in the Church, a Paper declaring that the King of *France* doth persecute several Protestants, and deprive them of their Estates, doth my Reading this Paper any Way declare my Consent to his Persecution? So should I read a Paper in the Church declaring the King's Toleration of Sectaries, doth it any Way declare my Consent unto it? No certainly. This Argument is very frivolous and vain. But you ask me, why do I read this in the Church? And I answer, because the King commands it, and I know nothing in Scripture that forbids it, and therefore I am bound to obey it. But that Paper farther asks, if the King command a Popish Homily for Transubstantiation to be read in the Church, would I read it? No certainly, unless I read it so as to confute it, and shew the Absurdity of it. The Case is very different: This is a Doctrine I am necessarily to instruct the People in, and to shew them either the Truth or Falsity of it. And the Case is the same in all Doctrines taught in the House of God. But in Reading the King's Declaration, there is no Doctrine taught, only Matter of Fact declared. But you will say, that was known before, and sure there must be some other Intention in requiring me to read it. 'Tis true, perchance it is to try my Obedience. And our Enemies having some guess by our late not giving Thanks for that Part of his Majesty's Declaration, which was to maintain the Church of *England*, because Liberty for Dissenters was then also granted; that we will likewise refuse the Reading of the Declaration for the same Reason, and thereby displease the King, they therefore persuade his Majesty to require it of us. But for my own Part I was then as urgent for our giving of Thanks, as a necessary and grateful Duty; which, had we then performed, it would probably have prevented this Command of Reading it: Which is likely to have a very sad Consequence, and I heartily lament it, but know not how to remedy it. Yet on this Occasion I beg leave of my Brethren to tell them my whole Sense of this Matter. When the King's Majesty first of all declared his Resolution to maintain the Church of *England* in the clear Profession of its Doctrine, with its Rights and Discipline, this was such unexpected and surprizing News, that

I stood long amazed at it: And when at length I had composed my Mind and settled my self in full Belief of it, I did then also in all humble Gratitude resolve to comply and serve his Majesty in every Thing that I could with a safe Conscience perform, and thereby preserve his Majesty's most favourable Intention and Kindness towards us. And for so good an End as the free Enjoyment of our Religion, and the true Worship of God to be publickly continued and defended, I was ready both then to give Thanks, and now to read (in both which I see no apparent Evil) and to perform such other Things as shall be proposed, which shall appear unto me as harmless as I take them to be. Yea I confess I should yet go farther, and in doubtful Cases beg leave of God (as *Naaman the Syrian* did of *Elisba*, that when he bowed down in the House of *Rimmon*, with the King leaning on his Hand, the Lord would pardon his Servant in this Thing: So) that he would graciously pardon me in complying with his Majesty in some Things, wherein there might be some Shadow, though no real Substance of Offence: And I should never doubt of God's merciful Pardon in it, seeing I did it out of pure Obedience to my King, upon God's Command, and to so good an End, as the preserving of Truth and Peace among us. Which if we lose on this Occasion, they will have much to answer for, who are the Authors of it. Yet I verily believe, and durst lay down my Life for the Truth of it, that my Brethren who refuse the Dispersing of these Declarations, are very far from having any evil Intention in it; but will as readily obey the King as my self, in what is as agreeable to their Consciences, as these Things are to mine. And had I had the good Fortune to have been amongst them at their Consultation, I should not have doubted of good Success in persuading them to this Business: Which, although it comes now too late for this; yet by the Grace of God it may prevent some future evil Accidents. However I resolved to publish it, to give as much Satisfaction to the World as I can upon what Reason I dissent from my Brethren, who, I am confident, aim at the same Thing, though we go clean contrary Ways unto it. And I most humbly implore his Gracious Majesty to believe so of them, and not to give Way to Passion, or to hearken unto those who would exasperate him against them: for 'tis impossible a true Son of the Church of *England* should have any disloyal Thoughts in his Heart, his Principles commanding him unto entire Obedience, either Active or Passive, without any Equivocation, or mental Reservation in any Case whatsoever. And therefore a true generous Heart cannot but be Kind and Merciful to such submissive Subjects, according to that, *Parcere subjectis & debellare superbos*.

A Letter to a Dissenter, upon Occasion of his MAJESTY'S
late gracious Declaration of Indulgence.

By GEORGE MARQUE of HALLIFAX. 1687.

S I R,

SINCE Addresses are in Fashion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the Effect of Fear, Interest, or Resentment; therefore you may be sure it is sincere: And for that Reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have Power enough to convince, dependeth upon the Reasons, of which you are to Judge; and upon your Preparation of Mind, to be persuaded by Truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcome, for coming from a friendly Hand, one whose Kindness to you is not lessened by Difference of Opinion, and who will not let his Thoughts for the Publick be so tyed or confined to this or that Subdivision of Protestants as to stifle the Charity, which besides all other Arguments, is at this Time become necessary to preserve us.

I am neither surprized nor provoked, to see that in the Condition you were put into by the Laws, and the ill Circumstances you lay under, by having the Exclusion and Rebellion laid to your Charge, you were desirous to make your selves less uneasy and obnoxious to Authority. Men who are sore, run to the nearest Remedy with too much Haste, to consider all the Consequences: Grains of Allowance are to be given, where Nature giveth such strong Influences. When to Men under Sufferings it offereth Ease, the present Pain will hardly allow Time to examine the Remedies: and the strongest Reason can hardly gain a fair Audience from our Mind, whilst so possessed, till the Smart is a little allayed.

I do not know whether the Warmth that naturally belongeth to new Friendships, may not make it a harder Task for me to persuade you. It is like telling Lovers, in the Beginning of their Joys, that they will in a little time have an End. Such an unwelcome Stile doth not easily find Credit: But I will suppose you are not so far gone in your new Passion, but that you will hear still; and therefore I am under the less Discouragement, when I offer to your Consideration two Things. The *first* is, the Cause you have to suspect your new Friends. The *second*, the Duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and Prudence, not to hazard the publick Safety, neither by Desire of Ease, nor of Revenge.

To the *first*: Consider that notwithstanding the smooth Language which is now put on to engage you, these new Friends did not make you their Choice, but their Refuge: They have ever made their first Courtships to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected there, they made their Application to you in the second Place. The Instances of this, might be given in all Times. I do not repeat them, because whatsoever is unnecessary,
must

must be tedious, the Truth of this Assertion being so plain, as not to admit a Dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably flatter your selves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to usher in Liberty for themselves under that Shelter. I refer you to Mr. *Coleman's* Letters, and to the Journals of Parliament, where you may be convinced, if you can be so mistaken as to doubt; nay, at this very Hour, they can hardly forbear, in the Height of their Courtship, to let fall hard Words of you. So little is Nature to be restrained; it will start out sometimes, disdainng to submit to the Usurpation of Art and Interest.

This Alliance, between Liberty and Infallibility, is bringing together the two most contrary Things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not only dislike the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbidden to the *Mahometans*, than giving Hereticks Liberty is to *Papists*: They are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The Continuance of their Kindness, would be a Habit of Sin, of which they are to repent, and their Absolution is to be had upon no other Terms, than their Promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another Time. There must be something extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* setteth up Bills, and offereth Plaisters, for tender Consciences; By all that hath hitherto appeared, her Skill in Chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick Hand, to cut off Limbs; but she is the worst at healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come so quick from another Extreme, is such an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard; the other Day you were Sons of *Belial*, Now, you are Angels of Light. This is a violent Change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it, before you believe it: If your Features are not altered, neither is their Opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*? Sure you do not. See then how they treat, both in Words and Writing, those who entertain that Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistent their Favour is with this single Article, except they give you a Dispensation for this too, and by a *Non Obstante*, secure you, that they will not think the worse of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty, and the known Enemy to Persecution: The Men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, are above all other eminent for Loyalty. The Quakers from being declared by the *Papists* not to be Christians, are now made Favourites, and taken into their particular Protection; they are on a sudden grown the most accomplished Men of the Kingdom, in good Breeding, and give Thanks with the best Grace, in double refined Language. So that I should not wonder, though a Man of that Persuasion, in Spite of his Hat, should be Master of the Ceremonies. Not to say harsher Words, these are such very new Things, that it is impossible not to suspend our Belief, till by a little more Experience we may be informed whether they are Realities or

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Apparitions: We have been under shameful Mistakes, if these Opinions are true; but for the present, we are apt to be incredulous; except we could be convinced, that the Priests Words in this Case too, are able to make such a sudden and effectual Change; and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the Nature of all other Things, as often as they are so disposed.

Let me now speak of the Instruments of your Friendship, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford Matter of Suspicion. No Sharpness is to be mingled where Healing only is intended; so nothing will be said to expose particular Men, how strong soever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A Word or two in general, for your better Caution, shall suffice: Suppose then, for Argument's Sake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance should be such, as have been formerly employed in Treaties of the same Kind, and there detected to have acted by Order, and to have been impowered to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an Argument to suspect them?

If they should plainly be under Engagements to one Side, their Arguments to the other, ought to be received accordingly; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as Part of their Commission, which may not improbably give them a Dispensation in the Case of Truth, when it may bring a Prejudice upon the Service of those by whom they are employed.

If there should be Men who having formerly had Means and Authority to persuade, by secular Arguments, have in Pursuance of that Power, sprinkled Money amongst the Dissenting Ministers; and if those very Men should now have the same Authority, practise the same Methods, and disburse, where they cannot otherwise persuade: it seemeth to me to be rather an Evidence than a Presumption of the Deceit.

If there should be Ministers amongst you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this Kind, are in some Sort engaged to continue their Frailty, by the Awe they are in, lest it should be exposed: The Persuasions of these unfortunate Men must sure have the less Force; and their Arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when they come from Men who have mortgaged themselves to severe Creditors, that expect a rigorous Observation of the Contract, let it be never so unwarrantable.

If these, or any others, should at this Time preach up Anger and Vengeance against the Church of *England*; may it not without Injustice be suspected, that a Thing so plainly out of Season springeth rather from Corruption than Mistake; and that those who act this cholerick Part, do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher Directions, endeavour to make good that Part of their Contract which obliged them, upon a Forfeiture, to make Use of their Inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrenched if they should be moderate: And therefore, whilst Violence is their Interest, those who have not the same Arguments, have no Reason to follow such a partial Example.

If there should be Men, who by the Load of their Crimes against the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their Conscience;

science; who by incurring the Want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themselves the Necessity of an intire Resignation: Such Men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their unwelcome Task, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when Men resist their Insinuations; which are far from being voluntary or sincere, but are squeezed out of them, by the Weight of their being so obnoxious.

If in the Height of this great Dearness by comparing Things, it should happen, that at this instant, there is much a surer Friendship with those who are so far from allowing Liberty, that they allow no Living to a Protestant under them. Let the Scene lie in what Part of the World it will, the Argument will come home, and sure it will afford sufficient Ground to suspect. Apparent Contradictions must strike us; neither Nature nor Reason can digest them: Self-Flattery, and the Desire to deceive our selves, to gratify a present Appetite, with all their Power, which is great, cannot get the better of such broad Conviction, as some Things carry along with them. Will you call these vain and empty Suspicions? Have you been at all Times so void of Fears and Jealousies, as to justify your being so unreasonably valiant, in having none upon this Occasion? Such an extraordinary Courage at this unseasonable Time, to say no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commended.

If then for these and a Thousand other Reasons, there is Cause to suspect, sure your new Friends are not to dictate to you, or advise you; for Instance, the Addresses that fly abroad every Week, and murder us with *another to the same*; the first Draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Protestant Religion; and it is your Part only to write them out fairer again. Strange! that you who have been formerly so much against set Forms, should now be content the Priests should indite for you. The Nature of Thanks is an unavoidable Consequence of being pleased or obliged; they grew in the Heart, and from thence shew themselves either in Looks, Speech, Writing or Action: No Man was ever thankful, because he was bid to be so, but because he had, or thought he had some Reason for it. If then there is Cause in this Case to pay such extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such Pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done, to tire all the Post-Horses with carrying circular Letters, to solicit that, which would be done without any Trouble or Constraint: If it is really in it self such a Favour, what needeth so much pressing Men to be thankful, and with such eager Circumstances, that where Persuasions cannot delude, Threatnings are employed, to fright them into a Compliance? Thanks must be voluntarily, not only unconstrained, but unsolicited, else they are either Trifles or Snares, they either signify nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by those that give them. If an Inference should be made, that whosoever thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that engaged to justify it in Point of Law; it is a greater Stride, than I presume all those care to make who are persuaded to address: If it shall be supposed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the *TEST*, when ever a Parliament shall meet. Such an Expectation is better prevented before, than disappointed afterwards; and
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the surest Way to avoid the lying under such a Scandal, is not to do any Thing that may give a Colour to the Mistake: These bespoke Thanks are little less improper than Love Letters that were solicited by the Lady, to whom they are to be directed; so that besides the little Ground there is to give them, the Manner of getting them, doth extremely lessen their Value. It might be wished, that you would have suppressed your Impatience, and have been content, for the Sake of Religion, to enjoy it within your selves, without the Liberty of a publick Exercise, till a Parliament had allowed it; but since that could not be, and that the Artifices of some amongst you have made Use of the well meant Zeal of the Generality, to draw them into this Mistake; I am so far from blaming you with that Sharpness, which, perhaps the Matter in Strictness would bear, that I am ready to err on the Side of the more gentle Construction.

There is a great Difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the Laws in being: The Law is so sacred, that no Trespas against it is to be defended; yet Frailties may in some Measure be excused, when they cannot be justified. The Desire of enjoying a Liberty, from which Men have been so long restrained, may be a Temptation that their Reason is not at all Times able to resist. If in such a Case, some Objections are leapt over, indifferent Men will be more inclined to lament the Occasion, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilst it is covered with the Apology of a good Intention; but where to rescue your selves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected; and instead of silently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you set up for Advocates to support it; you become voluntary Aggressors, and look like Counsel retained by the Prerogative against your old Friend *Magna Charta*, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your Displeasure.

If the Case then should be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, sure you will think twice, before you go any further in such a losing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the Breach of one Law, you lose the Right of complaining of the Breach of all the rest; you will not very well know how to defend your selves, when you are pressed; and having given up the Question, when it was for your Advantage, you cannot recall it, when it shall be to your Prejudice. If you will set up at one Time a Power to help you, which at another Time by Parity of Reason shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved against a Mischief you draw upon your selves, by being so unreasonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough to subdue you: In such a Case your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raise Mirth instead of Compassion.

If you think, for your Excuse, to expound your Thanks so as to restrain them to this particular Case, others, for their Ends, will extend them further; and in these differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the most likely to prevail; especially when by the Advantage you have given them, they have in Truth the better of the Argument, and that the

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Inferences from your own Concessions are very strong and express against you. This is so far from being a groundless Supposition, that there was a late Instance of it, the last Session of Parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first Thanks, though Things of Course, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the King's whole Speech, and a Restraint from the further Examination of any Part of it, though never so much disliked; and it was with Difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the Liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Dispensing, meerly by this innocent and usual Piece of good Manners, by which no such Thing could possibly be intended.

This sheweth, that some Bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Constitution of *England* is too valuable a Thing to be ventured upon a Complement. Now that you have for some Time enjoyed the Benefit of the End, it is Time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The same Reason that made you desirous to get Liberty, must make you solicitous to preserve it: So that the next Thought will naturally be, not to engage your self beyond Retreat, and to agree so far with the Principles of all Religions, as not to rely upon a Death-bed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of Time, which being once past, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies desperate. Our Understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first Heats; which, if not restrained in Time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Consider this in the Case of your Anger against the Church of *England*, and take Warning by their Mistake in the same Kind, when after the late King's Restoration, they preserved so long the bitter Taste of your rough Usage to them in other Times, that it made them forget their Interest, and sacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that Reason not follow it, or if you allow it, you have no Reason to be offended with them; so that you must either dismiss your Anger, or lose your Excuse; except you should argue more partially than will be supposed of Men of your Morality and Understanding.

If you had now to do with those rigid Prelates, who made it a Matter of Conscience to give you the least Indulgence; but kept you at an uncharitable Distance, and even to your more reasonable Scruples continued stiff and exorable, the Argument might be fairer on your Side; but since the common Danger hath so laid open that Mistake, that all the former Haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguish'd, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Persecution, into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condescension; shall this happy Change only affect the Church of *England*? And are you so in love with Separation, as not to be moved by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reason than that it is a Virtue; but when besides that, it is become necessary to your Preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

If it should be said, that the Church of *England* is never humble, but when she is out of Power, and therefore loseth the Right of being believed

when she pretendeth to it; the Answer is, *first*, it would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much mis-timed; an unseasonable Triumph, not only ungenerous, but unsafe: So that in these respects it cannot be urged, without Scandal, even though it could be said with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not so in Fact, and the Argument must fall, being built upon a false Foundation; for whatever may be told you, at this very Hour, and in the Heat and Glare of your present Sun-shine, the *Church of England* can in a Moment bring Clouds again; and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if she would give but a Smile or a kind Word; the least Glympse of her Compliance, would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the Time of this Kindness to you; and yet the *Church of England*, with all her Faults, will not allow herself to be rescued by such unjustifiable Means, but chuseth to bear the Weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burthen of being Criminal.

It cannot be said, that she is unprovoked; Books and Letters come out every Day, to call for Answers, yet she will not be stirred. From the supposed Authors and the Stile, one would swear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the *Church of England*. There are Lashes in every Address, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet; in short, the fairest Occasions in the World given to Quarrel; but she wisely distinguisheth between the Body of Dissenters, whom she will suppose to act, as they do, with no ill Intent; and these small Skirmishers pick'd and sent out to picquer, and to begin a Fray amongst the Protestants, for the Entertainment, as well as the Advantage of the *Church of Rome*.

This Conduct is so good, that it will be scandalous not to applaud it: It is not equal dealing, to blame our Adversaries for doing ill, and not to commend them when they do well.

To hate them because they persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to suffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Compliance, is a Principle no sort of Christians can own, since it would give an Objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little, who they were that promoted your former Persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the Instruments, and at the same Time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every Borough by a Virtue of a *Conge d'eslire*, and instead of Election, be satisfied if you are returned?

Will you in *Parliament*, justify the Dispensing Power, with all its Consequences, and repeal the *Test*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws, that were made to preserve your Religion, and to enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the Liberty of Debate, into the Merit of Obedience, and to be made Instruments to repeal or enact Laws, when the *Roman Consistory* are *Lords of the Articles*.

Are

Are you so linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* shall offer you, if it shall not be so comprehensive as to include the *Papists* in it.

Consider that the implied Conditions of your new Treaty are no less, than that you are to do every Thing you are desired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conscience, your real Freedom is to be sacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains still about you, you are let loose only upon Bail; the first Act of Non-compliance, sendeth you to Jail again.

You may see that the *Papists* themselves, do not rely upon the Legality of this Power, which you are to justify, since they being so very earnest to get it established by a Law, and the doing such very hard Things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think that the single Power of the Crown is in this Case a good Foundation; especially when this is done under a Prince, so very tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a Diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone, to call in the Legislative Help to strengthen and support it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church of England*, and not without Reason, for going so far as they did in their Compliance; and yet as soon as they stopped, you see they are not only deserted, but prosecuted: Conclude then from this Example, that you must either break off your Friendship, or resolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not succeed in their Design, they will leave you first; if they do, you must either leave them, when it will be too late for your Safety, or else after the Squeaziness of starting at a Surprize, you must be forced to swallow Transubstantiation.

Remember that the other Day those of the *Church of England* were *Trim-mers* for enduring you, and now by a sudden Turn, you are become the Favourites; do not deceive your selves, it is not the Nature of lasting Plants thus to shoot up in a Night; you may look gay and green for a little Time, but you want a Root to give you a Continuance. It is not so long since, as to be forgotten that the *Maxim* was, *It is impossible for a Dissenter, not to be a REBEL*. Consider at this Time in *France*, even the new Converts are so far from being employed, that they are disarmed: Their sudden Change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are reconciled: What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, whenever they shall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other Times given such Arguments for their Excuse?

Besides all this, you act very unskilfully against your visible Interest, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unseasonable Activity lose the Influences of your good Star, which promiseth you every Thing that is prosperous.

The *Church of England* convinced of its Error in being severe to you; the *Parliament* whenever it meeteth, sure to be gentle to you; the next Heir bred

in the Country, which you have so often quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a general Agreement of all thinking Men, that we must no more cut our selves off from the Protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences against the common Enemy; so that in Truth, all Things seem to conspire to give you Ease and Satisfaction, if by too much Haste to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it.

The Protestants have but one Article of human Strength, to oppose the Power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the Advantage of their Numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince, our Objections to his Belief, do not hinder us from seeing his Virtues; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no Effect upon our Allegiance; we are not to be laughed out of our Passive Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, though even those who perhaps owe the best Part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jest of it.

So that if we give no Advantage by the fatal Mistake of misapplying our Anger, by the natural Course of Things, this Danger will pass away like a Shower of Hail; fair Weather will succeed, as lowring as the Sky now looketh, and all by this plain and easy Receipt. Let us be still, quiet and undivided, firm at the same Time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws, and so long as we continue this Method, it is next to impossible, that the odds of two hundred to one should lose the Bett, except the Church of *Rome*, which hath been so long barren of Miracles, should now in her declining Age, be brought to bed of One that would out-do the best she can brag of in her *Legend*.

To conclude, the short Question will be, Whether you will join with those who must in the End run the same Fate with you. If Protestants of all sorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal Terms, and for that very Reason it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Dis-union is not only a Reproach, but a Danger to us; those who believe in modern Miracles, have more Right, or at least more Excuse, to neglect all secular Cautions; but for us, it is as justifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the human Means of preserving it.

I am,

Dear S I R,

Your most Affectionate

Humble Servant,

T. W.

A Copy

A Copy of an Address to the KING by the Bishop of *Oxon*, to be subscribed by the Clergy of his Diocese; with the Reasons for the Subscription to the Address, and the Reasons against it.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

WHEREAS, in Your Majesty's Royal Declaration lately published, You have been Graciously pleased to declare, That Your Majesty will protect and maintain the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, and all other Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exercise of their Religion, as by Law established, and the full and quiet Enjoyment of all their Possessions, without Molestation or Disturbance whatsoever; we cannot but think ourselves obliged in Duty and Gratitude, to return Your Majesty Our most Hearty Thanks for those Gracious Expressions of Your Kindness, and for all Your former Assurances of Your Royal Favour to the Church of *England*; and to express our Loyalty as becomes the true Sons of the Church of *England*, and Your Majesty's obedient Subjects and Servants.

The Reasons for the Subscription to the ADDRESS are but two.

I. That it may continue the King's Favour, whereas the Omission may irritate the Treasury to call upon the fifth Bond for first Fruits at full Worth.

II. That it will Testify Our Unity with, and Submission to the Bishop requiring their Address, and perhaps expecting it upon Our Canonical Obedience; there being nothing in the *Address Præter licitum & Honestum*.

The Reasons against it are many, to instance in four.

I. As Our Possessions, 'tis but Thanks for His Majesty's continuing Our legal Rights, which either equally concerns all States of Men in the Kingdom, and ought properly to be considered in Parliaments; or else it supposes Our Possessions less legal and more arbitrary than other Subjects.

II. As to the free Exercise of our Religion, it unnecessarily herds us among the various Sects under the *Toleration*, who for that Favour in suspending the Laws, have led the Way to such Addresses, depending for Protection upon no legal Establishment, but intirely upon Sovereign Pleasure and Indulgence, which at Pleasure is revocable.

III. This *Address* when subscribed, is either designed in the Name of the Church of *England*, and then ought to have had its Birth at *Lambeth*, or a Synodal Convocation; or else in the Name of this Diocese only, which will disjoint us both among ourselves, who differ about it, and the Body of the National Clergy, who as we are assured, dislike it in the present Circumstances; so that the inevitable Consequences of this *Address* (set on Foot by two or three Bishops,

374 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Bishops, independent upon their Metropolitan, and without the previous Concurrence of the rest of their Order) must be a fatal Division among the Clergy, and either beget a new Schism, or widen the old ones, which are already deplorable, which above all Things is likely to hasten our Ruin, and promote the intriguing Projects of our Adversaries.

IV. It forfeits the present Reputation we have with the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality of our Communion, and may tempt them not only to disgust us for our rash Compliance with suspected Artifices (which may rise up hereafter against Us to Our own and the Church's Prejudice,) but also to waver in the Stedfastness of their Profession, when they see us owning the Exercise of Our Established own Religion to be precarious.

Wherefore may it not be expedient humbly to remonstrate Our selves in this Affair to Our Diocesan, and humbly desire and beseech him not to (without Consulting Us) Act in a Thing of so Publick and National a Concernment, in which We conceive Our selves obliged to proceed upon mature Deliberation and united Measures, which under God and the King are likely to be our greatest Safeguard.

As to the Continuance of the King's Favour.

If the known loyal Principles and Practices of the Church of *England*, peculiarly evident to this Prince in the *Bill of Exclusion* and *Monmouth*, will not secure it, this *Address* (which only copies out *Fanatical* Thanksgiving) will not. Yet it might be thought expedient for the Church of *England*, to address for the Contents of that *Declaration*, which promises to engage the two Houses of *Parliament*, in Concurrence to so excellent a Work, as if the Favour of continuing the Laws, (which perhaps cannot be repealed) were as great as the abrogating the Laws for the Dissenters Sakes, which is the Reason of the Thanks in the *Presbyterian* and *Independant* *Addressees*.

As to the Bishop.

This *Address* is no Instance of Canonical Obedience that we know of, neither is Our Unity with him such, as to oblige Us to disjoint from Our Metropolitan and national Clergy; neither seems Our Bishop to have had any Paternal Regard of Us, unless it be in treating of Us like Children of a very weak and passive Minority, when he requires Our Subscription to a Formed Address, wherein he hath neither consulted Us, nor given us Leave to Word Ourselves, or speak Our own Sense.

And till Bishops at their Confirmation declare what Faith they are of, as they did in the *Primitive* Church, (for which there are the same Reasons now) Our Unity with him must either be with Communication as to the whole Church, or we may follow him we know not whether.

A Letter from a DISSENTER to the Petitioning
BISHOPS.

My Lords,

HAVING seen a Paper that goes under the Name of your *Petition to His Majesty, for not insisting upon his Order for Reading his most Gracious Declaration in your Publick Assemblies*: I confess I was not a little startled at it, that Men so long, and so much professing Loyalty should appear so miserably defective in that Point. I challenge you (after all your exclaiming against the poor Dissenters as Factious and Rebellious) to give an Instance of their Disobeying their Prince's Command in any such Matter, what they stuck at was purely for Conscience Sake, which you have not to plead in this Thing; here was no Assent nor Consent required, no interfering with any Law of God, but only a Publication of his Majesty's most Pious Design to set all his Subjects at Liberty from that Bondage they so dolefully groan'd under. Now as *Samuel* reasoned with *Israel* about their Affairs then, pray my Lords give me leave to Reason with you about this important Affair now; you are Men of Worth and Learning, you are Professors of the Gospel of Peace and Love, and it might therefore be well expected from you, that you should have put the King upon it before he did it, and improv'd your great Interest in his Majesty on the Behalf of the sore oppressed and horridly abused *Dissenters*; but alas, *altum silentium* to say no more, what provoking and incensing the King there was against them you best know; However after Heaven had inspir'd his Majesty with this glorious Project, we expected your rejoicing at it, your thanking the King for it, and hearty closing with him in it. But who could imagine the Murmuring, the Grumbling, the Discontent this great Act of Goodness and Grace has raised among you, especially the unmannerly (pardon the Expression) refusing to make it known to the People, though the King so absolutely commanded it. Pray, my Lords, let me ask you a Question. Suppose the King instead of his Declaration had issued out a Proclamation commanding Justices of the Peace, Constables, Informers, and all other Persons to be more rigorous (if possible) against Dissenters, and do their utmost to the perfect Quelling and Destroying them, and had order'd this to be read in your Churches in the Time of Divine Service, would you have made any Scruple of that? Ah! no, methinks I see your chirping Parsons, how brisk they look in the Desk with such a Paper in their Hands, as the second Course after the first Mess of Prayers is over, being a Dish more dainty than the rest, and how the Paraphrase upon it would furnish them with Matter all the Day after, without being beholden to the Bible for any other Text.

Good my Lords consider, what can we or the whole World think of you, who are so averse to Mercy, and so eager to any Thing of Rigour. You
intimate

intimate in your Paper that *you want no Tendernefs to Diffenters*; ftrange and wonderful News if true; but pray my Lords tell us the Meaning of this Expreffion in plain Englifh, for it is more intricate to us than *Samfon's* Riddle was to the *Philiftines*; an Interpreter the other Day undertook to expound it thus, *that your Lordships want no Tendernefs to Diffenters, becaufe you never judg'd Tendernefs a Thing fit for them*; and it muft be carried fome fuch Way, for to take it in the literal Senfe, 'tis a great Untruth (which we cannot fuppofe your Lordships guilty of) to fay *you want no Tendernefs to Diffenters*, when the whole Land knows you never fhew'd any. How many Scores of Prifons were fill'd with Diffenters not many Ages paff, and their Families fuffering at home; nor did your Lordships out of your great Revenues ever fend a Penny to relieve them; here would have been a notable Proof of your *Tendernefs*, and to have been a Testimony againft (or at leaft uſing Endeavours to prevent) the horrible Wrongs, Oppreffions and Abufes put upon them even to the ruining their Families. Something of this Nature (my Lords) would have convinc'd this unbelieving Generation of your *Tendernefs*. But *hujus contrarium miſerimum eſt*.

My Lords, the Deſign of this Letter is to offer you good and reaſonable Advice, and pray be not angry with me for my good Will; I am a Perſon that has ſuffer'd much, very much by the Fury of that Church you fit at helm to guide; and yet God is my Witnefs, I deſire not an Hair of your Head ſhould fall to the Ground, ſo far am I from Revenge; and therefore pray my Lords for your own Sake, for your Churches Sake, for *England's* Sake, and if all this will not do, then for God's Sake debate the Matter well you are now in Hand with, weigh every Thing in a right Balance, and conſider thoroughly whether flying in your Sovereign's Face, and diſobeying his moſt juſt Command be a Cauſe will bear you out in Suffering. My Lords I pity you, and am really concern'd for you, retract, retract before it be too late, aſk God and the King Pardon for your oppoſing the beſt of Works, and give us (who would fain have) ſome Ground to believe you inclinable to heal, as you have been to deſtroy. I think you have it in your Liturgy, *From Pride, Vain glory and Hypocriſy, &c.* A good Prayer, I pray God keep you all from it. My Lords, believe me if you can (I am ſure you may) that,

I am,

Your well-wiſhing Servant.

London,
June 1^{ſt}, 1688.

The Solemn Oath which the **KINGS** of *Scotland* are to take, by Virtue of an Act made in the first Parliament of King *JAMES* the VI. at the Time of their Coronation, and Receipt of their Princely Authority. Anno 1567.

ITEM, Because that the increase of Vertew, and suppressing of Idolatrie craves, that the Prince and the People be of ane perfect Religion, quhilke of God's Mercy is now presently professed within this Realme. Therefore it is Statute, and Ordeined be our Sovereine Lord, my Lord Regent, and Three Estaites of this present Parliament, That all Kinges, and Princes, or Magistrates whatsoever, halding their Place, quhilke hereafter in any time fall happen to Reigne, and beare Rule over this Realme, at the time of their Coronatioun, and receipt of their Princely Authority, make their faithful Promise by Aith in Presence of the Eternal God, That induring the haill course of their lives, they fall serve the samin Eternal God to the uttermost of their Power, according as he hes required in his maist holy Word, reveiled and contained in the new and auld Testaments. And according to the samin worde fall mainteine the trew Religioun of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his Halie Word, and dew and richt ministratioun of the Sacraments now received and preached within this Realm; And fall abolish and gainstand all fals Religioun contrare to the samin: And fall rule the Peopill committed to their Charge, according to the Will and Commaund of God, reveiled in his foreseide Word, and according to the loudable Laws, and Constitutions received in the Realm, na wise repugnant to the said Word of the Eternall God. And fall procure to the uttermaist of their Power, to the Kirk of God, and hail Christian Peopill, trew and perfite Peace in all time coming. The Richtis and Rentes, with all just Privileges of the Crown of *Scotland*, to preserve and keip inviolated, nouthir fall they transfer nor alienate the samin. They fall forbid and repress in all Estaites, and Degrees, reise, oppression, and all kind of wrang. In all Judgements, they fall commaund, and procure that Justice and Equity be keiped to all Creatuers, without exception, as the Lord and Father of al Mercyes, be merciful to them. And out of their Landes and Empyre, they fall be carefull to rute out all Hereticks, and Enemies to the trew Worship of God, that fall be convicte be the true Kirke of God, of the foresaidis Crimes. And that they fall faithfullie affirme the things above written, be their Solemn Aith.

His MAJESTIES Most Gracious Letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, together with the Parliament's Dutiful Answer to his MAJESTY's Letter, published by his MAJESTY's Command. 1686.

JAMES R.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE great Testimonies We had of your Loyalty and Affection to Our Royal Person and Government at your last Session, (in which you not only made an humble Offer of your Duty in ample Manner, and shewed your Abhorrence of the Rebellion then raised against Us, and your Readiness on that, and all other Occasions to stand by Us with your Lives and Fortunes, but (wisely considering how much the Forces which former Parliaments had given Us Supplies to maintain, supported by your Assistance, and blessed be God, were instrumental in ending that unnatural Rebellion) you gave Us the Occasion by augmenting Your Supplies to add to Our Forces, and consequently to Your own Security) for all which as We then returned You Our most hearty and Royal Thanks, and considered you the Examples to Our other Subjects of Loyalty, Duty and Affection to Us, (as you had been in Our former Difficulties) so it stirred up in Us an ardent Desire of making such Returns unto you, as might every Way make you find the Advantage of your Faithfulness and Duty to Us.

It is for this End that We have again desired to meet you in this Session.

We have considered Your Interest as much as Our Distance from You could bring into Our Prospect, and those Things which We found proper for it, whether in Relation to Trade and Commerce, or easing some Things uneasy to You amongst your selves, We have fully instructed Our Commissioner (with your Advice and Consent) to conclude so, as may be most for the general Good of that Our antient Kingdom.

We have made the opening of a free Trade with *England* our particular Care, and are proceeding in it with all imaginable Application, and are hopeful in a short Time to have considerable Advances made in it. We have considered the Trouble that many are put to daily by Prosecutions before Our Judges, or the Hazard that they lie under for their Accession to the late Rebellions: And to shew the World (even Our greatest Enemies themselves) that Mercy is our Inclination, and Severity what is by their Wickedness extorted from Us, We have sent down to be past in Your Presence Our full and ample Indemnity for all Crimes committed against Our Royal Person or Authority. And whilst we shew these Acts of Mercy to the Enemies to Our Person, Crown and Royal Dignity, We cannot be unmindful of others Our innocent Subjects, those of the Roman Catholick Religion,
who

who have with the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes been always assistant to the Crown in the worst of Rebellions and Usurpations, though they lay under Discouragements hardly to be named. Them we do heartily recommend to your Care, to the End that as they have given good Experience of their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, so by Your Assistance they may have the Protection of Our Laws, and that Security under Our Government, which others of Our Subjects have, not suffering them to lie under Obligations which their Religion cannot admit of. By doing whereof you will give a Demonstration of the Duty and Affection You have for Us, and do Us most acceptable Service.

This Love We expect You will shew to Your Brethren, as You see We are an indulgent Father to you all.

For these, and such other Matters as We conceive for Our Service, and the universal Good of the Nation, We have sent Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Councillor, *Alexander* Earl of *Murray*, Secretary of State for that Our Ancient Kingdom, Our Commissioner to You, believing that none will be more acceptable than one so immediately employed and trusted about Our Person, of whose long and faithful Services We have full Experience in every one of the several Employments he has been in, and of whose Loyalty and Affection to Our Person and Service We are fully convinced. To him We desire you to give entire Credit, as One fully instructed and trusted by Us, from whose Experience and faithful Endeavours, with your Loyalty, Love and Duty to Us, We have good Reason to expect a happy Conclusion to this Session: And You may assure your selves in general, and every one of You in particular, that We shall have both the general Concern of the Nation and yours into our most particular Regard, which We shall express by Our Royal Favour upon all suitable Occasions. So not only expecting your Compliance with Us, but that by the Manner of it you will shew the World your Readiness to meet Our Inclinations, We bid you most heartily Farewel.

*Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 12th Day of April, 1686, and
of Our Reign the second Year.*

By His Majesty's Command.

Melfort.

The Parliament of *Scotland's* dutiful Answer to His
MAJESTY's Letter.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

WE do return Your Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks, for the frequent Marks of Your Royal Favour express'd to this Your ancient Kingdom upon all Occasions; and particularly in Your Majesty's Gracious Letter dated the 12th of *April* last: And Your Majesty may with full Assurance expect, that Your Gracious Acceptance of those Services we did You in the last Session of this Parliament, will encourage us to continue our Zeal and Firmness in this, for Your Majesty's Service, and the Royal Interest upon which, under God, we acknowledge our Happiness and Preservation do intirely depend.

Your Majesty's Care of the Trade of this Kingdom (which is, at present, exceedingly decayed) and particularly, Your Royal Endeavours to procure us a free Trade with Your Kingdom of *England*, will very much enable us to make these Supplies effectual, which we have so heartily and willingly undertaken for the Security of the Crown, and Safety of the Kingdom; nor shall the Advantages that can arise thereby, be more acceptable to us upon any other Account, than so far, as they may be a Testimony of Your Majesty's Kindness, and conduce to those great Ends.

Your Majesty's Clemency, testified in the Offer of an Indemnity to these desperate Rebels, who could have expected Pardon from no Monarch on Earth but your Sacred Majesty; and the greatest Aggravation of whose Crimes, lies in opposing such Gracious and Merciful Princes, will (we hope) not only convince Your other Subjects how happy they are under your Government; but reclaim them from bearing any further Enmity to it; and to let them see how extravagant, as well as undutiful, their Endeavours will be, in opposing Your Majesty and Your Royal Successors, We do again most sincerely and heartily offer You our Lives and Fortunes for suppressing all such, as shall upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever, attempt, either by private Contrivances, or open Rebellions, to disquiet Your Glorious Reign.

As to that Part of Your Majesty's Letter relating to Your Subjects of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, We shall, in Obedience to Your Majesties Commands, and with Tenderness to their Persons, take the same into our serious and dutiful Consideration, and go as great Lengths therein, as our Conscience will allow, not doubting that Your Majesty will be careful to secure the Protestant Religion established by Law.

Your Majesties Commissioner has, to our very great Satisfaction, signified to us, that he is fully instructed by Your Majesty, to promote every Thing which may tend to the Improvement of the Wealth and Prosperity of this your ancient Kingdom; and we hope, that by his wise Care and Conduct, this
Session

Session of Parliament may be brought to a happy Conclusion; And to him, seeing your Majesty has well judged that none could be more acceptable, We shall give that intire Credit and Concurrence, and pay that Respect which is due to the eminent Character which Your Majesty has been pleased to give him; and to that constant Loyalty and Fidelity, with which he has acquitted himself in all the former Trusts and Employments which he has born under Your Majesty's Royal Brother, and Your Self; hoping that we shall give him just Reason to report at his Return to Your Majesty, with how much Zeal, Duty and Affection, we endeavour to deserve the being considered by Your Majesty, as

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

Edinburgh May 6. Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful,
1686.

And most obedient Subjects and Servants.

P E R T H C A N C.

I. P. D. Parl.

The Grievances represented by the Estates of *Scotland* to the King's Majesty, to be redressed in Parliament, together with His Majesty's Instructions to His Commissioner for redressing the same, published by Authority, 1689.

I. **T**H E Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* do represent, Instr. 2.
That the Committee of Parliament, called *The Articles*,

is a great Grievance to the Nation, and there ought to be no Committee of Parliament, but such as are freely chosen by the Estates, to prepare Motions, and Overtures that are first made in the House.

II. That the first Act of Parliament 1669, is inconsistent with Instr. 4.
the Establishment of the Church Government now desired, and ought to be abrogated.

III. That Forfeitures in Prejudice of Vassals, Creditors, and Instr. 6.
Heirs of Entail are a great Grievance.

IV. That the Obliging of the Leiges to depone upon Crimes Instr. 10.
against Delinquents, otherwise than when they are Adduced in special Process as Witnesses, is a great Grievance.

V. That

382 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

- Instr. 7. V. That Assises of Error are a great Grievance, and that Juries be considered by Parliament.
- Instr. 8. VI. That the Eighteenth Act of Parliament 1681, declaring the accumulative Jurisdiction, is a Grievance.
- Instr. 9. VII. That the Commissariot Courts as they are now constituted, are a Grievance.
- Instr. 17. VIII. That the twenty-seventh Act of Parliament 1663, giving to the King Power to impose Custom at Pleasure upon foreign Import, and Trade, is a Grievance, and prejudicial to the Trade of the Nation.
- Instr. 11. IX. That the not taking an effectual Course to repress the Depredations and Robberies by the *Highland* Clans, is a Grievance.
- Instr. 13. X. That the Banishment by the Council of the greatest Part of the Advocates from *Edinburgh* without a Process, was a Grievance.
- Instr. 12. XI. That most of the Laws enacted in the Parliament *Anno* 1685, are impious and intolerable Grievances.
- Instr. 14. XII. That the Marriage of a King or Queen of this Realm to a Papist, is dangerous to the Protestant Religion, and ought to be provided against.
- Instr. 19. XIII. That the levying, or keeping on Foot a standing Army in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament, is a Grievance.
- Instr. 15. XIV. That all Grievances relating to the Manner and Measure of the Leiges, their Representation in Parliament, be considered and redressed in the first Parliament.
- Instr. 16. XV. That the Grievances of the Boroughs be considered, and redressed in the first Parliament.

Hamilton.

WILLIAM R.

Instructions to Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, Our Commissioner for holding the first Session of our next ensuing Parliament of Our ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*.

- I. **Y**OU are to pass an Act for turning the Meeting of Estates into a Parliament; and the three Estates are to consist of the Noblemen, Barons and Burgeses.
- Grievan. 1. II. You are to pass an Act for regulating the Articles, to consist of twenty-four Persons, besides the Officers of State, whereof
eight

eight are to be chosen by the Noblemen of their Estate; eight by the Barons, and eight by the Boroughs of their Estate: And in Case of the Decease of any of these Persons, that Estate out of which the Persons deceased shall supply the same: These are to prepare Matters and Acts for the Parliament, but not to exclude the Parliament to take any Matters into their Consideration, though it hath been thrown out, or rejected in the Articles; and all former Acts, especially the first Act, Parliament 1st. Ch. II. Seff. 3d. inconsistent with this, are to be rescinded.

III. You are to pass an Act recognizing Our, and the Queen's Royal Authority, and Right of the Crown; ordaining an Oath of Allegiance to be taken in Place of all former Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, Declarations and Tests.

IV. You are to pass an Act, establishing that Church Govern- Griev. 2.
ment which is most agreeable to the Inclinations of the People, rescinding the Act of Parliament 1669, and all other Acts inconsistent therewith.

V. You are to endeavour to pass an Act for raising such a Supply, as may be necessary for securing the Kingdom from the present Danger, and foreign Invasion.

VI. You are to pass an Act, that Forfeitures shall only be ex- Griev. 3.
tended to such Interest as the Rebel had, and that innocent Vassals, or lawful Creditors for Debts upon Record shall not be prejudged, nor such Heirs of Entail whose Rights of Succession are established by a publick Infeftment.

VII. You are to pass an Act, either to take away Assizes of Er- Griev. 5.
ror, or otherwise, that they shall take Place as well against a Jury that condemns, as a Jury that assizes any Pannel.

VIII. You are to pass an Act rescinding the 18th Act of Parlia- Griev. 6.
ment 1681, asserting the Prerogative in Point of Jurisdiction.

IX. You are to pass an Act regulating the Abuses in the Com- Griev. 7.
missary Courts, and all other inferior Courts.

X. We are satisfied, that an Act should be past for securing the Griev. 4.
Leiges against Inquiries by Way of Inquisition, but in Respect of the present Juncture of Affairs, this Matter will be well considered by the Parliament; and therefore when the Terms of this Act shall be adjusted, you are to transmit the same to us, that we may give you particular Instructions thereanent.

XI. You are to endeavour to procure an Act for an effectual Griev. 9.
Course for redressing the Depredations and Robberies by the *Highland* Clans; and when this Matter is digested, you are to transmit the Proposals to us, that you may get particular Instructions thereanent.

XII. You are to pass an Act rescinding such Acts as were Griev. 11.
made in Parliament 1685, as are justly grievous to the People.

XIII. You are to pass an Act, that no Person be banished out of Griev. 10.
the Kingdom, or from any Part thereof summarly without a Process.

XIV. You

384 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Griev. 12. XIV. You are to pass an Act, that the Kings, or Queens of that Realm shall not marry with Papists under this Certification, that a Popish Queen Consort, or the Husband of a Sovereign Queen shall be incapable to enjoy the Benefit, or Advantage of any Provisions or Settlements which the Law provides, or particular Contracts or Agreements may have secured to them.

Griev. 14. XV. You are to pass an Act, that the greater Shires of that Kingdom, such as *Lanerk, Air, Perth, Fife, Aberdeen, and Midlothian*, or others where it shall be found convenient may send three, or four Commissioners to Parliament, that the Representation may be the more equal.

Griev. 15. XVI. You are to pass an Act ratifying the Privileges of the Boroughs, and securing their Rights, in electing of their own Magistrates for the future, and that the Boroughs of *Glasgow* and *St. Andrews* shall have the electing of their own Provosts, Baillies, and Town Council, as the other Royal Boroughs of the Kingdom have.

Griev. 3. XVII. You are to endeavour to procure an Act or Acts for the Encouragement of Trade; and if the 27th Act of Parliament 1663 be found inconvenient, it may be regulated or rescinded, and when the Proposals are adjusted you are to transmit them to us, that you may receive our Instructions thereanent.

XVIII. You are to pass an Act for regulating the Universities, so as good Order and Discipline may be preserved, and that pious and learned Persons may be employed and provided.

Griev. 13. XIX. You are to pass an Act against a standing Army in Time of Peace, but so as the Guards, Garrisons, and necessary standing Forces may be continued.

XX. You are from Time to Time to adjourn the Parliament as you shall find necessary, and in Respect the Meeting may not be fully convened upon the 5th Day of *June*, which is appointed for the first Dyet; therefore after passing the first Act of turning them into a Parliament, you are to adjourn them to the 17th Day of the Month.

XXI. You are impowered to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon such Persons as you shall find deserving of the same, not exceeding the Number of Six.

You have particular Instructions anent what is represented to us as Grievances, if there be any other Things that may be necessary for the Good of that Kingdom to be past into Laws, you are to acquaint us, from Time to Time, with such Overtures, that you may be authorized with particular Instructions thereanent.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet at our Court at Copt-Hall the 31st Day of May 1689. And of Our Reign the first Year.

By his Majesty's Command.

Melvill.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM R.

An Additional Instruction to Our Right Trusty, and Right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *William Duke of Hamilton*, our Commissioner.

YOU are to Nominate Our Right Trusty, and Well beloved Cousin and Counsellor *William Earl of Crawford*, to be President of the first Session of Parliament, in regard We have no Chancellor for the Time being.

*Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet, at Our Court at Copt-Hall.
the 31st Day of May, 1689. And of our Reign the First Year,*

By His Majesty's Command.

Melvill.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Instructions to Our Right Trusty, and Right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *William Duke of Hamilton*, Our Commissioner.

1. **B**Y the Second Article of your Instructions, dated the 31st of *May* last, you was impowered to pass an Act for Regulating the Committee, called the Articles, which were to consist of Twenty-four Persons, besides the Officers of State; notwithstanding of which, these are to authorize you to pass an Act for them to consist of Thirty three Persons, besides the Officers of State; whereof Eleven to be chosen out of every Estate according to your former Instructions, who are to prepare Matters, &c. as is therein expressed, not excluding the Parliament to take Matters into their Consideration, though it hath been rejected in the Committee, nor to prevent their moving of any Thing, and Regulating of it to them, and the said Eleven out of every Estate to be chosen Monthly, or oftner if the Parliament think it fit, and all former Acts, especially the first Act *Ch. 2. Sessi. 3.* inconsistent with this, are to be rescinded.

2. You are to pass what Acts shall be proposed for settling the Church-Government, according to your former Instructions.

3. You are to pass an Act rescinding all Forfeitures past against any of Our Subjects either in Parliament, or Criminal Court, since the first Day of *January 1665.* which shall be thought fit by the Parliament to be rescinded: Likewise you are to consent to what our Parliament shall propose for Resti-

386 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

tution to be made of Fines, or Compositions for Fines, or Forfeitures from those who had the Benefit of them, and you are to rescind such Acts as were made in the Years 1681. and 1685. as are justly grievous.

Although the first of the above Instructions is not complied with yet, you are to move the other two, and have them past before any Adjournment.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet, at Our Court at Hampton-Court, the 4th Day of July 1689. And of Our Reign the First Year.

By His Majesty's Command.

Melwill.

WILLIAM R.

Additional Instructions to Our Right Trusty, and Right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, Our Commissioner.

1. **Y**OU are to touch the Act already past, abolishing Episcopacy as soon as you can, and to rescind all Acts inconsistent therewith.

2. You are to rescind the Act past in 1685. annexing Forfeitures to the Crown.

3. By the Third Article of your Instructions, dated the 4th Instant, We did impower you to reduce all Forfeitures past against any of our Subjects since *January* 1665. Now we do Authorize you to pass what Acts shall be proposed for reducing Forfeitures, &c. since the Year 1660. if the Parliament desire it, and to consent to what shall be proposed for making Restitution of Fines, or Compositions for Fines or Forfeitures as is expressed in the fore-mentioned Article, and you are to touch what Acts passes conform to this.

4. You are to recommend to the Parliament to raise a Supply of Money for paying the Army, and supporting the Government, according to your first Instructions.

5. You are to allow the Parliament to choose Committees for the three foregoing Instructions, notwithstanding the Committee of the Articles be not appointed, as also for what concerns Church-Government.

Given under Our Royal Hand and Signet, at Our Court at Whitehall, the 17th Day of July 1689. And of Our Reign the First Year.

By His Majesty's Command,

Melwill.

Proceedings of the Convention of the Estates in *Scotland* :
Giving an Account of their coming to a Resolution
of Settling the Crown of that Kingdom upon KING
WILLIAM and QUEEN *MARY* of *England*.

Edinburgh, April 4. 1689.

THE Reasons for declaring the Throne Vacant, were again read, and argued, one by one. They are in the Terms following :

I. ' King *James* the Seventh being a professed Papist, did assume the Regal Power, and acted as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law, whereby every King, at his Access to the Government, is obliged to swear to maintain the Protestant Religion, and to rule the People according to the laudable Laws.

II. ' By the Advice of evil and wicked Councillors he did invade the Fundamental Constitution of this Kingdom, and altered it from a Legal limited Monarchy, to an Arbitrary despotick Power ; and by publick Proclamation asserted an Absolute Power to cass, annul, and disable all the Laws ; and particularly, arraigning the Laws establishing the Protestant Religion ; and did exert that Power for the Subversion of the Protestant Religion, by erecting publick Schools and Societies of the Jesuits, and not only allowing Masses to be publicly said, but did invert Protestant Chappels and Churches to publick Mass houses, contrary to express Laws against saying and hearing of Masses.

III. ' By Disarming Protestants, while, in the *Interim*, he employed Papists in the Places of the greatest Trust, both Civil and Military, such as Chancellors, Secretaries, Privy-Councillors, Lords of Session ; thrusting out Protestants to make room for Papists ; and by entrusting the Forts and Magazines of the Kingdom in their Hands.

IV. ' By allowing Popish Books to be printed and dispersed, by a Gift to a Popish Printer, designing him Printer to his Majesty's Household and Chappel, contrary to the Laws.

V. ' By taking the Children of Noblemen and Gentlemen, sending and keeping them abroad to be bred Papists, making great Funds and Donations to Popish Schools and Colleges abroad, by bestowing Pensions upon Priests, and perverting Protestants from their Religion by Offers of Places and Pensions.

VI. ' By imposing Oaths contrary to the Law.

VII. ' By giving Gifts and Grants for exacting Money without Consent of Parliament, or Conventions of the Estates.

VIII. ' By levying and keeping on Foot a standing Army in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament.

IX. ' By employing Officers of the Army as Judges through the Kingdom, and imposing them where there were heritable Offices and Jurisdictions ;

‘ and by them many of the Leiges were put to Death summarly, without
‘ legal Trial, Jury, or Record.

X. ‘ By using inhuman Tortures without any Evidence, and in ordinary
‘ Crimes.

XI. ‘ By imposing exorbitant Fines, to the Value of the Parties Estates;
‘ in exacting extravagant Bail, and by disposing of Fines and Forfeitures,
‘ before any Process or Conviction.

XII. ‘ By causing pursue and forfeit several Persons upon old and obsolete
‘ Laws, upon frivolous and weak Pretences, upon lame and defective Proba-
‘ tion, as particularly the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal and Reproach of
‘ the Justice of the Nation.

XIII. ‘ By subverting the Right of the Royal Burroughs, the Third of the
‘ Estates of Parliament; imposing not only the Magistrates, but also the
‘ whole Town-Council and Clerks, contrary to their Liberties and express
‘ Charters, without the Pretence either of Sentence, Surrender, or Consent;
‘ and the Commissioners to Parliament being chosen by these Magistrates and
‘ Councils, the King might in effect as well nominate that entire Estate of
‘ Parliament: And many of the said Magistrates put in by him, were avowed
‘ Papists, and the Burroughs forced to pay Money for Letters, imposing
‘ these illegal Magistrates and Council upon them.

XIV. ‘ By sending Letters to the chief Courts of Justice, not only ordering
‘ the Judges to stop and desist, *sine die*, to determine Causes; but also order-
‘ ing and commanding them how to proceed in Cases depending before them,
‘ contrary to the express Laws, and by changing the Nature of the Judges
‘ Gifts, *ad vitam aut culpam*, and giving them Commissions *ad bene placitum*,
‘ to dispose them to compliance with Arbitrary Courses, and turning them
‘ out of their Offices when they did not comply; and particularly, those who
‘ in Parliament opposed the Abrogating of the Laws made for the Security
‘ of the Protestant Religion.

XV. ‘ By granting personal Protections of Civil Debts, contrary to Law,
‘ notwithstanding the Representation of the Privy-Council in the contrary.

After this, the following Declaration, which had been prepared by the
Committee, was read, and the Vote was approv’d, as also the Declaration
and Reasons.

*The Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That King James
the Seventh, being a professed Papist, did assume the Royal Power, and acted as
King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law; and hath, by the Advice
of Wicked and Evil Councillors, invaded the Fundamental Constitutions of this
Kingdom, and altered it from a Legal limited Monarchy, to an Absolute and
Despotick Power; and hath exercised the same, to the Subversion of the Pro-
testant Religion, and the Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation;
inverting all the Ends of Government; whereby he hath forfeited the Right of
the Crown, and the Throne is become Vacant.*

The whole House approved both, except Twelve; of which Number,
Seven were Bishops, *All* the Bishops that were present.

This

This being done, the following Vote passed, That an Act be brought in from the Committee for settling the Crown upon *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, King and Queen of *England*, and to consider the Terms of the Destination of the Heirs to the Crown. And likewise, to prepare an Instrument of Government to be offered with the Crown, for securing the People from the Grievances which do affect them.

When all Business was over, one of the Bishops offered to say Prayers, as the Custom is; upon which it was moved, That King *James* being no more our King, he must pray for him at his Peril; the Bishop discreetly said *only* the *Lord's Prayer*. So the House adjourn'd till next Morning.

His MAJESTY's Letter to the Lords and others
of his Privy Council.

JAMES R.

My Lords,

WHEN We saw that it was no longer safe for Us, to remain within Our Kingdom of *England*, and that thereupon We had taken Our Resolutions to withdraw for some Time, We left to be communicated to you, and to all Our Subjects; the Reasons of Our withdrawing, and were likewise resolved at the same Time, to leave such Orders behind Us to you of Our Privy Council, as might best suit with the present State of Affairs, but that being altogether unsafe for Us at that Time, We now think fit to let you know, that tho' it has been Our constant Care, since Our first Accession to the Crown, to govern our People with that Justice and Moderation, as to give if possible no Occasion of Complaint; yet more particularly upon the late Invasion, seeing how the Design was laid, and fearing that Our People who could not be destroyed but by themselves, might by little imaginary Grievances be cheated into a certain Ruin; to prevent so great Mischief, and to take away not only all just Causes but even Pretences of Discontent; we freely and of Our own Accord redressed all those Things that were set forth as the Causes of that Invasion; and that We might be informed by the Counsel and Advice of Our Subjects themselves, which Way We might give them further and a full Satisfaction, We resolved to meet them in a free Parliament, and in Order to it, We first laid the Foundation of such a free Parliament, in restoring the City of *London*, and the rest of the Corporations to their ancient Charters and Privileges, and afterwards actually appointed the Writs to be issued for the Parliament's Meeting on the 15th of *January*. But the Prince of *Orange* seeing all the Ends of his Declaration answered, the People beginning to be undeceived, and returning apace to their ancient Duty and Allegiance: And well foreseeing, that if the Parliament should meet at the
Time

Time appointed, such a Settlement in all Probability would be made, both in Church and State, as would totally defeat his ambitious and unjust Designs, Resolved, by all Means possible, to prevent the Meeting of the Parliament; and to do this the most effectual Way, he thought fit to lay a Restraint on Our Royal Person; for as it were absurd to call that a free Parliament, where there is any Force on either of the Houses; so much less can that Parliament be said to act freely, where the Sovereign, by whose Authority they meet and sit, from whose Royal Assent all their Acts received their Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement, the hurrying of Us under a Guard from Our City of *London*, whose returning Loyalty he could no longer trust, and the other Indignities we suffered in the Person of the Earl of *Feverham*, when sent to him by Us; and then that barbarous Confinement of Our Own Person, We shall not here repeat, because they are, we doubt not, by this Time, very well known, and may we hope, if enough considered and reflected upon, with his other Violations and Breaches of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, which by this Invasion he pretended to restore, be sufficient to open the Eyes of all Our Subjects, and let them plainly see what every one of them may expect, and what Treatment they shall find from him, if at any Time it may serve his Purpose, from whose Hands a Sovereign Prince and Uncle, and a Father could meet with no better Entertainment. However, the Sense of these Indignities, and the just Apprehension of other Attempts against Our Person, by them who endeavoured to murder Our Reputation by infamous Calumnies, as if We had been capable of supposing a Prince of *Wales*, which was incomparably more injurious than the destroying Our Person it self, together with a serious Reflection on a Saying of Our Royal Father of Blessed Memory, when he was in the like Circumstances, That there is little Distance between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes, which afterwards proved too true in his Case; could not but persuade Us to make Use of that Right, which the Law of Nature gives to the meanest of Our Subjects, of freeing Our selves by all Means possible from that unjust Confinement and Restraint; and this We did not more for the Security of Our Own Person, than that thereby we might be in a better Capacity of transacting and providing for every Thing that may contribute to the Peace and Settlement of Our Kingdoms; for as on the one Hand no Change of Fortune shall ever make Us forget Ourselves so far, as to condescend to any Thing unbecoming that High and Royal Station, in which God Almighty by Right of Succession has placed Us, so on the other Hand neither the Provocation or Ingratitude of Our own Subjects, or any other Consideration whatsoever, shall ever prevail with us to make the least Step contrary to the true Interest of the *English* Nation, which We ever did, and ever must look upon as Our Own. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, that you of Our Privy Council take the most effectual Care to make these Our Gracious Intention known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about our Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to the Lord Mayor and Commons of Our City of *London*, and to all Our Subjects in general, and to assure 'em that we desire nothing more than to return and hold a free Parliament, wherein We may have the best Opportunity of undeceiving Our People,

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 391

People, and shewing the Sincerity of these Protestations, We have often made, of preserving the Liberties and Properties of our Subjects, and the Protestant Religion, more especially the Church of *England*, as by Law established; with such Indulgence for those that dissent from Her, as We have always thought Ourselves in Justice and Care of the General Welfare of Our People, bound to procure for them; and in the mean Time you Our Privy Council, who can judge better by being upon the Place, are to send Us that Advice what is fit to be done by Us towards Our returning and accomplishing these good Ends. And We do require you in Our Name, and by Our Authority, to endeavour so to suppress all Tumults and Disorders, that the Nation in general, and every one of Our Subjects in particular may receive the least Prejudice from the present Distractions that is possible: So not doubting of your dutiful Obedience to Our Royal Commands, We bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at St. Germain's en Laye, the January 1687-8, and of Our Reign the fourth Year.

By his Majesty's Command.

Melfort.

Directed thus,

*To the Lords and others of
Our Privy Council of Our
Kingdom of England.*

From Sion College. V. 5. No. 12.

To the KING and both Houses of Parliament, in
Parliament assembled.

THE *Proposal* contained in this Paper is (with Submission) conceived of general Advantage to the Kingdom, and thereby sufficiently recommended to obtain Admission to present it self before you, whose Providence and Justice secure the Proposer of a Readiness to embrace and promote whatever may improve the Welfare of the Publick: 'Tis his Part to make the Proposal appear of Advantage to your common Interest, wherein the Welfare of the Publick consists.

The PROPOSAL.

That an Act of Parliament may pass for building and fitting out with Expedition a Fleet of 500 Busses, of about 70 Tuns Burthens a Piece, to be employ-

392 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

employed in fishing of Herrings, Cod and Ling, in his Majesty's Seas; and the Profits to be disposed for the increasing of the said Fishing Vessels to the Number of 2000 or thereabouts, as it will be thought necessary; and after the paying of Publick Debts, and the defraying of all necessary Charges, the Property of the said Fleet to be settled in the Crown.

The ADVANTAGES.

A Fleet of 2000 Busses will employ yearly at Sea, at 15 Men to a Busse, 30000 Men, besides at least 30000 more at Land in the Service of the Fleet: It will save the Kingdom 300000 *l. per Annum*, paid yearly to the *Dutch* for Fish taken by them in His Majesty's Seas, and sold to the *English*,—besides as much more in Taxes to the Poor. The first Year the said 2000 Busses fails, may (with God's Blessing) defray the whole Charge of Building, Tackle, Victualling, Fitting out, Officers and Seamens Wages for that Year, with an Overplus of 1835033 *l. 6 s. 8 d.* and will every Year after, *Communibus Annis*, as long as the Fleet lasts, yield his Majesty the clear Profit of at least 2644033 *l. 6 s. 8 d.* Which is demonstrated as followeth.

Fish usually taken in Busses of 70 Tuns <i>Communibus Annis</i> , is at least —	Herrings 100 Laft worth <i>de</i>	} 1000	} l. s. d.
	<i>claro</i> at least — —		
	Cod 15000 worth <i>de claro</i> at least 0450	} 2250 00 00	
	Ling 1000 worth <i>de claro</i> at least 0800		

The Charge of a Bulle 70 Tuns the first Year (ready to be de- monstrated) will not exceed —	{	Building, and fitting for	} 0403 10 00	} 1332 09 08
		Sail — —		
		Victualling and furnishing	} 0695 18 08	
		with lasting and wafting		
		Commodities —	} 0233 01 00	
		Officers, and Seamens		
		Wages — —		
Remains Profit <i>de claro</i> each Bulle			0917 10 04	

Which for 2000 Busses for the first Year will be Clear Profit 1835033 06 08

Profit of each Busse after the first Year as above	—	2250 00 00
Charge of Fitting, Victualling, Salaries and Wages	—	0928 19 08
Profit <i>de claro</i> of each Busse	—	1321 00 04

Which from 2000 Busses will amount to *per Annum* 2647033 06 08

This Fleet will be a Nursery of Seamen no less necessary than useful for asserting His Majesty's Dominion of the Seas, and the Rights of His Crown, in regulating Trade, against the Encroachments of Strangers.

The Profits of this Fleet will lessen the Necessity of Taxes for Support of the Government, and will improve the Value of Land, and the Wealth of the

the Nation, by saving 300000 Pounds now yearly exported by the *Hollanders* for Fish bought of them, and by the Importation of Coin from abroad by Vent of Fish, taken and sold by his Majesty's Subjects; the Monopoly of Fish taken by the *Hollanders* in his Majesty's Seas, being one main Support of that Government.

As to Men and Materials for the Fleet, there will be sufficient of both, unless Money be wanting to carry on the Design.

I. The Interest of the King doth concern every particular Person, His undertaking of it is for every Man's Advantage; whatsoever he gets thereby saves the Nation so much in their Purfes: For if the King gains as much by this as will maintain his Crown and Dignity, His Majesty may in Time come to have the less Need of Parliamentary Taxes. He may also alleviate his Customs as low as any Nation whatsoever, which will bring the Trade of *Holland*, &c. into this Kingdom, invite all ingenuous Manufactures into the Nation, as well as rich Men into this Kingdom, and the rest of His Majesty's Dominions, and also will preserve the Peace of this Nation from being disturbed and violated more than private Persons or corporative Bodies will or can do in their undertaking of it, who cannot protect the Fishing Fleet from the Attempts and Injury of Strangers, and may be apt upon evil Instigations and Discontents, to strengthen either Domestick or Foreign Enemies, with their Power both of Shipping and Mariners.

II. That Money is wanting is the considerable Objection, and the same that lay in *Columbus* his Way; and had it not been removed by Supplies of Men, Money and Ships adventured by *Spain*, upon far less probable Grounds of Advantage than here are proposed, it had lost to that Crown, as it did to this and to the *French*, the first Discovery of the Mines in the *Indies*; But this is addressed to His Majesty, and his Parliament, for raising six Hundred Thousand Pounds, whereof one Hundred Thousand Pounds to be employed for Docks, and for Store-Houses and Wharfs, adjoining one to the other, that the Goods may be conveyed from the Wharfs to the Store-Houses, without the Charge of carting, (which said Sum will be demonstrated an ample Fund,) to carry on and complete this Design worthy their Encouragement, and reserved by Providence (after the weak Essays of former Times) to be perfected under the auspicious Government of the best of Princes, and wisest of Parliaments, who cannot neither want either Power or Will to complete what appears so clearly and eminently advantageous for the Publick Good, and the Interest of the Kingdom, and in Order thereto to raise the Fund proposed, and to secure the Employment of it to the Use it is designed for.

III. The Proposers are ready when commanded, to demonstrate at large the Facility of bringing the Design to Effect, the Probability and Greatness of its Advantages when effected, and the Necessity of it in Order to any considerable Improvement of the Wealth, Strength, and Honour of the Nation: And as to the Objection, they doubt not but to clear all can be made against it, except that of the Want of six Hundred Thousand Pounds to carry on the Work; yet they conceive they have already removed this

Objection, by having demonstrated the Return of this Fund with so great an Increase into the publick Coffers, and presented that Demonstration to them, who have Power to give and lay out the Money proposed, but cannot lay it out to better Advantage, for improving their and their Posterity's Safety, Honour and Wealth, than by bringing to Perfection this Design; which is not the Project of a private Brain, but an Enterprize of publick Good, approved by Queen *Elizabeth*, and upon solemn and mature Deliberation, embraced and encouraged by King *James*, *Charles I.* and His now Majesty, and their several Privy-Councils, and furthered by several Grants under the Great Seal of *England*, in the respective Reigns of the Princes last mentioned; and by this present Parliament, by a Vote of the Honourable House of Commons 17th *February* 1670: That a Bill should be brought in for Encouragement of the Fishery.

S. WATSON.

S. WATSON.

Licensed *March* the 26th. Ro. L'Estrange.

The Case of His MAJESTY's Sugar Plantations.

BEFORE *England* had any Sugar Plantations of its own, *Portugal* had about four Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum* for Sugar from *England*, to the great enriching of *Portugal*, and impoverishing of *England*.

The *Portuguese* having set high Customs upon their Sugars, and letting none Trade at *Brazil* but themselves, gave the *English* Encouragement to adventure upon Planting it, who have so increased, that they not only supply *England* with all the Sugar it wants, whereby 400000 *l.* paid *Portugal* formerly for Sugar is saved; but great Quantities of Sugars have been transported to foreign Markets, to the vast Increase of the Wealth of the Kingdom, and by Consequence the Value of the Lands of *England*.

In the Trade to the *English* Sugar Plantations, about 400 Sail of *English* Ships, and 8000 Seamen are annually employed.

All the Ships that go from *England* are Loaden with Manufactures and Provisions for the Supply of the Plantations with Cloaths, Tools, and Utensils, and Victual, which all pay Custom to the King outward, and on which many Families in *England* do subsist.

The Planters have, at their Cost, brought above 100000 Negroes from *Africa*, whereby so many new Subjects are added to the Crown.

The *French* King taking Notice of the great Wealth and Strength the Sugar Plantations bring to the Kingdom of *England*, and also of the Difficulties

culties the *English* Plantations are under, by Reason of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, which enjoining all the Sugars of the *English* Plantations to be brought home to *England*, and there to be landed, and pay the King a Custom before it can be transported to any Foreign Markets, which is a great Charge, hath thought it feasible, and with great Application hath set himself to become Master of that Trade; and the *Dutch* hath done the same, and granting more Ease to their Planters, in producing and disposing of their Sugars, than the *English* have, the *French* are so far increased, that their Sugar Plantations, which are *Martinico*, *Guadeloupe*, *Marigalant*, *Grenados*, *St. Christophers*, *Kayan*, and Part of *Hispaniola*, do already find an Employment for two Hundred Sail of Ships, and Seamen proportionable, and are increasing daily: And the *Dutch* have already many Ships annually loaden with Sugar from *Surinam*, which they make a Business of State to improve.

This Increase of the Sugar Trade of the *French* and *Dutch*, hath brought those Sugars that were worth between five and six Pound the Hundred Weight, when the last Book of Rates was made, to be worth now not above thirty-five Shillings, out of which the Planter pays five Shillings Custom, and four Pence Half-penny *per* Hundred to the King in the Plantations; infomuch, that an Estate that was formerly worth two Thousand Pound *per Annum* in the Plantations, is not now worth six Hundred Pound *per Annum*; and if any further Imposition be laid, will yield little or nothing, to the undoing many Thousand *English* Families, many of which reside in *England*; for which Reason the Planters intended to have addressed to this Parliament, for reducing the Book of Rates to the present Value of Sugars.

This low Value of the Commodity causes the Inhabitants of the *English* Colonies to forsake them, and remove to other Places, whilst the King of *France* useth all imaginable Industry to strengthen and fill his Plantations (some of which are in Sight of ours) with Inhabitants, having made *Dunkirk* a free Port for his own Sugars, where no Customs are paid in or out; by Reason of which the Markets of *Flanders* and *Holland*, &c. are furnished with *French* Sugars at two Shillings and six Pence *per* Hundred cheaper than the *English* can, by Reason of the Acts of Trade and Navigation.

This Increase of the Strength of the *French* Plantations and Decrease of the *English*, hath made many of the Planters consider of withdrawing their Stocks, for Fear if a War should happen with *France* all would be lost.

The *English* Sugar Trade being apparently decaying under the present Impositions upon Sugar, can by no Means bear more and subsist; and it is of great Advantage to *France* to have our Plantations ruined by more Impositions on their Sugars; for should the *French* gain the Sugar Trade from the *English*, *England* would lose the Employment of four Hundred Sail of Ships, and eight Thousand Seamen, and *France* would gain it, which would differ the present Balance of Seamen sixteen Thousand, besides the Loss of a Native Commodity, that hath brought so much Wealth to the Kingdom, and would also be the Loss of the Trade of *Africa* for Negroes.

It hath been ever the Practice and Policy of trading Nations, to set the Publick Taxes on Foreign Commodities, and not those of their own Growth.

In the Time of the Usurper *Cromwell*, when all Things were raked into to find a Revenue to support his Usurpation, no Excise was put on Sugars of the Growth of the *English* Plantations.

England is an Island whose Wealth and Strength consists in Trade, which cannot be preserved, but by being Master at Sea; and the Plantation Trade is near one Half of the Navigation of *England*, and whether it be so convenient to hazard the Loss of it by overburthening it, since an Imposition may be set on Commodities of Foreign Growth, that will be equivalent, is humbly submitted.

And whereas some seem to be of Opinion that an Imposition will fall upon the Buyer only, and not hurt the Planter, it is a Mistake for the Reasons following.

For it was found by Experience in the Time of the late Rebellion, when there was an Excise imposed, the Buyer refused to buy Commodities of the Importer, unless he would clear the Excise, so that the Importer came generally to pay the Excise as well as the Customs. And it is well known, that all Commodities are in Value as there is a greater or lesser Quantity of them at the Market. If the Imposition doth not lessen the Quantity of Sugar imported, it cannot raise the Price, and then by Consequence the Imposition must be born wholly by the Planter. If it doth lessen the Quantity of Sugar imported, it lessens the Employment of our Shipping and Seamen, and the King's Revenue, and will constrain those Planters who are forced to leave making Sugar, to forsake the Plantations, as having no Employment there; which will so weaken them of Defendants, as they will be in Hazard to become a Prey to the *French* or their own Negroes; which will be a total Loss of that Trade to this Kingdom, and be the Ruin of many Thousand *English* Families, who in *England* and the Plantations subsisted by that Trade of making Sugar, or by furnishing Cloaths, Tools and Utenfils.

Reasons humbly offered by the Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Westminster*, and of other Places within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses in this present Parliament assembled, against the passing of a Bill, Entitled, *An Act for the enabling of Protestant Strangers to exercise their Trades in the Places in the said Act mentioned.*

I. IF this Bill should pass, Aliens would in Time engross all the Trade of these Places into their own Hands, to the great Grievance of His Majesty's natural born Subjects.

II.

II. If they come to be once established here by a Law, His Majesty cannot then remove them upon any Occasion whatsoever.

III. This would give any neighbouring Nation a great Opportunity of corresponding with them, and so make an Interest in case of a War, or of an Invasion, or a Rebellion; and 'tis much feared, that the late great Confluence of Strangers hither, was in Order to no good End; for that these People were invited over, and encouraged here, by them only that were the Conspirators in the late Plot, and were observed to crowd the Lord *Russel's* and *Shaftsbury's* Door; and that that Faction were the only Patrons, is apparent, in that *Papillon*, and *Dubois*, both *Walloons*, were the greatest Sticklers in this Affair, and both Members of the *French* Protestant Church, yet took the Sacrament to serve a turn.

IV. This would make all Foreigners promote the Sale of Foreign Manufacture, in which their Trade will mostly consist, in greater Measure than now they do, to the Decay of our own Manufacture, which is your worthy Care to preserve.

V. It will discourage *English* Men from breeding their Children to Trades, and consequently the Gentry will want Opportunity of disposing of their younger Children.

VI. That no *English* Man, of what Religion soever, (be he never so good an Artificer) is suffered in *Paris*, under the severest of Penalties, viz. Seizing and Loss of his Goods, to work or sell any, except under a *French* Man, in the Nature of a Servant.

VII. That if by trading here, they get Money, they return rich into their respective Countries, and purchase Estates there; if poor, they run away, and leave their Children to be maintained by the Parish.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Honours great Prudence and Consideration.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Resolution of the House to settle a Trade from *Great Britain* to the *South Sea* of *America*. 1711.

S I R,

THE Unanimous Resolution of your honourable House, in the agreeing to the Right Honourable Mr. *Harley's* Proposal, of providing effectually for the Payment of the Publick Debts of the Nation, and of establishing a Trade to the South-Sea of *America*, hath filled the Hearts of all good Subjects with Joy; and I in particular, cannot avoid to give you my grateful Acknowledgments for the same, and also my Thoughts of the happy Effects that must necessarily attend what hath been thus resolved.

The

The Provision made for the Payment of the National Debts cannot but produce a lasting Credit; and an Establishment of a South-Sea Trade, must tend exceedingly to the Good of all Degrees and Ranks of Men amongst us: The Poor will be more employed in Manufactures, the Product of the Estates of our landed Men will become more valuable, and the trading Part of the Nation will be greatly encouraged: And thus all will have Inducements chearfully to contribute to the Support of the Publick Charge.

I have been for a long Time of Opinion, that a Trade to the South-Sea of *America* would be of the greatest Importance to us: And I presume herewith to send you some Reasons that I committed to Writing for its Encouragement. And thereunto annex, is a List of the several Commodities that will be ship'd from hence in the Commerce now design'd, and which will be in very great Quantities, the Country of *Peru* and *Mexico* being of a vast Extent.

The Returns from those Countries are only Gold and Silver, and the Richest Dye-Stuffs.

No Trade so effectually answereth the great End of Trade as this doth; the Nation will be enriched thereby, to the lasting Honour of this House of Commons, who hath so prudently resolved to settle and establish the same;

I am,

S I R,

The 3d. of *May*,
1711.

Your most humble Servant.

Reasons to encourage a Trade from *Great Britain*, to the Countries situated in the South Seas of *America*.

TRADE is become absolutely necessary to all the People of *Europe*, for the Support of their present established Way of living, and more especially for their Defence against the ambitious Encroachments of one Neighbouring Kingdom or State against another; for War in the late Ages of the World, both Offensive and Defensive, hath been, and is carried on by Force of Gold and Silver, and whatever be the Virtue of a Nation, if Treasure be wanting, it is in Danger of being overrun by its Neighbours.

It is a Maxim agreed to by all Men, that that Trade is chiefly, if not only beneficial, that exports the Superfluity of the Growth and Manufactures of a Nation, and brings back in Returns, a real Treasure, such as Gold and Silver, and other Commodities not to be consumed in Luxury at Home, but to be employed in Trade, and so exported again, as Indigo, Cochineal, Dying Woods of all Kinds, &c.

Gold

Gold and Silver are not found in *Europe* in any Quantity, but are only procurable by a Foreign Trade.

And *South America* is indeed the only inexhaustible Fountain of those Treasures, and from its first Discovery and Possession by the *Spaniards*, immense Sums have been from Time to Time brought from thence, in Returns of the Goods of *Europe*; but the *Spaniards* from their slothful Temper, and from their innate Pride, or from an Inaptness to Manufactures, have not had the Advantages that they might have had, by the Possession of those Treasures, but have taken from all the other Nations of *Europe*, those Goods, in Return of which the Treasures have been brought home; so that they have had little more than the Benefit of being Carriers, and Factors for other Nations.

But *France*, since the Death of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, and the intruding the Duke of *Anjou* on that Throne, hath, under Pretence of supplying the Necessities of the *Spanish Americans*, during the Interruption of the *Spanish* Gallies in this present War, engross'd that Trade to itself; and from the Abundance of its Native Commodities, and the Disposition of its People to Manufactures of all Kinds, assumes to it self the whole Treasure of *America*, the fatal Consequences of which are obvious to every thinking Man. The *French* perform those Voyages in Ships of 500 Tons, 40 Guns, with Cargoes of one Hundred Thousand Pounds a Piece in eighteen Months.

It seems high Time for *Great Britain*, for its Safety and its Interest, to vie with *France* in this Matter, before it be too late.

Great Britain is more capable of undertaking this Trade than any other Nation whatsoever, from its abounding with all the Commodities proper for this Trade either Native and manufactur'd here, or acquir'd from abroad.

And it is the Interest of *Spain* it self, that *Great Britain* be admitted into this Trade, exclusive of *France*, until the Trade may be settled again, in its ancient Channel from old *Spain*: For *Great Britain* gives no Jealousy of designing a universal Monarchy, as doth *France*; but contents it self with the Honour of giving a just and equal Ballance to the Powers of *Europe*.

It appears, by what hath been premised, that no Trade can be so necessary and beneficial at this Time to *Great Britain* as this. It is so extensive, that every Man amongst us may some Way or other reap a Benefit by it, for there is hardly any Thing manufactur'd in *Great Britain*, but is valuable in *South America*.

Another Encouragement to this Undertaking is, the Healthfulness of the Climate, which in this exceeds the North Side of the *Spanish America*, to the greatest Degree imaginable.

Here under is a List of Commodities proper for a Trade to the
South Sea.

ALL Sorts of Woollen Goods are very valuable in those Countries.
Cloth coarse and fine, sells in the most Southerly Parts of *Peru*,
towards *Chili*, and in the Northern Parts of *Mexico*.

Colchester Bays is universally worn all over the Country, white and dy'd,
and some of those Goods are dy'd of the richest Scarlets.

Flannels, Cottons, Serges, commonly called Perpetuanos, made in *Devon-*
shire, and sold at *Exeter*, and some made at *Colchester*, and dy'd into all
Kind of Colours, and some of rich Scarlets.

Mix'd Serges made in *Somerset*, and sold at *Taunton*.

Shalloons, Says, Druggets made in several Counties.

Worsted Stuffs of all Kinds, made at *Norwich*, and other Places.

Stuffs mix'd with Silk, Worsted Crapes, Silk Crapes, Silks of all Kinds,
Velvets, Silk Handkerchiefs, Worsted Hose, Silk Hose for Men and Wo-
men, Thread Hose for Men and Women, Hats, Beavers, and Carolins,
Flanders and *English* Lace, Silver and Gold Lace, Sifters Thread, Sowing
Silk of all Colours.

Linens of all Kinds, from the coarsest to the finest.

The Vermillions and Cotton Goods of *Lancashire*.

Callicuts and Goods of *India*.

All Sorts of Iron Ware necessary in Buildings, and in Country Affairs.

All Sorts of Household Goods that are made of Iron.

Stilliards, Scales and Weights for Gold and Silver, Shares for cutting
Gold and Silver.

Tools of all Kinds for Carpenters, Joiners, Smiths, &c.

Arms, Clocks, Watches, and many Curiosities of Iron and Steel.

Glass Ware of all Sorts.

Round Coral for Necklaces and Beads.

Paper, Sealing-Wax, White Wax for Tapers, Castle Soap, Pepper, Cin-
namon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Cheshire Cheese, Pickles and Sauces, Oil.

Of LOVE, by ALGERNON SIDNEY, Esq; never published.

The following Letter is a Proof of the Truth of CICERO's Observation, that some of the most seemingly incompatible Passions, namely, Love for the Fair Sex, the Ardour of the Warrior, and the Judgment of the Statesman, are often lodged in the same Breast.

I N writing on this Subject I am very jealous of myself, having ever been so inclined unto this Passion, that though my Experience of the Power of it may make me more knowing in it, than those that have never felt the Effects of it ; yet, I very much doubt my own Weakness may shew itself in the Discourse of Love (which I confess hath with more Violence transported me, than a Man of Understanding ought to suffer himself to be by any Passion) more evidently than in any other, in which I am less concerned : But it is better to speak passionately, and, perhaps, unadvisedly, of that we know, than universally, darkly, and ignorantly of those that we feel nothing of ; and therefore, what we say must be what we hear from others (that is to say) not our own. I could wish that all Men would do the like, write and speak what they know in themselves, and leave the Judgment to others, whereby we should come to a much more exact Knowledge of our own Natures, than either we can attain unto by reading the painted artificial Writings of those that rather aim at setting forth what should be, than what is, and speaking nothing of themselves but their Praises, do rather desire to be thought wise Men, than to be good, and aiming at Honour more than Truth, disguising themselves delude others : Or those who, *Ixion* like, embrace Clouds, fill themselves with airy abstracted Speculations, that please the Fancy but never inform the Judgment, both seeking for Applause, neither care to benefit themselves or others. I am perfectly free from any Consideration without myself : I write my Thoughts at one Time, that, in perusing them at another, I may come to the Knowledge of myself, that, by seeing without Passion that which I write in Passion, I may know what I am, how I improve or impair, as one that hath his Picture drawn when he is emaciated by Sickness, may, in his Recovery, by comparing that with his present Countenance, judge, in some Degree, of the State of his own Health ; and we are so often transported by Passions, that we shall never judge rightly by the present Sense of our Condition ; we must see what we are in all Accidents, how temperate in Love, how strong against Fear, and the like, by an impartial Consideration, when we are free from any Disturbance, as all Men are by Intervals, and our Memories will not so exactly represent unto us what we were, as these Kinds of Writings, which are the Representations of the present Thoughts. But that I may no longer swerve from my Subject, I will now endeavour to examine the Nature and the Effects of it. Love is the Passion that hath passed all Censures, as various as the Kinds of it, or the Effects.

It is by all esteemed the most powerful of Passions, by most the best. Some stick not to say it is the worst, because the least controulable by Reason. It is of as many Kinds as there are Objects in the World, and Inclinations in Men; but I intend, at this time, only to speak of that to Beauty, the Height of which we commonly call, being in Love. This consists of as many Sorts as Beauty, which are two, that of the Mind and that of the Body; the *Platonics* add a third, which is of Sounds: And if every thing may be called Beauty that hath Proportion and Correspondence of Parts, that Name may certainly agree with Sounds, though they are to be judged neither by the Eye nor the Understanding, which are generally esteemed the Powers that distinguish betwixt Beauty and Deformity; but, howsoever, these two only will fall under my Discourse; for what Excellence soever is in Sounds, that can only be an Invitation, not the Object of Love, unless a Man could be fancied to be nothing but Ear, as Echo is nothing but Voice, that is to say, nothing at all, and so incapable of any thing, or of Being. The *Stoics*, general Enemies to all Passions, do also reject this, as that which doth too much soften the Mind, depriving it thereby of that Firmness of Temper, which is that only in which Reason delights and governs: Nevertheless, Stories are full of those wise Men, who, for all their pretended Austerity, have fallen as deeply under the Power of that Passion, as any other in the World; as if the Divine Power had made Use of it to shew them the Vanity of their Principles. *Epicureans* allow so much of it as conduceth to Pleasure, but reject the transporting Part; and, to shew how well they make this good, *Lucretius*, one of the chief Fathers of that Sect, for all his Philosophy, grew so desperately in Love with a young Wench, who, rejecting him for his old Age, he in Rage threw himself down a steep Rock into the Sea. But the *Platonics* are the perfect Patrons of that Passion, even to the Degree of disliking hardly any thing that carries that Name, without enjoining Difference of Sexes: But that of Man to Man, if it go further than Friendship, (which little cares for Beauty) I only take it to be rooted in the most unnatural of Vices, therefore detestable; and, understanding nothing of it, I leave the Discourse to those that do; and for that which I intend to mention, conclude it doth imply necessarily Difference of Sexes. Love is the most intensive Desire of the Soul to enjoy Beauty, and, where it is reciprocal, is the most intire and exact Union of Hearts. Divers Reasons are given for the Birth and Growth of it; some esteem Likeness of Natures, others like Constellations ruling at the Time of Birth; for my own Part, I can only conclude, that whatsoever pleaseth the Eye and the Fancy, is beautiful; whatsoever we think beautiful, we desire to enjoy, and that Desire is Love. There are also two Kinds of this Love, the one perfectly spiritual, which is called the *Celestial Venus*, and having its Seat only in the Mind, hath the Mind only for its Object, delights in Virtue and Excellence of Understanding, neglects the visible Beauty, contents itself solely with that Fruition which is to be had by Conversation. The other is absolutely sensual, makes the exterior Part its Object, and hath no other End but sensual Pleasure; the first is an Affection for Angels, pure and contemplative; the other for Beasts, filthy and sottish: Man is a Creature composed of both these,

these, a celestial and angelical Part, which is the Soul, and of the terrestrial fleshy bestial Part, which is his Body; so that his Affections ought to participate of both his Natures, rejecting that which solely consists in the Admiration of the Soul, as that which he can very imperfectly judge of; and where the Knowledge is imperfect, the Desire must needs be very cold: Neither is he pleased with the other; those are but weak Chains which take hold only of our Senses; the principal Part in us challengeth a Share in all our Pleasures, and must have wherewithal to content itself, or else there is nothing fixed; therefore, a Man to love as a Man, must have Regard to both, and as long as he is in any Degree reasonable, can fix his Heart neither absolutely upon that which is too high to be understood, nor too low to be approved; a mixed Creature must have mixed Affections, and can love only where he finds a Mind of such Excellency as to delight his Understanding, and a Body of Beauty to please his Senses; and the Mind being by much the most considerable Part in us, the principal Care is for the pleasing of that; for the Mind being the only fixed Power in us, fixed Affections can only grow from thence: The Eyes are wandering, the Senses uncertain, the Desires that proceed from them must be so also: The Necessity of which appears in this: Every Thing acts according to a Principle within itself; an Angel loves spiritually; a Beast that is all Flesh, comprehends not spiritual Things any more than an Angel tastes carnal Things; and a Man, that is composed of Reason and Sense, rationally and sensually, both together. Besides, every Agent proposeth unto itself Enjoyment of Good, that is, Pleasure, for all that is good is pleasant, and nothing ought to please but that which is good; that is good only that satisfies; that can never satisfy, which is agreeable only to one Part of a composed Creature; the Soul disdains sensual Pleasures, the Senses taste not the spiritual; so that, to please both, the Object must be such as both may join in the Enjoyment. I will conclude this Point with this Assertion: The spiritual Affections are so cold as hardly to have any Being, sensual so mad as to be unworthy of any Thing that pretends to a reasonable Soul, and the strong, lasting, high, and perfectly human Passions, are only those which proceed from the Admiration of an excellent Mind, clothed with a beautiful Body; this is a rare Jewel well set, and fit to be sought after with all the Powers of the Soul and Body, as that only which can content both with the fullest and most absolute Happiness that our Natures can be capable of, in Comparison of which all other worldly Pleasures are vain and empty Shadows, unworthy of being sought with Intention of Mind, or enjoyed with Satisfaction: Happy therefore is he who hath his Hopes and Desires crowned with Success, or that in the Search of them being denied Pleasure in Life, finds Ease and Rest in Death. To this I may add, that every Thing is received according to the Measure of the Receiver; and every Man loves more or less spiritually or sensually, as he doth more approach to the angelical or bestial Nature; for the same Degrees and Differences that are in our Persons are also in our Affections: And though it be true, that some Men love as sensually as Beasts, yet will it not follow that others attain to the Spirituality of Angels; for it is very ordinary to see those that have the Shapes of Men so absolutely corrupted with

Vice, that they seem to have no Soul, or so much as serves them instead of Salt only, keeps them from corrupting and stinking ; but the other Sort is not seen amongst Men, I mean those of angelical Perfection. The best of Men are troubled with Frailties and Vices, the worst have nothing else ; for which no other Reason perhaps can be given, than that it so seemed good to the Divine Wisdom, unless you will take this for one, that we have within ourselves a Power of doing or being ill, but that our Recovery from that Condition of Illness, which is natural to us, is, by the Power of God upon our Hearts, who gives his Graces unto such Men, at such Times, and in such Proportion as he pleaseth, leaving us still with many Infirmities, that we may humble ourselves, and acknowledging God to be the Author of all Good, depend upon him for a Delivery from all interior and exterior Ills, and reserves the State of Perfection, to fill up the Measure of our Happiness when we come to that of Immortality. To this I may add, that morally Vice is easy and natural to us, but Virtue is to be understood only by Discourse, and practised by Care ; into the first every Fool can run blindfold, the other is only the Work of an excellent Spirit, refined by great Maturity and Strength of Wisdom ; to the one Facility invites, from the other Difficulty deters, which is as much more eminent in the one than the other, as it is harder for one that is placed in the midst of a steep Rock to climb up to the Top thereof, than to throw himself down to the Bottom. The next Point is to shew what is the Strength and Power of this Affection. It is generally concluded by all to be the strongest of all ; and besides what every Man that hath tasted of it finds within his own Breast, all Books are full of Stories of such as, in Comparison of the Person loved, have despised all worldly Things, and, being possessed by that Passion, been transported to Actions much beyond their ordinary Faculties, either good or ill, as the Nature of the Person, Affection, or the present Occasion inclined and required : But all that is alledged by others is cold and weak, in Comparison of what those find within their own Hearts, who have been capable of this best and noblest of Passions ; their whole Mind is full of but one Thought. The Allurements of the World, which other Men call Pleasures, they have no Taste of ; the Business is tedious and insupportable ; their whole Care and Industry is solely employed in serving and pleasing the beloved Person. They are Strangers to Fear, Joy, Grief, Hope, Anger, but such as hath its Spring from Love : Their Desires are most intensively placed upon one Object, which, by a strange Violence, transports us beyond ourselves, gives Courage to the most fearful, sharpens the Wit of the most simple, gives Fidelity to most depraved Minds, Constancy to the most unsettled, and, of itself alone, hath Power to draw those Hearts which have received it, to Acts of Goodness, Honesty, Virtue and Gallantry, with more Efficacy than all the most exact Examples of History and Philosophy. The Reason of this I take to be, that Love for its End proposeth the Enjoyment of Beauty ; Beauty consists in Order, Harmony and Uniformity ; unto which all ill Actions have an absolute Contrariety, having neither Rule, Order, Form, or Measure, but are like Vice, the Spring from whence they flow, full of Confusedness and Deformity. Besides, he that loves desires to render himself acceptable to the Person loved,

which

which being full of virtuous Inclinations, (or at least thought to be so by the Lover) doth abhor all that is not agreeable to Reason and Goodness ; and the Lover finding nothing to be pleasing, but that which is suitable of the Affections of the Object of his Passion, rejects and hates all depraved Desires, as destructive to his chief Design, and therefore, with an active Earnestness, applies himself to correct the Defects of his own Nature, which hath produced more excellent Actions than all the Affections in the World put together ; unless I am mistaken in this, that it is not Love that makes them virtuous, but being virtuous inclines them to Love. But lest that by proposing the Enjoyment of Beauty for the End of Love, I should be thought too much drowned in Sensuality, I must explain myself a little. It is very certain, that all Desire is for Fruition ; but that Fruition that satisfies a Desire, must be of the same Nature with the Desire itself ; sensual Desires are satisfied with sensual Fruition, spiritual with spiritual, mixed with mixed : Or, that I may not trouble myself with Terms, I may in one Word comprehend all ; the Desire of a Lover is to be loved, and that perfect Union of Hearts, is the Perfection of Lovers Happiness ; for though we are inclinable to desire the Senses may not be excluded, yet having the principal End of our Desires, we may rest fully satisfied, though that in some Particulars we find ourselves crossed by Fortune ; for he cannot be said to want any Thing, that is made One with the Person that is full of all Excellencies. Neither is it extravagant for me, who profess Love to Beauty, to be contented with spiritual Fruition ; for though in my Choice I aim at the Beauty of the Body, it is principally thereby to discover the Beauty of the Mind ; for Nature, which delights in Proportion, suits not an excellent Mind with a deformed Body, nor a vicious (that is, deformed) Mind in a beautiful Body ; Nature's Works are not like Hypocrites, or Sepulchres, beautiful without, and Rottenness and Corruption within ; it were a Deceit to cover the wretched Wickedness of a vicious Mind, with those glorious Ornaments of Beauty, which make up one of the Attributes of the Deity. And whereas Beauty, which is the greatest Excellency of Things created as well as uncreated, and is, in Things created, a Motive to us to admire the Greatness and Goodness of the Creator, if it did palliate Vice, would be the greatest Snare to us that is imaginable, and instead of delighting in the outward Resemblance of God, bring us to worship the Devil : But an Intention to deceive our weak Natures, cannot proceed from the Spirit of Goodness ; that is a Diamond set in Gold, and the other a worthless Flint which he suffers to lie in the Dirt. That is truly excellent which God hath caused to shine with the Glory of his own Rays ; wheresoever there is Beauty, I can never doubt of Goodness. Those Parts of the Sea that are safe have calm and smooth Waters, but where dangerous Rocks lie at the Bottom, even the Surface is perpetually rough and troubled. It is true, that not only Age impairs all Beauties, but many are destroyed by Accidents, from which even the most excellent are not exempted, as the safest Parts of the Sea may be disturbed and troubled with Storms ; but that opposeth not my Purpose, for aiming at real not fantastical Excellence, I look
for

for the natural, not the accidental Beauty or Deformity, and will no more grant that a beautiful Face can by the Small-Pox, or any other Accident, grow deformed to one that knew and loved it before, than that a deformed can change it's Nature by Painting, though both will deceive any Eyes that have not excellent Faculties of discerning. Upon all which it will appear, that as the Beauty of the Body gives the Beginning to Love, but that after the Image thereof is graven upon a Heart, and the Beauty of the Mind discovered, it is not in the Power of Age, or any natural or accidental Cause to root it out or deface it; for that which at the first was only the Act of the Fancy by the Help of the Eyes, is now grown to be the Act of the Understanding, firmly fixed in the Heart and Mind, which being the governing Power in Man, finding its own Desires satisfied in being loved, finds rest within itself; and though there is a Flame remaining in the Senses which mutiny for their Part also of Fruition, they are not able to cause any great Disturbance in a Man that is reasonable. But if the Mind fail of its Desire, the whole Frame of Man is in Confusion, the Heart is rent asunder by the Violence of the Passion, and there is no Power left to appease the Rage of the Senses. This Extremity of Disorder and Torment seems fabulous to those that have not felt it within themselves; every one is apt to say, if he cannot obtain the Affections of one Person, why doth he not apply his to another, who is more kind; but they little understand Love's Mystery who use these Discourses; for no Man is in Love, but with an Opinion of the Excellency of the beloved Person above all others, and hath absolutely resigned his Heart unto her; the most exact Beauties seem but vain Shadows, the excellentest Minds but imperfect Images of her Perfection, and failing of his Desire in enjoying her only who hath the Power of his Heart, despiseth all things else, and being despised by her, hates all that himself despiseth: And that which fills up the Measure of the rejected Lover's Torment, is, that Despair will not cure it; for to love without Hope is but a seeming Contradiction: For though Hope is to Desire as Fuel is to Fire, the elementary Fire burns without Fuel, and Passion grounded upon Confession of Excellence outlives Hope. Or if there be such a Power of Man to confine his Desires to his Hope (which I believe only in those that are weak, faint, and grounded only upon some trifling Convenience) they are of all Men most happy, their calm Breasts are free from Disorder, and while other Wretches are in Trouble, they find perfect Peace, their Love serves only to procure Pleasure, and like a strong, well-tempered Stomach, either draws Nourishment out of whatsoever it receives, or casts it up; so they try all, and retain only such as increase their Happiness. Nevertheless a true and perfect Lover would not procure his own Rest, by defacing the beloved Image which with so much Joy he printed in his own Heart: But I think this Part of Discourse is frivolous as impossible; and that same Image doth take such Root, and grows so entirely one with the Heart, that both must live and die together without Possibility of Separation: At least, with me I am sure it is; my Passion hath made itself Master of all the Faculties of my Mind, and hath destroyed all that

that is in Opposition unto it. I live in it and by it, it is all that I am, take away that, and I am nothing. I can neither conform my Desires to my Hopes, nor raise my Hopes to my Desires; the Lowness and Meanness of my Fortune and Person, forbids me to hope; the Beauty and Loveliness of the Person whom I love, makes my Desires approach as near to Eternity, as that can do which is seated in a mortal Foundation. My Constancy is both my Fault and my Punishment, Death only can give me a Dismission from either. Having spoken something of what Love is, and of the Effects of it, it is now Time to see whether it ought to be reproved or commended, denied the Entrance into Hearts, turned out, or embraced; or rather, if I had observed any Method, when I spoke something of others Opinions upon it, should have finished my own; but I writing only to-day that which I shall read the next Week or Month, and then burn, having no other Intention but to ease my troubled Thoughts, and to attain to the Knowledge of myself, by setting down neatly the true State of my Mind, I little care for those Rules which are necessary to those who are to depend upon others Judgments; I content myself with setting down my Thoughts without caring for Rule or Order, as appears by breaking and returning to my Story; by affirming first, That one of the principal Works for which we are sent into this World, is to admire the Works of him that made both us and it; those are the most excellent that are the most beautiful, (for Beauty is the Perfection of Excellence) and those Works of Nature are of most perfect Beauty, which are living; and of the living, the Reasonable only can content the reasonable Soul; the most excellent therefore in Beauty of reasonable Creatures doth best deserve our Admiration, and thereby we do fulfil a great Part of the End for which we were created: But who can admire any thing without desiring the Fruition of it, and that Desire is Love. For what Reason can be imagined for the Difference that we see in Persons (for the same Power that made all Things, could have made all alike perfect) but to make thereby a Difference in our Affections towards them? Why are some made glorious in Beauty, but to draw our Affections unto them? Why others cursed with Deformity, but to give the greater Lustre unto those that are contrary to them, or to shew the Illness of their Natures, as Marks that Men should beware of them? How blind a Sottishness is it, not to see and distinguish of Beauty? And what a beastly Malice is it, not to love that which we acknowledge to be excellent? The Glory of Divine Rays do appear in Faces, but much more in Minds: Who can then without Barbarity (I think I may say Impiety) deny to suffer himself to be ravished with the Admiration of such an Excellence of a Created Beauty, as is an Image of the Uncreated? or to be inflamed with the Love of it, and the Desire to enjoy it? If Desires were absolutely sinful, they had never been given us; if Beauty might not be desired, it had never been created; there is no forbidden Fruit out of Paradise; we have a free Liberty of enjoying all that is good. Goodness and Beauty are convertible Terms and indivisible Things. They that are wise desire that which is best, and they happy that attain unto it. But some will say, we ought to desire even the best Things with Moderation, which Love destroys.

stroy. Ah! let that extend to ordinary Things, desire Riches, Honours, and the like coldly, and unpassionately, they cannot content the Mind, therefore ought not to possess it; but where Beauty of Mind and Body meet, both in such Excellency as leave not Liberty to the Fancy to imagine any Thing more perfect; who can attribute too much either to it or the Author, since that alone is able fully to satisfy all our Desires? Worldly Things do often cloy us, but never content us. Some consist wholly in Contemplation, entertain the Mind, neglect or destroy the Body; others that satisfy the Senses, distaste the Mind, perhaps hurt it; but most of our Pleasures have their Worth only from our Vanity, but this; a Person so qualified, leaves no part of us unsatisfied, nor any thing in relation to this World to be wished to compleat our Happiness; were it not then much better to use that Prudence by which they pretend to moderate their Affections, only in making Choice of such a Person to be the Object of them, as may absolutely deserve their utmost Attention? Besides, what can reasonably be brought to fortify this Opinion? If we examine what Men have been free, or possessed with this Passion, we shall find few that have not tasted of it, unless they be ordinary and vulgar Spirits, or such as by the Vanity of Ambition, or some other furious Passion or Vice (which Love abhors) transported even unto Madness, which nevertheless hath not defended some of them from being made Slaves to *Venus*: And amongst the Heathens, the Poets, who were their wisest Men, and in their Fables comprehended all the Mysteries of Philosophy, exempted not their Gods from this Passion: And amongst Christians I know but two Cautions that are put by Men of Understanding; which are, that Love to the Creature, be not of such a Degree as to take us from the Worship and Love of God: The other, that we defend ourselves from unlawful Desires. Both of which I grant, and yet have as much as I desire; for that same Love, for which God created and beautified the World, is the only Means for us to return unto him, who is the Fountain of our Being; and through the Imperfections of our own Natures, being not able to see or comprehend his Greatness and Goodness, otherwise than by his Works, must make us from visible Things to raise our Thoughts up to him. And for unlawful Desires, they are not more contrary to Religion than to Love, which delights only in Beauty and Virtue, hates the Deformity of Vice, and of that Brutish Lust which distinguisheth not of Honour or Justice. He cannot be said to love a Woman, that would buy his own Pleasure with her Dishonour or Crime; he only loves himself. Besides, the Love which I defend, being in a great Degree spiritual, cannot desire any thing that is vicious; Vice destroys the principal Object of Love, which is the Mind, and the Benefit that is reaped by such Pleasures, can only satisfy the Senses; which therefore Love not only desires not, but hates. But the greatest Reason why we should apply ourselves to oppose the Birth and Growth of this Passion, is the infinite Pains and Sorrows that it causeth. How many are made miserable for one that attains to Happiness by it? and even those are first exposed to all Miseries before they obtain their Desire. And truly to this

this I have very little to answer ; only this, that as Love is the Cause of the greatest Ills that Men suffer, it is the Cause also of the most perfect Pleasures, consisting only in Extremes ; and as many are made miserable by Love, none are made happy without Love : It is the most active Instrument of our Natures, and causeth the most good or hurt to us. But though a quiet indifferent State, void of great Grievs or Joys, were to be chosen rather than this slippery Precipice from whence we are so likely to fall into Misery, Discourses on it were vain ; for our weak Reason, which should be our Guide, is carried away Captive by the Power of Beauty and Virtue, against which Blindness only and Stupidity are able to make any Defence. There is another Sort of People who are great Pretenders to Wisdom, who say, that the Objects of our Devoirs should be such as satisfy the Mind ; and that if any such can be found, too great a Value cannot be put upon it ; but deny that can be found amongst Women, they are only light Creatures, fit to satisfy the Senses, maintain our Species, and quench our natural Desires, and have not such Minds, as can give Delight to a wise Man. How great an Ignorance is this ? *Socrates* learned his Philosophy from *Diotima*, though she received her first Principles from him, she grew so excellent, as to be able to teach her Master, who was able to teach all the rest of the World. And *Pericles*, to whom all *Greece* gave the Preference of Wisdom, confess'd he knew nothing but what he had learned from the fair *Aspasia* ; both of which were as excellent for their Beauty as Understanding : And who is it that doth not know, that every Age hath produced some very excellent in those Things for which Men most prize themselves ; and yet these grave Fools despise them. It is true, that Women have not these Helps from Study and Education as Men have, but in the natural Powers of the Mind are no ways inferior. They exempt themselves from the Trouble of those knotty Sciences that serve only to deceive Fools, which furnish the Tongue with Words, but tend nothing to the framing of the Understanding ; and instead of this they have a Pleasantness of Wit in Conversation very much beyond Men, and a well Compos'dness of Judgment, which if they did not deserve our Love, would move our Envy : And unto whatsoever they apply themselves, either Learning, Business, domestick or publick Government, shew themselves, at least, equal to our Sex. I should be glad if I could except Military Business, naturally disliking any thing of Violence amongst them ; but even in that many have been excellent. But above all, the Softness, Gentleness, and Sweetness that is in them, doth justly move our Love and Admiration ; whereas Mens Minds are as rugged and harsh as their Faces, fit for boisterous Action by the Strength and Hardiness of their Bodies, but incapable of giving Pleasure, and even in that Quality which Men so much prize in themselves, which is Courage, how many of them hath been fain to take Example in generous and bold Resolutions from their Wives, Daughters, or Mistresses. *Epicharis* suffered Torture better than any of Forty the most eminent Senators of *Rome*, or divers hundreds of the chief of the Soldiery, concealing by her Constancy the Conspiracy, which the Weakness of the others revealed.

410 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

neca was glad to receive Encouragement and Example to die from *Paulina*; *Petus* from *Arria* in his Extremity; and the famous *Brutus* often from *Porcia*; besides infinite Numbers of Examples of Virtue, by which that sweet Sex shows they can, when it is needful, excel ours in Gallantry as well as Beauty, and gives us sufficient Reason to conclude, that they can only mitigate the Troubles of our Lives, which we through a turbulent Illness of Nature create to one another, but by their Examples mollify our Hardiness by Pleasures we receive from them, must recompense the Mischief our harsh Tempers expose us unto; and that they are only the worthy Objects of our Affections, it being as evident that we owe our Pleasures to them, as our Birth; they are only able to ease our Grievs and Cares; and, which is more beneficial unto us, soften that rugged Fierceness of Mind which is our Crime and Plague, the Instruments of our own and others Miseries, by the sweet Allurements of Pleasure that we receive from them. Let not any Man then, through a fond and impudent Presumption in his own Merit, despise that Sex.

[From the Collection of William Pary, Esq;]

A full ENQUIRY into the Original Authority of that Text, 1 JOHN v. 7. *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, &c.* containing an Account of Dr. MILLS's Evidences from Antiquity, for and against its being Genuine: With an Examination of his Judgment thereupon. Humbly addressed to both Houses of Convocation.

Jerem. xxiii. 28. *He that bath my Word, let him speak my Word faithfully: what is the Chaff to the Wheat? saith the Lord.*

THIS possible the laborious Inquiries of many learned Criticks, who with great Diligence and Accuracy have sifted and scann'd the *Classick* Authors, some of them of no great moment, may be esteem'd by others only as the ingenious Diversions of a dextrous and sagacious Mind: since, when they have presented their Authors a-new, with their Emendations and Corrections, in restoring their old, or giving them new Beauties; 'tis oft of so little Use or Consequence to the World, that 'tis well if their painful Studies escape the Censure of being a laborious Loss of Time.

But when learned and judicious Men do, with Seriousness and humble Reverence, apply their Industry and Sagacity to examine the far more important Writings that are to guide us in the Way of Salvation; when they shall discover the Interpolations and Additions, the Errors or Defects, which *these*, as well as other Writings, by oft transcribing, may in so long a Tract of Time

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 411

Time have been liable to; when, by diligent comparing antient Manuscripts and Versions, and the frequent Citations of the *Text* in the primitive Christian Writers, they become able to inform us certainly what is *original* and genuine, and what not, in any part of the Bible, more especially where some matter of great Moment is concern'd; their learned Industry is then sure to be well employ'd, and will be recompens'd not only with the Applauses of the Curious, but the Thanks, and which is more, the real Edification and Satisfaction of the serious Inquirers after Truth; who greatly desire to know what God would have them believe and do; and to have the *Chaff* separated from the *Wheat*, and the τὸ ἀδολο γάλα, the *sincere* unadulterated *Milk* of the Word, for their spiritual Growth.

The peculiar Veneration due to the Sacred Writings, requires us to keep that precious *Depositum* as pure as possible, and free from all human spurious Additions. Why then should the learned Criticks exhaust all their Learning, Reading, and discerning Skill, upon the Trifles of a witty or wanton *Poet*, or a fabulous and remote *Historian*; and wholly neglect to make as severe an Inquiry into the Holy Scripture, in which are the Words of eternal Life; in order to discover what is the genuine *Text*, among the various Readings of different Copies; that we may build our Faith upon it, with the greatest Certainty we can attain to?

I know, a late ingenious Author of *the Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures*, has pointed at the worldly Discouragements, which, he judges, have tempted our cautious Criticks to turn their Studies another Way. I wish him Success in his Address to have these Hindrances remov'd; that it may be as safe, where 'tis more important, to do justice to the Writings of the Apostles, as of any other Author.

The very learned and judicious Dr. *Mills* has done much for one Man, in his celebrated Labours on the New Testament; which, whatever may be wanting, will long stand, as a lasting Monument of his praise-worthy Zeal and well-employ'd Abilities. A *Specimen* of what he has done upon one single *Verse*, I am now to produce: And if upon a full and impartial Consideration it shall appear to your unbiass'd Judgments, that there is abundant Evidence of a spurious Addition; may I not justly hope that the Rulers and Guides of the Church, who can better judge of such Evidence than the Unlearned can, will yield their conscientious Compliance, and not render such commendable Inquiries fruitless, by refusing to receive the Truth, and to rectify our Books, when the true Reading is found? Else to what purpose do Men inquire how it was *in the beginning*, if we resolve not to return to it? or to search after the right, if we will still adhere to what is wrong, and will rather maintain Custom than Truth?

This is what I shall have some right to insist upon, and for the sake of Truth to press upon your Lordships and the Clergy; when I shall have made it appear, from his *Dissertation* on 1 *John* 5. 7. that the Doctor himself has overthrown the Credit of *that Text*, by the Evidence that he has

given that it is not original and genuine, tho' he has not acknowledg'd himself overcome by it.

In order to manifest this, I shall,

I. In the first Place (for the Sake of others, who need more Information) lay down the Sum of that Evidence which the Doctor has produc'd, to shew that these Words in the seventh Verse, *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these Three are One*: or rather these Words in the seventh Verse, *In Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these Three are One*: And (ver. 8.) *there are Three that bear Witness in Earth*: were not in the original Text, but have been added in later Times without just Authority.

II. I shall put down what he had to offer on the other side, for establishing the Authority of these Words, and upon which he has determined in favour of their being original and genuine.

III I shall shew the Weakness of those Arguments by which he endeavours to support the Authority of this Text: that so it may be judg'd whether he had just reason to make such a Determination, or we to abide by it.

I. I must lay down the Evidences produc'd against the Authority of *this Text*, as not having been originally in St. *John's* Epistle. Only let me first observe, that the Text itself, and Context, have no *internal* Evidence, to persuade us that the Words are genuine: for as these Words themselves are not to be match'd with any in the whole Bible, so the Context is compleat without them, and rather more smooth and easy. The *three* following Witnesses having been already distinctly spoken of, it was very natural to sum them up in one Conclusion; *There are Three that bear Witness, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*. But the other *three* Witnesses had not been mention'd, to give Occasion for the like to be said of them.

Nor was it likely the *Spirit* should be produc'd as another Witness *on Earth*, if it had been numbered before among the Witnesses *in Heaven*. The *Spirit* was no more an Inhabitant of the Earth, than the *Father* and *Word* were; who also operated and gave their Testimony, not in Heaven, but on Earth. Nay, the *Word Incarnate* was more properly an Inhabitant of the Earth than the Spirit, and yet is not reckon'd among the Witnesses on Earth. Is it likely the Spirit shou'd be made twice a Witness in the Matter, and so give two Testimonies for one of the *Father* and *Word*?

But since the Doctor's Inquiry was only after *external* Evidence from Authorities and Testimony, it shall be my present Business to examine them.

And here it must be own'd, that Dr. *Mills* has done justice; so that very little more can be said in the Case. 'Tis a Subject which had been long and often examin'd, with Niceness, from the Beginning of the Reformation, and very much illustrated by the great Sagacity of the late learned and laborious Critick, Father *Simon*, in his *Critical History of the New Testament*, chap. 18. Dr. *Mills's* Business was, not so much to search for Evidences, as to

to collect, with no small Pains, what had been offered ; and to present it in one View, and in good Order.

These Evidences are taken, (1.) From antient *Greek* Manuscript Copies. (2.) The antient *Versions*. (3.) The Writings of the antient Christian *Fathers*. And indeed whither should we go to learn what was in the Apostles Writings, but to the oldest Copies of those Writings (which are lost or consumed themselves) and the oldest Versions made from them, and to the old Christian Writers who have transcribed very much of them into their own Books ?

(1.) Let us hear how many antient Manuscript *Greek* Copies are without this Text. The Doctor tells us, in his *Notes* on the Words, That 'tis certain all these Words, *in Heaven, the Father, Word, and Holy Spirit ; and these Three are One : And there are Three that bear Witness in Earth*, are wanting in most Copies. Then he enumerates them particularly, in his *Dissertation upon this Subject* ; beginning with our famous *Alexandrian* Copy, which elsewhere he calls *Ingens Thesaurus Orientalis* *, and the most precious Treasure the Christian World ever saw for these twelve hundred Years, and by far the most antient Copy in the World, which most exactly expresses the Original.

Next comes the famous *Vatican* Copy, which he extols much after the same manner, as of very great Credit, and above twelve hundred Years old † ; by which, according to Pope *Leo's* Order, the *Complutensian* Edition was to be made. 'Tis enough to shake the Credit of this Text with all impartial Men, that 'tis wanting in these two, the most valuable and antient Copies we know of in the World. Yet besides this, the Doctor gives a long Roll of the other very valuable Manuscript *Greek* Copies, in the most famous Libraries of the Learned, and of our two Universities, and of the *French* King (where Father *Simon* made a diligent Search, and says he found not one that had these Words, of all the seven which he view'd, nor of the five Manuscripts of Mr. *olbert*, though some of these be of later Date ‡) also two at *Basil*, one at *Venice*, and many more. All these want this Text, though in some of the later Manuscripts there are in the Margin short Notes, by Way of Gloss or Comment, over against *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood* ; applying these to the *Father, Word, and Spirit*, according to an antient mystical Interpretation, of which hereafter. And from the Margin, F. *Simon* judges these Words did afterwards slide into the Text, which are in our *seventh Verse*. Which is a very natural and easy Account, and the only Way by which Dr. *Mills* himself accounts for so many other Interpolations, in his Notes, and his *Prolegomena*.

And whereas Dr. *Mills* once thought *Robert Stephens* had found the Words in eight Manuscripts (because of fifteen Copies which he had, he mentions but seven as wanting this Verse ; whence the Doctor slipped into the common Mistake, and took it for granted that the other eight had it) he found upon Exa-

* Proleg. p. 143, 144.

† P. 108.

‡ Crit. Hist. p. 18.

414 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

mination that those eight Copies of *Stephens* had not *St. John's* Epistle in them. So that all which had the *Epistle*, wanted *this Verse* *.

To these of *Dr. Mills*, the Learned *Dr. Kuster* adds one Authority more, from the *Codex Seidelianus*, brought out of *Greece*, and about 700 Years old †. So that I think I may say, in one Word, all the *Greek* Manuscripts, which are found, do agree in rejecting the Text under Consideration.

(2.) He considers the antient *Versions* of the New Testament. These were made for the Use of such People, as in early Times were converted to the Christian Religion, but did not understand the *Greek* Language, in which the New Testament was written; for their Benefit it was translated into their own Language. The most ancient of these Versions were the *Syriac*, *Coptic*, *Ethiopic*, *Arabic*, *Latin*, all which, with the *Russian*, have not the Text: So that when these Versions were made, there was no such Passage in the *Greek* Copies or Original, whence they were made. Of the *Latin* Version the Doctor says ‡, 'Tis certain *this Verse* was wanting in all the most antient *Latin* Copies, except some in *Africa*, in *Tertullian's* and *Cyprian's* Time, &c. Which Exception is a mere Supposition grounded on his Mistake (as I shall shew) that *Tertullian*, and especially *Cyprian*, had cited these Words in their Books.

The antient *Italic* Version §, he says, was made near to the *Apostles* Time, from the best Copies. Of the *Coptic* **, that it was from one of the best and earliest. Of the *Syriac* ††, that the Learned agree it was made in the very next Age to the *Apostles*. He tells us moreover, that even the *Latin* Manuscripts at *Basil*, *Zurich*, *Strasburgh* (800 or 900 Years old) and two others, *Duo Donatiani*, want these Words: That the Words however are inserted in the Bottom of the Page in one, by another Hand; and in the Margin, by the same Hand, in another.

F. Simon observes, that in these later Copies of *St. Jerom's* Bible, where these marginal Notes are found, the Order of the Words, and the *three Witnesses* are various and diverse; which he takes to be a good Proof that they were not in the first Copies; who adds also one very old *French* Version, of a thousand Years ‡‡, which has not the Words.

I need but mention the first Editions of the New Testament, corrected by the Manuscript Copies, about the Beginning of the Reformation; viz. by *Erasmus*, *Aldus*, *Colinaeus*, printed in divers places; which he owns had not *this Verse*, nor the Versions of *Luther*; because these are of no Authority beyond the Manuscript Copies by which they might be directed; which, it appears, did then want *this Verse*, otherwise they durst not have left it out, in prejudice to a received Opinion of the Church, and in Contradiction to the *vulgar Versions* at that Time.

* Proleg. p. 117.

† In his Edition of *Dr. Mills's* Text. Rotterdam 1710. which is what I make use of.

‡ Certum est hunc Versiculum abfuisse à vetustissimis Cod. Latinis omnibus, præter Africanos quosdam, &c. p. 140.

§ P. 141.

** P. 152.

†† P. 128.

‡‡ Crit. Hist. ibid.

(3.) He examines the Writings of the primitive Christians or *Fathers*: Forasmuch as these very frequently cite the sacred Writings on all Occasions, and had such frequent and great Occasions to speak of the *Trinity*, and of the *Holy Spirit*; it may well be concluded, such a *Text*, of singular Importance, and so exceeding pertinent to their Design, and where there is no *other Text*, to supply the want of it, fully or directly in the whole New Testament, could not be forgotten by *all* of them, and *at all Times*, if it had been known by them. And here,

1st. He makes Inquiry among the *Greek Fathers*, to see if he can hear of *this Text* among them, who were most likely to have seen the authentic *Originals* of the Apostles, and need not a Version into another Language. Of these he gives this melancholy Account; *Neminem unum, &c. That not one Greek Writer from the Beginning of Christianity to St. Jerom's Time* (about 400 Years) *has ever cited this Verse*. And adds, 'Tis certain it has been wanting in the *Greek Copies very near from the Apostle's writing this Epistle*, Dissert. p. 583, 584. And therefore wonders at the Author of the *Preface to the Canonical Epistles*, in the *Latin Bibles*, which passes under the Name of *St. Jerom*, for saying this Verse was in all the *Greek Copies*: whereas, says the Doctor, *not one of the Antients had ever heard a Word of it* *. For which, and other Reasons, he justly concludes, as do other *Criticks*, that it is not *St. Jerom's*.

Not content with these *Generals*, he runs over the particular most eminent *Greek Fathers*, and those who were most likely to have produced *this Text*, if they had known of it, who yet never mention it.

1. Not *Irenæus*, l. 3. c. 18. who to prove the Deity of Christ cites this *first Epistle of John* (more than once) nay, he cites this *fifth Chapter*, and yet says nothing of *this Verse* which had been so apposite to his Design.

2. Not *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

3. Not *Dionysius Alex.* or the *Epistle*, under his Name, to *Paul of Samosata*, almost wholly about the *Trinity*, and the Deity of Christ; in which the *eighth Verse* is cited, and the three other Witnesses, the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, but not the Words in dispute.

4. Not *Athanasius* himself, who had his Wits about him, and as much at work in these Matters as any Man; in whose *genuine Works* (more to be regarded surely than the *spurious Books* falsely attributed to him for the other Side) even *those* in which he labours to prove the *Trinity*, and Deity of Christ and the *Holy Spirit*, by all the Texts he could think proper, we find no mention of *this great Text*, as he must have deemed it. So that the Doctor again confesses, he knows not of one *Greek Father*, before the Time of the *Nicene Council*, who ever cited it.

5. Not the Fathers of the Council of *Sardica* in their Synodical Epistle †; in which, for Proof of a *Trinity of Persons* in one Essence, they alledge *John*

* De quo nemo Veterum quidem inaudiverat.

† Theodor. 1. 2. c. 8.

416 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

x. 30. but not these Words, *The Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these Three are One*: which had been much more fit to their Purpose. They needed not twice have cited, *My Father and I are One*, which yet did not include the *Spirit* at all; once urging this Passage, *These Three are One*, had been better for their Purpose than a hundred Repetitions of that other Text.

Certainly all those Fathers, who came from so many several Quarters out of *Asia, Africa, and Europe*, as the Preamble of the Epistle shews, could not be ignorant of this Text which they so much wanted, if there had been any Knowledge of it in any Part of the Christian World.

6. Not *Epiphanius*, who among the many Texts alledged against the *Arians* and *Pneumatomachi*, quite omits this.

7. Not *Basil*, in his Book of the *Holy Ghost*, whom he had a mind to join with the *Father* and the *Son* in the Doxology, but was kept in awe by such as watched his Words.

8. Not *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, among the many Texts for the Unity of the *Father* and *Son*, in his Epistle, *Theodor.* l. i. c. 4.

9. Not *Nyssen*, in his thirteen Books against *Eunomius*, of the Trinity and Deity of the *Holy Spirit*.

10. Not *Nazianzen*, in his Oration against the *Arians*, or in his fifth Oration *de Theologia*; where, to prove the *Spirit* to be God, he alleges the next Words, but not these.

11. Not *Didymus*, in his Book of the *Holy Spirit*.

12. Not *Chrysostom*, on the same Subject.

13. Not *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, though he cites the Verses *before* and *after*, to prove the Deity of the *Spirit*; *Thesauri Assert.* 34.

14. Not the *Author* of the *Exposition of the Faith*, among *Justin Martyr's* Works; who endeavours to prove the *Father, Son, and Spirit* to be of one Essence, from their being joined together in *Mat.* xxviii. 19. but not from *this Text*, more directly for his Purpose.

15. Not *Cæsarius*.

16. Not *Proclus*, though both of them upon a Subject that gave Occasion.

17. Not the *Nicene* Fathers themselves, according to *Gelasius*; for *Leontius* Bishop of *Cappadocia* answering, in their Name, the Arguments of a certain Philosopher, who opposed the Deity of the *Holy Spirit*, among other Texts insisted on the Words immediately preceding, *viz. It is the Spirit that witnesseth, because the Spirit is Truth*: but omits *this Verse*.

Here let me add what *Du-Pin* observes, That as no *Greek* Father, for five hundred Years, quoted this Passage, so two of them, *viz. Didymus* of *Alexandria* in the 4th Century, and *Oecumenius* in the 11th, have written Commentaries upon *this Epistle* of *St. John*, and yet mention not *this Verse*; which, says he, *proves that either they did not know it, or not believe it to be genuine* *.

* Hist. of the Canon, Vol. 2. p. 78.

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 417

Thus far then the Way is clear through the ancient Greek Writers for so many hundred Years ; even to an Age or two after Athanasius, as the Doctor confesses *.

2dly, For the Latin Fathers ; the Doctor grants, that neither the Author of the *Treatise of the Baptism of Hereticks*, among Cyprian's Works (though he mentions the Verses both before and after) nor Novatian, nor Hilarius, nor Calaritanus, nor Phœbadius, have ever cited these Words. Nor Ambrose, who also has the Verses on both Sides ; nor Jerom, nor Faustinus, nor Austin, who yet would have the Father, Son, and Spirit, to be mystically signified by the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, in the next Verse. Nor Eucherius, who has the same Notes on the next Verse ; nor Leo Magnus, nor Facundus Hermiensis, who also cites the eighth Verse. Nor Junilius, nor Cerealis, nor Bede (in the eighth Century) who, in his Comment on this Epistle, expounds the three other Witnesses, but not this seventh Verse.

Though soon after his time, the Doctor says, the Western Bibles began to have it common ; which I shall not much dispute.

The Reader must note, that all these antient Writers are here produced, not merely for not mentioning these Words (for then a much greater Number might have been brought) but because they treated professedly of such Subjects as required the Assistance of this Text, and many of them of the Context, and next Verses. And therefore, though others might omit it, as not having Occasion to alledge it, yet all these could never have omitted it on any other Reason but this, That they had it not in their Bibles (as the Doctor justly argues) for above 700 Years.

Now, methinks, here is a pretty large Stock of Evidence, and as much as one can well require for a Negative, to shew that this Verse was not originally any Part of the New Testament : and one had need have very direct and peremptory Testimonies to the contrary, to make him so much as to hesitate in the Matter. There must be great Weight, to cause an *Æquilibrium*, and much greater to turn the Scales, and make him determine for what seems hitherto irrecoverably lost. But I forbear, till I have considered,

II. What Dr. Mills has offered for superior Evidence on the other Side, to prove this Verse genuine, against all that has been said.

And now he has a hard Task indeed, to undo all that had hitherto been done, and to prove this Text authentick, against all these Manuscript Greek Copies, all the old Versions, all the before-mentioned primitive Writers, both Greeks and Latins, down to the eighth Century, who, all that while, knew nothing of it.

No doubt it would be a grateful Service to the Church, of which he was a worthy Member, if he could justify her putting it into her Bible as current

VOL. II.

H h h

Scripture,

* Quinimo nullum omnino Codicem Græcis Ecclesiis in usu fuisse credo, nisi qui ad mutilatos quos dicimus, descriptus sit, pene ab ipsius Archetypi Scriptura usque ad Seculum unum vel alterum post Athanasium.

Scripture, (though that has been but of late) and could support the Credit of a *Text*, on which, principally, some important Branches of her *Creed* and *publick Offices* seem to be founded. Here is a great deal to excite one to try what can be said, by a kind Friend, in the Case, who was unwilling to leave the Matter fairly stated on both Sides, without giving it the Weight of his own Judgment on *one Side*, which, no doubt, had otherwise been thought to be for the *contrary*. 'Tis well known how many are apt to regard a Learned Author's own Opinion, more than to examine his Premises, or weigh his Arguments. But what has he to say in *this Cause*?

In the *first* place, I must shew what *Arguments* he refuses to make use of; especially *two*, which have been often urged by others, through Mistake, or want of Judgment, or popular Prejudice. As,

1. That the *Arians* have *raised this Text* out of the Bible, because it thwarted their Opinion. This passes for current among the People, and is taught them by their Expositors, even by Dr. *Hammond*, and many other less judicious Commentators. But the Learned Dr. *Mills* rejects the Suspicion of this with Indignation and Scorn: For *how should the Arians*, says he, *put out the Words which were out already, 150 Years before Arius was born**? And he says, that *Ambrose*, who, alone of the *Antients*, objected this, in relation to another Text, John iii. 6. (not the Text in dispute) *was under a Mistake*; as he shews in his Notes on that Place.

Nor will the Doctor suspect any of the *Gnostick* Hereticks in former Times; whom their Opposers accused indeed of making *new* Gospels, but not of corrupting the *old*: Only *Marcion* was charged with interpolating the Gospels and St. *Paul's* Epistles, but not the *Catholick Epistles*. Nor could they corrupt the Copies in *other* Christians Hands, nor yet those in their *own*, without being soon discovered. Thus the Doctor clears the Hereticks, as being without just Cause suspected in this Matter: *I don't think any Heretick corrupted the Text in any Part, much less in this famous Testimony of St. John* †.

2. He utterly rejects the Authority of the Preface to the Canonical Epistles, under the Name of St. *Jerom*, in the first printed *Latin* Bibles; which pretends that all the *Greek* Copies had *this Verse*, and that the *Latin* Translators had done unfaithfully in omitting it. And though even the *Latin* Bibles which had this Preface, wanted this Verse, after the Complaint made, (which shewed that the Preface and the Version were not by the same Author) yet this gave great Trouble to *Erasmus*, and others, how to reconcile this to the plain Evidences of the contrary: *He* was well assured the *Verse* had not been in the *Greek* Copies, and therefore charges *Jerom* with Falshood and Forgery. And the Learned Bishop *Fell* was at the needless Pains of vindicating St. *Jerom*, and justifying his Preface, in his *Notes on Cyprian*; when, after all, our

* Quid enim illis cum hac Pericope, sublata è contextu Græco 150 annis antequam Arius nasceretur?

† Non puto quenquam hæreticorum S. Textum in aliquo, nedum in hoc nobilissimo Johannis testimonio, depravasse.

our Learned Doctor, who acknowledges that himself once had a great Regard for this *Preface*, before he had examined into it, is fully convinced (with F. Simon and Du Pin) that 'tis not St. *Jerom's*, nor is it found in the most antient Manuscript Copies of his Version; nor with *his* Name, in some other Copies where it is, as F. Simon tells us, *Crit. Hist. c. 18.* but is the Work of some *silly Rhapsodist* after *Bede's* time, as the Doctor says, and then joined to the *Bible*, which contradicted the *Preface*.

So that the Learned will no more be troubled with this pretended Authority of St. *Jerom's* Preface, nor get any Aid from it, towards the Support of the Credit of *this Verse* we are inquiring after.

I am next to consider what Authorities the Doctor *does* insist on, on behalf of *this Text*.

As for Testimonies from the antient *Greek* Writers, he had left himself very little to say from them, having confessed there is not one of these, before the Council of *Nice*, who takes any Notice of this *Text*. And therefore, though he puts down *Scriptores Græci* for one of his *Topicks*, he is hard put to it to find any, and is content to mention only *one* oblique Testimony, which he would have pass for *probable*, from a spurious Work falsely ascribed to, but long after *Athanasius* *. And he is suspected to be a *Latin* Author too; who only says, Ἰωάννης φάσκει οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἶναι. John says these Three are One. Which τὸ ἓν, with the *Article*, are neither exactly the Words of the seventh nor eighth Verse: and F. Simon judges they refer to the *latter*, which was usually applied to the *Father, Son, and Spirit* at that time; as Dr. Mills owns it was in St. *Austin's*. Hence he leaps at once down to the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent III.* in the 13th Century; and to *Calecas* in the 14th, who was a *Greek*, and turned to the *Latins*. All which is to no Purpose at all, but to increase the Number of Testimonies.

The *Greek* Manuscripts he pretends (which will be found only supposed) are, 1. A Manuscript in *Britain* of which *Erasmus* speaks, and by which he was moved (against his own *free* Judgment) to put *these Words* into his last Editions of the New Testament, against the Evidence of all the other Manuscript *Greek* Copies. 2. Some Manuscripts which the Doctor supposes *Robert Stephens* to mention, as having most of the Words; all, except ἐν τῷ ἁγανῶ, in *Heaven*. 3. The antient *Vatican* Copies, which the Editors of the *Complutensian* Bible say, in general, they were directed by, and the Doctor hopes they were so in *this* particular, which they have taken into this Edition.

I think it will appear that all these are but Suppositions of such Copies as never were seen, nor produced by any others to this Day. To all which, Dr. *Clarke*, in his *Reply to Mr. Nelson*, p. 207. has given a learned and full Answer, except to *Stephens's* Manuscripts, where he seems to have mistaken the Objection; of which hereafter.

H h h 2

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* Auctor Disputationis in Concil. Niceno.

As to the *Versions*, Dr. Mills had none very antient to bring. The *Vulgar*, of which some Manuscripts have it, and others want it, as is noted by the *Louvain* Editors; the *Italick*, printed at *Venice* in 1532. (while the old *Italick*, and *St. Jerom's* Correction of it was otherwise) are not worth regarding in this Matter: nor the *Apostolos*, or Collection of Sections out of the *Apostles* Books, with some Remarks, printed at *Venice* 1602. Only, whereas the Doctor mentions the *Armenian* Version for having this *Verse*, as he was informed; the very Learned *Sandius* testifies the contrary, having himself seen it, with the *Armenian* Bishop, at *Amsterdam*, *Append. Paradox.* p. 376.

Lastly, The Doctor produces his *Latin* Fathers, which are, indeed, his main Strength and Confidence.

1. *Tertullian*, *contra Prax.* c. 25. his Words are: *The Paraclete shall take of mine, says Christ, as he did of the Father's. Thus the Connexion of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes the Three closely united, which Three are One, but not one Person; as 'tis said, I and my Father are One* *. Which the Doctor thinks, with Bishop Bull and Dr. Hammond, are an Allusion to our Text in dispute.

2. *Cyprian*, *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, his Words are: *'Tis written of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit; these Three are One* †; or, *Three are One*, as some Copies have it: And, in his Epistle *ad Jubaianum*, *Tres Unum sunt, Three are One*; without any Reference to the Scripture expressed. And near 300 Years after, comes *Fulgentius*, a Bishop of *Africa*, and says that *Cyprian* in the former Words, had respect to *St. John's* Testimony.

3. *Victor Vitenfis*, who tells us of a Confession of Faith presented by *Eugenius* Bishop of *Carthage*, and other Bishops, to *Hunnerick* King of the *Vandals*; in which *this Text* is cited as from *St. John*, in the manner we now have it, in the Year 484.

4. *Vigilius Tapsensis*, *Fulgentius*, and the Author of the *Explication of the Faith, ad Cyrillum*.

And thus you have the Whole of what must over-balance all the Evidence on the other Side; which, whether it will do or not, is to be considered under my next Head. Therefore,

III. I shall shew the Insufficiency of *these* Arguments brought to support the Authority of this *Text*, against *those* produced to overthrow it.

I suppose no Man of Reason will desire me to give any Answer to what the Doctor could lay no Stress upon: I mean, such modern Testimonies as *Calecas* and the Council of *Lateran*, our late Editions and *Versions*, or the vulgar *Latin* Bibles since *Bede's* time. Therefore I shall say no more to them; nor indeed to *Vigilius Tapsensis* and *Victor Vitenfis*, nor to any Writer so long after the Heats between the *Arians* and *Athanasians*, and when the Invasions of the barbarous

* De meo sumet, inquit, sicut ipse de Patris, ita connexus Patris in Filio, & Filii in Paraclete, tres efficit coherentes, aliterum ex altero. Qui tres unum sunt, non unus; quomodo dictum est, ego & Pater unum sumus.

† De Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto scriptum est; & hi Tres unum sunt.

barous Nations had thrown all into Confusion and Ignorance. Such modern Testimonies will only tell me, that *these Words* did at last appear. All this I know well enough ; for I see they are brought into the *Latin* Versions, and since that into our *printed Greek* Copies ; and into our *English* Translations, first in *little Characters* for Distinction, and next with as good a *Face* as the rest of the *Text*. And if this began to be done in the fifth, or sixth, or seventh Century, what is that, any more than if it was in the fifteenth or sixteenth ? But if the *Words* were not in St. *John's* Epistle for so many hundred Years, nor known to the Christian Church as such, I shall conclude, that no Man can give a good Reason for admitting them since.

And a thousand smooth Suppositions (which are, in like Cases, found to be false by daily Experience) that such and such a Writer would not, in later times, have used *the Words*, or put them into the Bible, if he had not good Evidence they were in the Original ; are of no Force against all the *Greek* Manuscripts and Fathers, which plainly shew they certainly were not *there*. If upon the whole Matter there can be found not one *Greek* Manuscript, or one *Greek* Writer, who mentions it for a thousand Years ; nor one *Latin* Writer to the fifth Century (if St. *Cyprian* be not the Man, which shall be inquired into) what signifies all the rest ? Men may be fond of a spurious Issue, but that will not legitimate it.

Only with relation to *Victor Vitenfis*, because the Doctor lays such a Stress upon it, as if the urging *these Words*, in a Confession of Faith, so publicly presented to *Hunnericus*, in Midst of the *Arians*, in the Year 484. was a good Proof that *they* had been well known and received ; at least, *ante unum Seculum aut alterum*, an Age or two before ; and so will carry the Evidence much higher than the Year 484. Therefore I shall take some notice of this, and shew that in fact it was not thus, as he plausibly imagines.

What the Credit of *Victor's* History, as we have it, is, I cannot well tell. I know it has found little with many, in his relation of strange Miracles, not unlike those of *Monkish*-Legends, viz. of many who could speak freely and articulately, when their Tongues had been cut out by the Roots ; and sending his Reader to *Constantinople* for an Instance to prove it ; with other Miracles. But let that be as it will, I take it for granted, that he says true, in the Matter before us ; that in the Creed presented to *Hunnericus*, this *Text* was cited as from St. *John*. But that it had not been commonly and long received, and well known as such, I think, is plain by what the Doctor could not deny, viz. That St. *Augustine*, *Eucherius*, and *Cerealis*, all of the same Country, and in the same Age, knew nothing of *this Text*. *Eucherius* lived within thirty Years of the Time when this Creed was presented ; and the Doctor tells us, he says it was common in his Time to interpret the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*, of the *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit* ; as did *Austin*. Now if *this Text* had been received *then*, what place had there been for such a mystical Interpretation of the *three Witnesses* on Earth ? Nay, *Cerealis* was one of the *African* Bishops at the same Time, probably ; for he flourish'd in the Time of the Persecution under *Hunnericus* ; and who drew up a Confession of Faith also, at the Demand of the *Arian* Bishop *Maximinian* ; and had the same Reason to have made use of
this

422 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

this Text, as *Eugenius*, if it had been current, as the Doctor insinuates. Where then is the *Seculum unum aut alterum*, the Age or two before, in which *this Text* had been admitted? I rather think it must have been some private Composure, tho' it might be in the Name of the other Bishops, who were now scattered and banished. It is signed only * à *Gasis Medianis Episcopis Numidiæ*; *Bonifacio Foratianensi*, & *Bonifacio Gatiemensi*, *Episcopis Vizacenis*. So that it carries the Evidence no higher, than to *that Time*, and that at the *latter end* of the *fifth Century* some pretended *this* for *Text*, which had been only an *Interpretation*.

There remain then only *two* Things of Weight to be clear'd:

First The pretended *Greek Manuscripts*.

Secondly, The Testimonies of *Tertullian*, but chiefly of *St. Cyprian*.

First, His *Greek Manuscripts* pretended: These are of three sorts.

(1.) The *British Copy* which *Erasmus* speaks of; who not finding one *Greek Copy* which had this Passage, would not put it into his two first Editions of the New Testament: But upon Information of a Copy in *England* which had it, did, against the *Faith* of all his Copies, afterwards insert it; † rather, as he confesses, to avoid the Reproach of others, than that he judg'd it to be of sufficient Authority. For which *F. Simon* thus rebukes him: || *With what Warrant cou'd he correct his Edition by one single Copy; which, as himself believ'd, had suffer'd some Alteration?*

And it appears he had Reason to suspect it: For who ever saw this *British Copy* since, or that would produce it? *Dr. Mills* does not tell us where it was, or that ever he heard more of it. Such rare Discoveries, so useful and grateful to the Publick, are not wont to be lost again, in so critical an Age. What! cannot all the Learned Men of our two Universities, nor our numerous Clergy, give us some account of it? Surely either there was no such Copy, or it is not for the Purpose: Else it had probably, long before this Time, been produc'd. I am apt to think it did the best Service it ever could do, in the Cause, in thus imposing upon the Great *Erasmus*. Strange! that a *British Copy* is only to be mentioned by one beyond the Seas, while all *Britain*, and such an inquisitive *British Critick* as *Dr. Mills*, can know nothing more of it. Foreigners will expect to hear of it from us, rather than we from them. *F. Simon* says *Erasmus* saw it: but where does *Erasmus* say so? He only says (in his *Annotations*) *There is found one Greek Manuscript among the English, which hath it.* † He needed not then have said, *Suspicio*, &c. he could, I think, have made a clearer Judgment of it, if he had seen it. And if he was abus'd by *Misinformation* or otherwise, 'tis hard first to deceive him, and then to make his Mistake an Authority in the Case.

(2.) The

* Biblioth. Patrum.

† Ex hoc Codice Anglicano reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse, ne sit causa calumniandi, tametsi suspicor Codicem illum ad nostros esse correctum.

|| Crit. Hist. c. 18.

† Repertus est apud Anglos Græcus Codex unus, in quo habetur,

(2.) The Doctor depends on the Manuscript Copies, by which he supposes the *Complutensian* Edition was regulated; because *these Words* are there, and the Editors say, in general, they followed the best and most antient Manuscripts of the *Vatican*.

But, as they don't say, that they were directed by *those* Manuscripts in putting in this Verse, so it appears they were not; because, by the Doctor's own Confession, the *most antient and most correct Copy* of the *Vatican*, which is so justly extoll'd by him, (and comes, at least, very near to the famous *Alexandrian Manuscripts* in the *Royal Library* here) *wants* these Words which *those Editors* have put in: And how then did they follow it so closely as is pretended. Nay, this excellent *Manuscript* was that which Pope *Leo* recommended to them, as the Ground-work and Standard of their Edition, to *which* they were to keep, and to note the Variations of *other* Copies in their Margin, and which for the most part they did; and yet in this they forsook it. * And 'tis no wonder, if they did so by the *rest of the Vatican Manuscripts*, as appears.

For *Caryophilus* afterwards, having by Order of Pope *Urban VIII.* examined these *Vatican Manuscripts*, tells us plainly, that all of them which have *this Epistle* of *St. John*, want this *seventh Verse*: tho', out of respect to *St. Cyprian*, he was for keeping it in†. Of which, *Dr. Clarke* has given an Account, in the Place already refer'd to; together with an Account of *sixteen Manuscripts* (*eight* of them in the *King of Spain's Library*) collated by the *Spanish Marquis*, *Peter Faxard* (as *F. Simon* names him) and publish'd by *La Cerda*, in his *Adversaria Sacra*, c. 19. from all which Manuscripts nothing is alledg'd to justify their *vulgar Version*, in keeping *this Verse*. How then could *Dr. Mills* presume so strongly that the *Complutensian Editors* kept to their *Manuscripts* here? ¶ *F. Simon* saw the contrary, and says they follow'd the Reading of the *Latin Copies* here; and to vindicate it, have inserted a Note from *Aquinas*, in the Margin.

(3.) He pretends the *seven Manuscripts* of *Robert Stephens*, to warrant *the Words* to be genuine. *Stephens* tells us he made use of *fifteen Manuscripts* in his Edition of the *New Testament*, only *seven* of which he has set down in the Margin, as wanting some, at least, of *the Words* in dispute: hence it was concluded formerly, even by *Dr. Mills* himself, as well as others, that the other *eight* wanted nothing, but had the Whole, as we have it. To this, the Doctor's remarkable Words cited from his *Prolegomena*, by *Dr. Clarke*, are a compleat Answer; shewing that those *eight Manuscripts* did not include *this Epistle* of *St. John*, at all; and so were of no Concern here. But *Dr. Mills* was sensible of this, in his *Dissertation* on the *Text*, where he says of these eight Manuscripts, *Reliqui has Epistolas non exhibent*. And therefore he urges but the *other seven*, which are noted as wanting only *ἐν τῷ ἁρᾶν*, in *Heaven*, and authorizing the rest; *The Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these Three are One*.

But as *Dr. Mills* was too judicious not to see through this Mistake, in placing a *little Mark*; so he fairly owns his Doubt about it, in his *Notes* on the Verse:

* Proleg. p. 108.

† Ad finem Catenæ in Marcum.

¶ Crit. Hist. par. 2. c. 9.

Verse: *If indeed the little Hook be placed aright* *. For this depends wholly upon placing the Semicircle, which marks the Words that are wanting in such Manuscripts, as are noted in the inward Margin. In Stephens's fair Folio Edition, this Mark or small Hook falls after the Words *ἐν τῷ ἔθανῳ*; as if these only were wanting: whereas it should have been placed after the whole Verse, as F. Simon observes (or rather after the Words in *Earth*, in the eighth Verse: which, the Doctor owns in his Notes, was the Case of the most and best Copies; and Simon intimates the same in his Remarks upon the *Louvain Latin Bible* by Hentenius, which had the like Error.) And I wonder the Doctor should say upon it, *Nescio qua autoritate, neque dicit se istos libros consuluisse*; or that he had not consulted the Copies, when he expressly said, *|| he had consulted the Manuscripts of the King's Library*: And I think it was there Stephens found his †. It appears by Dr. Mills's Account in his *Prolegomena*, that four of these seven Manuscripts were in the *French King's Library*; and since F. Simon cou'd find none there, that wanted only the Words in *Heaven*, nor any one else pretends to find such elsewhere, I may safely conclude 'twas a Mistake in placing the Mark in Stephens, which the Doctor was willing to take hold of. And the same Stephens, in his *Latin Edition* of the New Testament, (as F. Simon tells us, *Crit. Hist. part 2. c. 11.* and as I have seen) included the whole Passage within the Mark. So that I think the Case is plain, that all Stephens's Manuscripts wanted this Verse.

'Tis probable he put it into his own Edition, from the *Complutensian*, and we from his into ours; (so one Error begets another, by presuming too well of the Care and Faithfulness of such as went before) for the Doctor tells us, Stephens govern'd himself by the best Manuscripts: but then he says, †† *He always judg'd those to be best which agreed with the Complutensian*. Else it would be very strange, that all Stephens's Manuscripts should differ from all of them of Erasmus and Simon and others; as they must if only *ἐν τῷ ἔθανῳ* were wanting.

And whereas the Doctor lays a Stress on Stephens's saying *he departed not one Letter from the best and most of his Copies* |||; I would ask then, how he came to put in the *ἐν τῷ ἔθανῳ*, in *Heaven*, when every one of his seven Manuscripts wanted them? 'Tis plain Criticks are not always to be trusted in what they say of their own Fidelity: The Doctor was right, in inferring that it ought to have been as he said, but 'tis plain in Fact it was not so.

Thus having examin'd all his Pretences to the *Greek Manuscripts*, I think it fully appears there is not so much as one found to authorize this Passage, nor one ancient Version, made from the *Greek*; and for others, they are not of Value in the Case. Indeed the Doctor has dealt more fairly than our common unaccurate Commentators; who, without any Examination, talk roundly of many

* Si quidem Semicirculus suo loco sit collocatus; which Lucas Brugensis had said before.

|| Crit. Hist. par. 2. c. 9.

† Regia Bibliotheca suppeditavit, Proleg. p. 117.

†† Proleg. p. 117.

||| Ne in una litera discesserit à meliorum & plurium codicum suffragio.

many, the most antient and the best Copies, which have *these Words*, not knowing what they say: whereas he pretends but to *few*, and rather supposes and hopes, from some Hints in others, that they had such Copies, than knows of any himself.

Let me close *this Head* with the very pertinent Remark of the most learned *Phileleutherus*, Part 1. against the *Discourse of Free-thinking*: *The present Text was first settled almost 200 Years ago, out of several Manuscripts, by Robert Stephens, Printer and Bookseller at Paris; whose beautiful and generally speaking (it seems, not in all Points) accurate Edition, has been ever since counted the Standard, and follow'd by all the rest. Now this specifick Text in your Doctor's (Whitby's) Notion, seems taken for the Sacred Original in every Word and Syllable; and if the Conceit is but spread and propagated, within a few Years that Printer's Infallibility will be as zealously maintained, as an Evangelist's or Apostle's.*

Dr. Mills, were he now alive, would confess that this Text, fixed by a Printer, is sometimes by the various Readings render'd uncertain, nay, is prov'd certainly wrong; but that the real Text lies not in any single Manuscript or Edition, but is dispersed in them all.

I now come to the *Second Head* of his Arguments, viz. from ancient Testimonies of the *Latin Writers, Tertullian and Cyprian.*

As for *Tertullian*, in the Words already set down, he had only said, speaking of the *Father, Son, and Spirit, these Three are One*; and 'tis written, *the Father and I are One*. But the former of these he says from himself, not as any part of *Scripture*, as he says the next Words are. And indeed he needed not have cited these latter Words at all, if the former had been of the same Authority; for they had been sufficient, whereas the latter Words were not to his Purpose for proving the *Holy Spirit's* Unity with the *Father and Son*. Only not having a *Text* for the Unity of all the *Three*, he was willing to alledge *these Words* for the *Two* as a Step to the other.

Nor can it be thought, but that in so voluminous a Writer we must have had *that Text* many times over, on several proper Occasions, if he had known it as such. He repeats *John x. 30. I and the Father are One*, very frequently, even five Times in a few Pages in his *Book contra Praxeam*, and again *contra Hermog.* and *de Oratione*. Whereas *this pretended Text*, so much more for his Purpose, he omits: which could hardly have been, if he had taken it to be of as good Authority as the *other Text*. And therefore *Dr. Mills* had reason to urge it but softly, saying *Dr. Bull* and *Dr. Hammond* putant se alluisse, suppose that he might allude to the Words of *St. John*: which is but a Conjecture, instead of a Proof.

So that *St. Cyprian* is left alone to bear the Weight of all. And indeed 'tis easy to see, the Doctor's chief Confidence is in his Testimony, (with a little Help from *Tertullian*, whom he owns to be not so clear) inasmuch that he says, *This is Evidence enough of the Words being authentick, tho' none of the Greek Writers ever saw them, and tho' they never appear'd in any Copy to this Day.* It seems then 'tis to no purpose to withstand *this Evidence*; or rather it seems,

having nothing else to trust to, the Doctor was resolv'd *this must* and shall do the Business.

Cyprian's Words are, * *Of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, it is written, These Three are One*; (the other Testimony, in *Epist. ad Jubaianum*, is but like Tertullian's supposed Allusion to the Text, and may have the same Answer.) Upon these Words the Question is, Whether Cyprian refers to the *seventh Verse* in dispute, or to the *eighth*, by a mystical Interpretation of the *Water*, the *Blood*, and the *Spirit*, as signifying the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Spirit*? Father Simon † is out of doubt for this latter, and brings a strong Proof of it from the Words of Facundus, who was of the same *African Church*, in the *fifth Century*; and who not only *himself* so interprets Words of the *eighth Verse*, but expressly adds, that St. Cyprian so understood them too, in *this* very Place. Says he, ‡ *Of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, he (St. John) says there are Three that bear witness on Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood; and these Three are One: by the Spirit signifying the Father, by the Water the Holy Ghost, and by the Blood the Son. Which Words of John the Apostle, St. Cyprian the Martyr, in his Book of the Trinity, (Unity it should be, as Simon observes) conceives to be spoken of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And tho' Dr. Mills would make light of this Testimony, 'tis without all Reason, and from mere Necessity: since this will overturn all he had to say from the Latin Fathers.*

What Facundus says, is so far from being improbable, that the Doctor himself owns St. Austin, who was of the same *African Church*, did make the same Interpretation afterwards; and after him Eucherius declares it was a common Exposition of those Words: And then why might it not be Cyprian's? Does not Facundus expressly say it? Does he tell an unlikely Story? Why is it then *levis momenti*? Truly the Doctor thinks none, till St. Austin, made *this* mystical Interpretation, and therefore not St. Cyprian. But why might not Cyprian begin it as well as Austin? Facundus tells us he did interpret so, and it does not appear that he had any other such Words to apply to the Trinity, but *these*. Is it not as good an Argument against the Doctor, to say that Cyprian did not cite the *seventh Verse* in dispute, because *that Verse* never appear'd in any Writer till the *fifth Century*, as *his* is, viz. That Cyprian did not so interpret, because *that* Interpretation appears not till the *fifth Century*? Only I can prove my Assertion by a proper positive Testimony, that Cyprian did use *this* Interpretation; whereas he had *none* to prove that St. Cyprian met with a *special Copy* of St. John's *Epistle*, which had *that Verse*.

'Tis

* De Unitate Ecclesiæ.

† Crit. Hist. c. 18.

‡ De Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto, dicit tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, Aqua, & Sanguis, & hi tres unum sunt; in Spiritu significans Patrem, in Aqua Spiritum Sanctum, in Sanguine verò Filium significans — Quod Joannis Apostoli Testimonium beatus Cyprianus in Epistola sive Libro quem de Trinitate (de Unitate rather) scripsit, de Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto, dictum intelligit. Facundus pro Defens. Tri. Cap. 1. 1. c. 3.

'Tis true indeed, *he* alledges for the other side *Fulgentius*, Contemporary with *Facundus*, saying, || *St. John testifies there are Three which bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and Spirit; and these Three are One: which also St. Cyprian in his Epistle of the Unity of the Church, confesses; alledging from the Scriptures, that of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, 'tis written, And Three are One.* But as *Facundus* is as good an Evidence as *he*, and more particular, so even *this* does not contradict *Facundus*. For *Fulgentius* and *he* both say the same Thing, *viz.* That *Cyprian* confessed *St. John's* Testimony of the Father, Son, and Spirit, these Three are One. Only *Facundus* tells us, that he took this Testimony from the *eighth Verse*, and *Fulgentius* does not say it was otherwise; and therefore there is no reason to oppose him to *Facundus*. *Cyprian* might own the same Thing as is now contained in the *seventh Verse*, tho' he deduc'd it from the *eighth*: He that suppos'd the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, in *St. John*, to mean the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, as much confessed this Doctrine, and from *St. John* too; as if he had found the very Words *Father, Son, and Spirit*, in the Text. And this is all which *Fulgentius* himself says of him. Neither of them says that *Cyprian* found in *St. John*, the Father, Son, and Spirit, besides the three Witnesses in the *eighth Verse*. No, it was *there* he thought he might find the Father, Son, and Spirit, mystically represented. And I observe two Things to confirm it.

1. *Fulgentius* speaks of it as a remarkable Concession in *St. Cyprian*, *Quod etiam B. Cyprianus confitetur*, which also *St. Cyprian* confesses. Confesses what? That *St. John* had those Words, the Father, Word and Spirit, and these Three are One? Was that such an Acknowledgment, if he found it in his *Epistle*? No, but he acknowledged the Father, Son, and Spirit to be One, out of *St. John*, by a mystical Interpretation of the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, which are One. This indeed was somewhat far-fetch'd, and not so clear a Point, but *Cyprian's* confessing it might give it some Credit: but it could give none to an undoubted Text of *St. John*, to say *Cyprian* acknowledg'd it to be true. I will not say the Doctor had any Design in it, but I find in reciting the Words, he has happen'd to change the *confitetur* into the more convenient Word, *contestatur*.

2. I observe *Cyprian's* Words are not the exact Words pretended to be found in *St. John*: for *Cyprian* says, *Father, Son*, (not the *Word*) and *Spirit*. Now tho' the same Person may be intended by both Words; yet 'tis plain there cou'd be but one of them in the Text. And therefore if our present printed Text be right, *Cyprian* had no such Copy, or else he did not keep strictly to it: And if he did not cite the Words exactly, only the Sense of them as an Interpreter; then in such a loose way of speaking it might well be, as *Facundus* says it was, *viz.*

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his

|| *Fulg. cont. Arianos, sub finem.* Beatus Joannes testatur, dicens, Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus; & tres unum sunt. Quod etiam B. M. Cyprianus in Epistola de Unitate Ecclesiæ confitetur, dicens—de Patre, Filio, & Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, & tres unum sunt.

his Sense of the *eighth Verse*. So that the Doctor was too forward in saying that Cyprian could not have cited the Words of St. John (as we have them) *more exactly, if he had them before his Eyes*.

Let the Interpretation be never so forced, that is nothing, so it was; and there are enough as *strange Interpretations of Texts* in the *Fathers*, and in St. Cyprian himself, to satisfy us *this* is no good Evidence it was not *his* *. And why may not Cyprian father a weak Interpretation as well as St. Austin? Nor was it unusual with Cyprian to cite Scripture more by *his Sense* of it, than by the strict *Letter of the Text*. Thus, instead of † *Lead us not into Temptation*, he cites it, *Suffer us not to be led, &c.* Again, he cites †† *Rev. xix. 10. Worship thou the Lord Jesus*, instead of *worship thou God*. Will any say, upon this, that he found a particular Copy which had *these Readings*? No surely, but rather that it was Cyprian's Exposition of the true Reading in *all the Copies*. Even so, I doubt not, his Words, *the Father, the Son, and Spirit, these Three are One*, was *his Sense* of the *eighth Verse* of St. John's *fifth Chapter*.

I shall conclude *this* with Mr. Du Pin's Judgment upon the Case ||: 'Tis not then, says he, *absolutely certain, that Cyprian hath quoted the seventh Verse of St. John's Epistle*. And F. Simon's ‡; who says 'tis out of Doubt that he hath not, Though 'tis probable *this Mistake of Cyprian's Words* led some following *African Writers* into the Opinion that St. John had said them *expressly*.

And thus I have fairly accounted for St. Cyprian's Words, without the Supposition of his having a *special Copy to himself*. And then I think there is not *one* tolerable Pretence left of any *antient Authority*. Now it remains that we see how the Doctor accounts for the Difficulties that lie *against him*; from *all the Greek Copies and Fathers* before and after Cyprian, who knew nothing of *this Text*: How then had Cyprian such a particular Copy above all others? Does the Doctor clear himself *as fairly* of this, as we have of his Objection from Cyprian's Words?

He puts very proper Queries here: *If these Words were in St. John's Original, how comes it to pass that for three Ages following, the Greek Fathers had it not in their Copies? How came Cyprian, an African, to know it, when it was unknown to Irenæus, who was a very curious Inquirer into all Learning, (which is Tertullian's Character of him §) and who conversed with Polycarp, the Disciple of St. John himself.* But in Answer to these Queries, he is forced to frame many unreasonable Suppositions: he knows not which way it was, but he can imagine how possibly it *might have been*, and then seems to believe it was so. Let us hear *his own Account*.

If we ask how came *these Words* to be out of *all the known Greek Copies*? he answers, *by mere Chance, and Carelessness of the Transcriber, who cast his Eye upon the Word μαρτυρῆς, or Witness, in the eighth Verse, instead of the same Word in the seventh; and so went on, unawares omitting the one μαρτυρῆς,* or

* See Dr. Whitby's Dissert. de S. Script. Interpretat.

† Cypr. de Orat. Dom. c. 4.

†† Ibid. de Bono Patientia, c. 15.

‡ Hist. of the Canon, Vol. ii. p. 78.

‡ Crit. Hist. N. T. Part 1. c. 18.

§ Curiosissimus omnium doctrinarum explorator, Irenæus. Tertul. cont. Valent.

or Witnesses, and all the Words between them both. And then, by reason of Persecution, Christians were in haste, and then stayed not to revise the Transcript, nor to compare with one another's Copies, which were but few, because of the Pains and Expences of transcribing: And the Original being at a Distance from them, when dispersed, they could not examine by that.

I grant, Mistakes of this kind have happened to Transcribers, where *ὁμοιοτέλευτα*, Words of the same ending, or the same Words have often occur'd: But that it was not so here, is plain, because the Transcriber had then taken the next Words to the second *μαρτυρήσας*, which are *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, in Earth; whereas the Doctor confesses these Words were wanting also. This he was aware of, and therefore supposes once more, that the Words in Earth might be in the first Transcript, but that the next time it was transcribed, or soon after, it was thought those Words were superfluous, and so were left or dashed out*; and then Copies were taken by other Churches, and so they spread abroad through Greece, Egypt, &c. And this is the Reason that the antient Versions and Writers knew nothing of this Text, because there were none but these maimed Copies among all the Greek Churches†. But, in process of time, he thinks, some correct Copies which lay hid in Asia (where the Original was) or some other Parts, some way or other, got into Africa, which Tertullian and Cyprian saw: And the Times being troublesome, few Copies only were taken for the Use of the African Churches, where they seem to have continued; and about 100 Years after they became common, else the African Bishops would not have alledged these Words in a Confession of Faith, if they had not been in their common Copies, and in the Body of St. John's Epistle, more than one or two Centuries. And about 250 Years after Cyprian, the spurious Author of the Disputation, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, perhaps might meet with a perfect Greek Copy; and then all was set right. And so we have his Answer to another Question, viz. How the true Copy at last came to light again?

I believe this Account will satisfy very few: If any Man should trace his Pedigree after this manner, through such a Train of wild Suppositions, and improbable Imaginations of this and the other bare Possibility, I fear he would still pass for a spurious Pretender. And yet all this the Judicious Dr. Mills could seem to believe, rather than this one Supposition, which is also well attested, That St. Cyprian's Words were his Interpretation of the eighth Verse: For allow but this, and there was no need of racking his Invention, at this Rate. And I'll appeal to Men of Candor, which of the two is more probable; that all these Suppositions should happen, or that Facundus should say true; especially, when these few Remarks on the Doctor's imaginary Account shall be duly considered.

1. Why should he suppose, they who were at the Pains or Expence, and had Leisure of transcribing, would not be at a very little more, to review and examine their Transcripts? which is so natural and usual, in Matters of much less Moment

* Curato hoc uno, ut verba *ἐν τῇ γῇ* tanquam *superflua* deleantur.

† Nullum omnino codicem Ecclesiæ Græcis in usu fuisse credo, nisi qui ad mutilatos, quos dicimus, descriptus sit.

Moment than what concerns the Interests of another Life, which to the *primitive Christians* were very dear. While they had the *Original* in their Hands, it was easy to be done. Surely they were not so careless as the Doctor makes them to be: It appears what Sense they had in early Times of the Necessity of comparing *such Transcripts* with the *Originals*, by *Irenæus*; to whose Writings this *solemn Adjuration* is annexed: *Adjuro te per Dominum Jesum, ut conseras postquam transcripseris, &c. I adjure thee who shalt transcribe this Book, by the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious Appearance to judge the Quick and the Dead, that thou compare after thou hast transcribed, and amend it by the Original very carefully.* To which Purpose St. *John's* Words, *Rev. xxii. 18, 19.* are probably to be understood, as a Terror to all negligent and deceitful *Transcribers of his Books.*

But the *Doctor* pretends the *Persecution of the Christians*, and their *not daring to assemble but in the Night*, might hinder them: *So far were they from having Leisure to review their Books, that they could not assemble but before Day* *. As if this hindered them from examining or comparing their Copies *at home*. Must they needs do it in a *publick Assembly*? Rather, was it not much better to be done in *private*? Therefore the *Doctor* has another Imagination to help it out; and that is, that *Christians* were in such *eager Haste to catch the sacred Copies, that they carried them off as they were* †. As if, after so much Pains or Expence for a Copy, they would not take care to have it *right*. Besides, if the Desire was *so great*, then we may conclude the Transcripts were very *many*, of so short an *Epistle*. And since *all* the Transcribers could not make the *same Mistake*, nor many of them, I ask,

2. Why must only *this one defective Copy* be carried away into remote Countries, to become the fruitful Parent of *all* the Copies in the World that we can find; and all the *others* stay behind, or never be heard of more? Is this likely? Were not the Possessors of the *other* Copies (which he supposes there were) as much persecuted and scattered as the Possessor of *this one faulty Copy*? And if they brought away *theirs*, surely there would have been some *more* and *better* Signs of them than what is pretended from *Cyprian*.

3. Had not the *Christians* of that time often heard St. *John's Epistle* read to them, before they had it transcribed, as well as after? *This* was the constant Practice of *their Assemblies*, to read some part of the *Gospels* and the *Apostles* Writings, as *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* tell us in their *Apologies*; which the *Apostle Paul* expected, and sometimes required to be done, *Col. iv. 16. 1 Thess. v. 27.* Therefore, if there had been an *Omission in the Transcript*, would not some or other easily have *miss'd* so memorable a Passage as *this Text* contains? 'Tis so singular and remarkable, that the Omission could scarcely be unobserved, when they came to *read* it over again.

4. Why should he suppose *again* (to back his former *hard Supposition*) that any *Christians* would so *evilly treat* the sacred Scriptures, as to *strike out* the Words

* Adeo non vacabant recensitioni librorum, ut ne quidem convenire iis licuerit nisi ante lucem.

† Libri cum primum exarati, avidissime a Christianis arrepti sunt, & in varias regiones distracti.

Words in *Earth*, for seeming to be superfluous? Had they so little Reverence for these *Sacred* Records, as to dash out what they liked not? And yet with *those* Words the Sense and Context are *no way* disturbed: There are a *hundred* Texts which contain Words *more* seemingly needless, and *more* hard to be accounted for, and which may as well be spared, if we make our own Fancy the Judge, as *these* Words, which have, indeed, no Difficulty at all in *them*; and yet I am well satisfied those *Christians* never would, nor did presume to dash them out of their Copies, upon this slight Pretence, That *they were superfluous*.

5. Doth *Cyprian*, after all, say *one* Word of any *such* Thing, as his having had a *better* Copy than the rest of the Churches had? Not a *Word*; and yet one would think he should not wholly forbear taking *some* Notice of so happy an Event. Or do any after *him* say they found such a correct Copy, or that ever they understood *he* had one? And what became of this valuable *Treasure*, after it had got into these safe Hands? For,

6. How came it that *St. Austin*, so long after *him*, in a neighbouring Church, knew nothing of *this* Matter? And that in *his* Disputes with the *Arians*, none should let him know what might have been so serviceable to *him*? In such times of eager Contests, *it* must have soon *flown* about into the Neighbourhood, when adjacent *Bishops* so frequently met and confer'd; and the *rather*, because *Cyprian*, and others after him, must know that *other* Copies were defective in *this* Place, and therefore it concerned them to send Intelligence to all round about them, how the *true* Text stood: And yet the Doctor grants that *St. Austin* knew not of it. And therefore I think it very apparent there was *no such* Thing as *Cyprian's* having *such* a Copy, notwithstanding the Doctor could say *certissimum est*, upon no manner of Evidence but *his* using *those* Expressions which are already otherwise accounted for; and of which *Mr. Du Pin* says, 'tis not certain that *St. Cyprian* quoted *St. John's* Words; and *F. Simon*, that without Doubt he did not.

By these Things it appears, that *Dr. Mills* not only could not give any *true* Account, how it *really* came to pass that all the *Greek* Manuscripts and Writers should be ignorant of *this* Verse, and yet *Cyprian* recover *it* from the *Original*; but that setting *his* Imagination to work, he could not so much as *invent* or contrive a Way how it could *possibly* be done, with any tolerable *Shew* of Probability, or Consistency of Circumstances.

Since therefore *he* has made such a *surprizing* Conclusion in favour of *this* Text, so unsuitable to *his* Premises, and against *all* the Rules of Criticism, in preferring *one* Copy to *all* the Copies besides; *one* Father to *all* the Fathers: Nay rather, without *one* Copy, rejecting all the Manuscript Copies; and setting *one* supposed, at best but *dubious*, Testimony of *one* or *two* Fathers, against *all* the certain Evidences from *all* the Copies and *all* the Fathers for near five hundred Years: I say, since 'tis thus, I cannot wonder at the Remark made by the famous *Le Clerc* upon the Doctor's great Candor and Justice in stating the Evidence, and his strange Caution in concluding against it,

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in the *Preface to Kuster's Edition* * : If Dr. Mills (says *he* in relation to *this Text*) hath not concluded here like a judicious Critick, yet certainly he hath shown himself to be a candid and ingenuous Man, in producing the Arguments which effectually overturn his own Opinion : Nor would I impute this to his want of Judgment, in not yielding to the Force of such Arguments, so much as to the Prejudice of a sort of Men, who are wont spitefully to reproach those who freely own the Truth ; as if they favoured I know not what Heresies, merely because they will not argue against them from corrupted Texts. Truly the best Men are sometimes under a Necessity of giving way to the Froward, which we must forgive.

And yet at the same time I willingly consent, that his great Learning, his indefatigable Labour, his accurate Judgment, and worthy Design, in this noble Undertaking, shall not fail to perpetuate his high Esteem, and very honourable Remembrance to remotest Ages. Nor indeed is his Judgment given in *this Point*, but with the Modesty of one ready, upon better Information, to alter it ; which he seems to suspect there might be Ground for, in the Close of his *Dissertation* †.

BUT whatever Restraints Dr. Mills, in his private Capacity might lie under, from declaring his Mind more openly, they affect not your Lordships and the Reverend Clergy in Convocation ; whom, with all the Respect due to so Venerable a Body, and with the Humility of a Suppliant, I beseech to consider of this Matter, as in the Sight of God ; whether here be not sufficient Evidence that *this Text* either certainly, or at least very probably, never was originally in the Holy Writings of St. John, but unwarrantably thrust in in later times. And if so, whether from the conscientious Regards you bear to the Sacred Scriptures, they ought not to be purg'd of all such injurious Additions. In order to which, permit me, I pray, without the least Affectation of being your Monitor, or the Arrogance of an assuming Director, humbly to bespeak your very serious Thoughts upon these following Considerations.

1. Whether such Evidence, as is brought against *this Verse* before us, would not be judged by you sufficient against any Passage in any *Classick* Author whatever ? Would not such a Passage presently be pronounced *spurious*, and be brought under a *Deleatur* by the unanimous Voice of the Criticks, when they had no Concern in it but to judge what is true and genuine, and what not ? Nay, would a Court of Judicature allow any Paragraph to be good, in a Writing of Consequence, for which no more, and against which so much can be fairly said ? And will not the same Sincerity and Impartiality well become us in *this* which we can not only well justify, but commend in the Examination of other Writings ?

* Si acutum Criticum hic se minime præstitit Millius, at certe ingenuum & candidum virum se ostendit, in præferendis rationibus, quibus sententia, quam ipse amplexus est, evertitur. Nec tam ejus judicio ascripserim, quod rationum pondere se permoveri non passus sit, quam iis qui libere veritatem professos maligne infamare solent, quasi hæresibus nescio quibus faverent, quia nolunt eas depravatis locis oppugnari. Scilicet, optimi quique viri factiosis nonnihil concedere necesse sæpe habent, quod facile ignoscimus. Clerici Epist. de Editione Milliana.

† Meliora, si quid melius certiusque dederit longior dies, discere parato.

Writings? Shall we press Men to take that for Evidence *here*, which will pass *no where else*?

2. Whether an awful Regard to *that* dreadful *Anathema*, or Denunciation left on Record by St. *John*, Rev. xxii. 18. against all who *add to*, or *diminish from his* Writings, will permit *you* to be unconcerned in the Matter before *you*? It cannot be supposed that *those* Words should not, at least by Parity of Reason, concern *his other* Writings, as well as the *Revelation*; especially when we remember how *general* the Precept was, not to *add* nor to *diminish*, Deut. iv. 2. Prov. xxx. 6. The Threatening is very *severe*: *God shall add to him the Plagues that are written in this Book*, are Words of so much Terror, as will sufficiently justify your *Lordships* and the *Reverend Clergy's* utmost Caution to avoid *them*; whatever more careless People may think or say. Whether the keeping in an unjust *Addition* to the Word of God, when 'tis *our Part* and in our *Power* to rectify it, comes, or not, within the *Prohibition*, none concerned can think below their sober Consideration. It might, perhaps, *come in* with less Guilt through Ignorance, than it can be *kept in*, when the Fault is discovered.

The *Oracles of God* are a Sacred *Depositum* lodged with the Church; Rom. iii. 2. *To them are committed the Oracles of God*; in *this* Trust, surely, that *they* be kept inviolable, and be transmitted to Posterity *pure and clean* from all known *human Additions*; whose Authority is so infinitely inferior to the *Words of God*, that they ought not knowingly to be intermixed therewith; especially by those who are *the Stewards of the Mysteries of God*, and who expect that others should *seek the Law at their Mouths*; of whom 'tis required that *they be found faithful*.

Our *twentieth Article* tells us, *The Church is the Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ*; and therefore must not bear either *false or uncertain Witness* in so solemn a Matter, as to say *that* is Holy Writ, *which* she has the greatest Reason to judge is not *such*. 'Tis a dismal Thing to have it said to *your Flocks*, *Thus saith the Lord*, when the Lord hath not spoken it; and a hard Task it is on him that reads *this* in the Church for St. *John's* Words, who doth not believe it to be *such*.

3. Whether the *Honour* and *Interest* of our holy Religion will not be better served by disowning ingenuously what we find to be an *Error*, even though it have long passed current as *Truth*? Weak People, I confess, may be apt to cry out of *Innovation* (as upon all Sorts of *Reformation*) *That Religion is subverted, that all is uncertain*, &c. Archbishop * *Laud* once made *this* sad Complaint: *When Errors are grown by Age and Continuance to Strength, they which speak for the Truth, though it be far older, are ordinarily challenged for the Bringers-in of new Opinions*; and there is no greater *Absurdity* stirring *this Day* in Christendom, &c. This indeed may grieve a good Man; but must *Truth* and *Piety* therefore be sacrificed to the *Ignorance* and *Perverseness* of Men? Must we then *prophecy to them smooth Things*, only because they love to have it so; and not acquaint them with their Errors, because they'll murmur against us? I remember St. *Paul* once made some of his Friends to become his

Enemies, by telling them the Truth, Gal. iv. 16. God forbid that any of his *Successors* should be so discouraged by it, as not to *tell the Truth*, for fear of making Men *their Enemies*. If so, we should appear to take more Care of *ourselves*, than of the *Interests of Christ*, and his Religion.

Pardon me, if I speak with *humble Freedom*, what I think not of without *real Grief*, that *this false Notion of Peace* has often well nigh ruined Religion. Christianity had never come in, if our *Blessed Master* had stifled the Truth for Fear of disquieting the Family, by *dividing the Father against the Son, and the Mother against the Daughter*, Luke xii. 51, 52, 53. This political Wisdom, which is *first peaceable*, and *then, or never, is pure*; is just the Reverse of that *Wisdom from above*, which is *first pure*. *If it be possible, we must live peaceably with all Men*, Rom. xii. 18. but, *we can do nothing against the Truth*, says the *same Apostle*, 2 Cor. xiii. 8. εἰ δυνατόν must give place to ἐδυνάμεθα.

For true Religion is never more *in Credit*, than when her *Votaries*, and especially her *Guides and Teachers*, who minister in her *Holy Offices*, deal sincerely and openly in Things appertaining to God: *Not walking in Craftiness, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully, but by Manifestation of the Truth commending themselves to every Man's Conscience in the Sight of God*. Not by putting *false Colours* upon what *they know* they cannot justify, or seeking to deceive Men in sacred Matters; *which being once discovered, weak Minds* are apt to think the worse of Religion, for *what* is none of *her Fault*, but is acted in a plain Violation of *her Laws*.

Nothing will tend more to *harden Unbelievers* in their *unjust Suspicions* and *Reproaches*, than to see that no *Amendment* can be obtained upon the most *manifest Discovery* of an Error; but that *right or wrong*, their *Teachers and Guides* will *continue* with *Resolution*, what they find *came in by Mistake*. What will it avail for honest Men to *study and inquire after Truth*, when *convincing Men* will not make them *reform*? As if *Reformation* was such an *unreasonable Thing*, that it were better to *continue* our *Faults*, when *they can't be forsaken* with a general *Approbation*.

In the Case before you 'tis *too late* to conceal the Evidence *against the Text* I have treated of: It has been *long observed*, *oft objected*, and *much* needs Satisfaction. And if your *Lordships* and the *Reverend Clergy* shall please to instruct us, by *better Evidence*, that there is *no wrong* done to the Text of St. John; or, being convinced that *there is*, shall hereupon promote a just Alteration of *this* in our *printed Books*, according to *all the Greek Manuscripts*, that so your *People* may see that, at least, you take it for *doubtful*; will not *this* upright Method shew to the World that you are *fair and ingenuous* beyond Exception, and that you seek after *Truth in the Love of it*? This shall convince *them* that you are their *faithful Guides*; which will enable you, in a very *serious* and not far *distant Hour*, with St. Paul, *rich and happy* in the *inestimable Treasures* of a good Conscience, to make that triumphant Boast, 2 Cor. i. 12. *That with Simplicity and godly Sincerity, and not with fleshly, or worldly, Wisdom, by the Grace of God, you have acted towards the World, and towards your Flocks.*

I think

I think I may safely add, that *what I propose*, will greatly silence the *Cavils* of the *Anti-Scripturists*, when they object the *different Readings* in the several Copies of the *New Testament*. To which 'tis a very good *Answer*, that *these Differences* are only in *Circumstances*, or in Matters of very *little Consequence* to Religion; and which 'tis morally impossible should be otherwise, in a *Book* so oft transcribed, and in so long a *Tract of Time*. In *other Instances* 'tis truly so; the *Differences* are very small, as *Dr. Mills's Collection* of the various Readings doth abundantly shew. But would not *this Answer* be somewhat clearer and *stronger*, if Justice were done to the *Text* in the Point I have argued? I know not *one Instance* which interferes with the abovesaid *Answer* so much as *this*. How shall we say that *this Text* is of small Consequence in Religion, which is so oft alledged by *Preachers* and *Writers*, as of eminent Force in Proof of a *fundamental Article of Christianity*? Is it not pity we should *needlessly* leave them *such* an unjust Pretence? Were it not better to cut off all Occasion, from them who seek Occasion, to censure the *Holy Scriptures*, when we can so truly and justly do it? because there really is *no Difference* in the *Greek Copies*, but *all* of them agree in wanting *this Verse*; so that the Objection appears stronger than *it is*, or than it ought to appear.

4. Doth not the *sixth Article* of our Church exclude *this Verse* from being a *Part* of those *Holy Scriptures* which *she* receives? For *it* tells us, that by the Scripture *she understands those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose Authority never was any Doubt in the Church*. Is not the Case the same with any *Part* of those Books? And will any venture to say there *never was*, or that at present there *is not* very great *Doubt of this Verse in the Church*? Whereas, if there be any *Doubt for it*, 'tis the utmost that can be made of *Dr. Mills's Dissertation*.

5. Whether in our *printed Bibles* some Words are not quite omitted, or by a *smaller Character* visibly distinguished, as doubtful, for *which* there is far greater Authority, than for *these* under Consideration? Nay, *this* is done in *this very Epistle* of *St. John*, Chap. ii. Ver. 23. *Dr. Mills* has shewn that those Words, *He that acknowledges the Son, bath the Father also*; are in several valuable Copies, and antient *Versions*, and in the *Fathers*, even in *St. Cyprian* too; and yet, not being in many *other Copies*, the *Wisdom of the Church* hath marked them for *dubious*, to shew how cautious *she* was *there*, not to put *wrong* or *uncertain* Scripture upon *her Members*. Yet *here* is a *Text* in the *same Epistle*, which has not one *Quarter*, nay, I think I may truly say, has not any of *that* Authority for *it*; and which was once in the *same Case*, distinguished by *smaller Characters*, as of *less* certain Authority, from the *Beginning of the Reformation*: And now *the former Caution* is withdrawn, *this* is advanced into the Rank of *undoubted Text*, whereas the *other* is left as it was. *Which*, however, serves to shew us, what we may fairly expect in Reason *should* be done, by *such a Text* as has *nothing*, even of that *lesser Evidence*, which hath not yet advanced the *other* into the *undoubted Text*. If there had not been *some more Occasion* for *one* than for the *other*, 'tis possible they had both remained in the *same State*. Therefore,

6. It may reasonably be enquired, if there be *any more Evidence* for *this Text*, since the first Reformation? The present current Notions of the *Trinity* were received *then* as much as *now*, perhaps more; and yet as *Luther* would not put *this* into the *Text* in any Edition of his *German Bible*, nor durst *Bullinger* take it in, so our old *Bibles* in *Henry VIII's* and *Edward VI's* time, had *these Words* of the *seventh Verse*, and the *Words in Earth*, in the *eighth*, in small Letters, and sometimes in a *Parentthesis*; to shew they were not to be esteemed of the same certain Authority with the other Parts of the *Epistle*, because the Manuscripts wanted them. In *Queen Elizabeth's Bible*, 1566, I find the same; and other latter Bibles were the first which took them in, as they now are, between 1566, and 1580; but whether by the Influence of the *Convocation* which intervened, I know not. And if it was a *dubious Text* then, some may ask what further Evidence arises since, to have caused this Change? Has any *antient valuable Greek Manuscript* newly appeared? Yes; the most valuable of all, the *Alexandrian Manuscript*, has since that Time been brought among us; but alas! *this* has added great Weight to the Evidence against it. Besides, *Erasmus's British Copy*, and the *Complutensian Testament*, and the Mistake about *Stephens's seven Manuscripts*, were not understood to be so void of all Weight, as now they appear to be. If the first Reformers then had as much Evidence for it, and thought they had more than we can now think we have, and not so much to say against it as we; and yet they judged it but just to leave it doubtful; how is it that we shall justify their Successors, who have ventured upon what they dared not to do?

Nay, if your Lordships and the Reverend Clergy don't think this *Text* to be certainly *spurious*, I would humbly propose, whether it be not most likely to be so? And then whether it be not safer to put it out, than to keep it in the Place 'tis in? Nay, whether it be not at least *dubious*? And then whether it ought not to be mark'd as such, for your People's Observation? I beseech you, let us but obtain so much, as I think your selves will, and as the first Reformers did see to be just and reasonable, or convince us that this Request is not so: else what remains, but to sit down, wonder, and despair? 'Tis but an easy Step, and will be well warranted, to return to that which our first Reformers wisely and unblameably did. It can be no Reproach to be as just to the People as they were; and to return again with Reason, to that which has been altered without Reason.

7. Lastly, the great Importance of the subject Matter of *this* much-doubted Text, well deserves your most impartial Judgment upon it. The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity is purely dependent on Revelation; variously understood by Christians, both of the Clergy and Laity; and bound upon the Members of the Church by very direful Anathema's, scarce any more terrible, except that of St. John against such as shall add to, or take from his Writings. Now, since 'tis to the Scriptures you make Appeal for Proof of this Doctrine, and for the right Understanding of it; 'tis most just that in so solemn a Matter you warn your Flocks not to be misled, by mistaking an unwarranted modern Addition for an inspired Oracle.

I pretend

I pretend not to make any Interpretation of *the Words*, till their Authority be prov'd: but most judicious Expositors understand *These Three are One*, of an *Unity of Consent*, or in Witness-bearing; as *Bullinger, Calvin, Beza*, and many other both *Protestant* and *Papish Writers*.

But let them signify much or little, in the Controversy about the *philosophical* Nature of the *Three Persons*; yet, as *they* are always likely to be drawn into the Service of what is most *prevalent* and current, so 'tis certain the common People have their Eyes upon *this*, more than on any *undoubted Text* in the Bible; in *this* Controversy. And so far they must be deceiv'd, if it be *spurious*. And it is in your *Lordships* and the *Clergy's* Power to let them know it, and to refer them to *other Texts*, which you can assure them are genuine.

Nor is there any doubt to be made, but the People think *some* Branches of the *Liturgy* have their main Foundation on *this one doubted Text*. When they hear, *Three Persons and One God*, in the *fourth* Petition of the *Litany*; and *who with thee and the Holy Ghost ever liveth and reigneth one God*, in the *Doxologies*; they think nothing in the *New Testament* so like it as this *dubious Text*. And will you not think it great pity, that your People should build so weighty things on such a slender Foundation, if *your selves* so judge it?

I speak *this*, because I know not any *other Text* that *directly* or *clearly* says the *same thing*, viz. that the *Father, Word, and Spirit*, are *One*. They are not join'd into one *Doxology*, nor indeed do I find any given to the *Holy Spirit* in the *New Testament*, either *jointly* or *separately*; much less is the *Spirit* said to be *one with the Father and the Son*. I read of *one Spirit, one Lord, one God and Father*, Eph. iv. but not that these *Three are the One God*. And if there be no *other Text* which says *this*, 'tis not the *more likely* to have been St. *John's* Saying here; but the *more grievous* to have it inserted by any who had not *his* Authority.

Whether, upon the Whole, *this Passage* shall, by your Direction, in our *printed Books* be fairly *disown'd* and *mark'd* as formerly, or better *vindicated*, I know not: But if *neither* of *these* be done, and if *Preachers and Writers* go on, without due regard to *Justice* and their *own Esteem*, to urge *this* as an *Autho- rity*, after all that is said to shew it has *none*; I apprehend, there are many *understanding Christians* will be apt to think they are not *fairly* dealt with.

And I hope it shall not be thought to proceed from any want of due Veneration for your *Lordships* and the *Reverend Clergy*, if an high Esteem of the *Learning*, the *Judgment*, *Integrity*, and hearty Zeal for our Holy Religion and the sacred Scriptures, which they are persuaded dwell with an *English Con- vocation*, shall excite many of your *People*, as well as of the *Clergy*, to some Expectations in this Matter.

I shall only set down the Advice and Request of *Bugenhagenius*, a *Lutheran Divine*: Having observ'd *this Verse* to be put in, without any reasonable Pre- tence of Authority, and having exclaim'd against it as an *impious bold Addition to the Sacred Scripture*, and what (he says) *establishes the Arians Blasphemy*,
and

and therefore suspected was *their Contrivance*; he concludes, * *I beseech the Printers, and such Learned Men as are aiding to them, that when at any Time hereafter they shall reprint the Greek Testament, they leave out that Addition, and so restore the Greek to its former Purity, for the Love of Truth, and the Glory of God.*

With which Request, I humbly hope your Lordships and the Reverend Clergy will see great Reason to comply; and the rather, because I am instructed by a very Great † *Prelate* (who was once the Head of such a Convocation, and very tender of the Church's Honour) *That the Church is not so bound up, that she may not, on just and farther Evidence, revise what may in any Case have slipped by her.* Whether this be not one of those Cases, is submitted to your impartial and discerning Judgment.

* Obsecro igitur Chalcographos & Eruditos Viros qui Chalcographis adsunt, ut cum rursus posthac N. Test. græcè excudendum est, illam additionem omittant, & ita restituant Græcæ suæ priori integritati & puritati, propter veritatem, ad gloriam Dei. *In Exposit. Jonæ.*

† *ABp. Laud's Preface against Filher.*

The REPRESENTATIVE of *London and Westminster* in *Parliament*, examined and consider'd; wherein appears the Antiquity of most of the Boroughs in *England*; with the Proportions, whereby every County is over or under represented, according to a Scale from the Royal Aid Assessments; by which it appears that *Middlesex* is found to be Represented but one Tenth Part of its due Proportion; unto which a Remedy is proposed, and several Reasons offered to prove the same, of Universal Benefit to the Kingdom. *By a Gentleman.* 1702.

FROM what Principles in the Law of Nature, whether of right Judgment in Things, or merely those of Self-preservation, or if from some Dictates of Rational Society, or if solely from unsearchable Ways of Providence Divine, it may proceed, is not the Intention of *these* to enquire; but so it is, that if one take a View of *Ages past*, and will adventure to judge the Opinion of Men by their Actions, it seems to have been in *all Times* the common concurring Judgment of Mankind, that the Benefits of *Climate* (a benign *Air*, a fruitful *Soil*, sweet *Water*, and the like) do very much fall short of those which a propitious *Government* affords.

For

For no Charms have been able to quell the Disquiets which *Violence* and *Oppression* produce: Tho' other Inconveniencies (however great) are reconcil'd and overlook'd by the innate Love of our Native Soil, yet upon the Alarms of imposing Tyranny, we may observe all Nations to dwindle and decay, Multitudes flying that Evil as a Plague, above all others intolerable: For Evidence whereof, let any Man recollect the Effects which ancient *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Italy* betray'd under such *Catastrophes*; let *Peru* tell the Fall of the *Yucaes* and its Consequents; tell *Ferrara* how the domineering *Tiara* has made you prosper; let *Naples* relate what the *Anjouvine* and *Castilian* Visitations caus'd her; speak *Florence*, *Pisa*, and the Vale of *Arno*, if your Numbers and Riches encreas'd with the Yoke of *Medicis*: But lest these Instances be too remote for Time or Place, we'll take a View of some nearer, for more indubitable Proof of the Point.

O happy *England*, highly favour'd of Heaven, which can yield no considerable Instance of this Kind in her Records! May no lupine Ferocity ever taint her Constitution, that She may remain inviolate as many Ages as the Chronicles of *China* boast theirs. *Oppression*, it seems, is a foreign Plant, which though she will not thrive in our bad Air, is no Stranger elsewhere in *Europe*; so that when we pass the Seas, we need not the *Alps* any more. *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Artois*, when they fell from the House of *Burgundy* into that of *Austria*, how populous, how rich, how flourishing in Trade, *Philip de Commines* abundantly declares; very different from, and far excelling, the Condition of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *West-Friesland*, their Neighbour-Provinces. But now let the Experiment be try'd, if Liberty with an inclement incommodious Site can countervail the Loss of a most delightful, fruitful, native Country, under the Aspects and Influence of Tyranny: In the latter then, some of the haughtiest Nobility must lay down their Heads on a Block, for being Advocates of the ancient Rights of their Country; one City beholds within herself a Citadel rearing her Bastions (soon garnished with Artillery); others have *Quo Warranto's* pass against their Municipal Rights, and when Murmurs or Oppositions rise, all is construed Riot and Rebellion, and then the wealthy Citizens are Fined, Imprisoned, and Confiscated: In Consequence of these things, some Imposts and Gabels are impos'd without the regular Orders of the Estates, and an Army from *Italy* of Foreigners take up Free-quarter in the Towns: We need no more, one Age will discover the Effects; the People insensibly file Northwards, where they intrench themselves in the Mud; the Ocean is debarr'd her wandering, the hollow Land made firm, and Lakes drain'd; the loose Sand becomes a stable Foundation for great *Emporia*; the ancient Cities of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Artois* unhive themselves into the new ones of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friesland*; and, in a Word, the younger Colonies (notwithstanding the Disadvantages of Nature) yielding an *Asylum* to Liberty, shall equal and far exceed what the former ever were. Thus we see a Republick form'd, which in one Century is become more puissant than the *Roman* amount-ed to in three.

Having

Having been more explicit in the Case of *Flanders*, I pass by the later one of *Denmark*, so candidly and curiously exemplified by an excellent Hand: In the Days we live, *France* itself is a pregnant Instance too, for the swarming *Catholicks*, as well as *Huguenots*, of that Nation, in all the Countries of *Europe*, are so many speaking Witnesses of the inward Decay of that Realm, since the Parliament of *Paris* (the Shadow of the ancient States-General of that Kingdom) yielded up the Ghost. In *Germany* the Imperial free Cities are more populous, rich, and their Territories better cultivated than commonly those of the Princes: So likewise the most inhospitable Mountains of *Switzerland* are better replenished with Inhabitants than the luxurious Plains of *Lombardy*; all which is ascribable only to the Ease of a mild and impartial Government. From which Historical Evidences therefore, and because many more of like kind may be produc'd, I draw this Conclusion, That gross Air does not more naturally depress *Mercury* in a Tube, than the Gravity of malevolent Councils does the *Genius*, *Wealth*, and *Number* of any People.

Now, since such Effects are universally and conformably in all Ages and Countries, proceeding of such Causes, it cannot be unfit to ascribe the same to the over-ruling Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness of the universal Monarch of Mankind, who, according to the 107th *Psalms*, has reserved this Honour and Prerogative, wherewith to chastise the Insolence of his Viceroy's on Earth, as well as the Dissoluteness of their Subjects: Thus *He turneth a fruitful Land into Barrenness, for the Wickedness of them that dwell therein*; and upon their Repentance, *the Wilderness again into a Standing Water, and dry Ground into Water Springs*: And *there he maketh the Hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a City for Habitation, sow Fields, and plant Vineyards, which may yield them Fruits of Increase*: On the other Hand, abusing his Mercy, they are again brought low through Oppression, Affliction and Sorrow; then *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and causeth them to wander in a Desert, where there is no Way*: At the same Time, *He setteth the Poor on high from Affliction, and maketh him Families like a Flock*: The Righteous shall see it and rejoice, and all Iniquity shall stop her Mouth. *Whoso is wise, and will observe these Things, even they shall understand the loving Kindness of the Lord*. Now sure, above all Nations, the People of *England* have reason to join the Chorus of this Psalm, *O that Men would praise the Lord for his Goodness, and for his wonderful Works to the Children of Men*.

By a mild and propitious Government, (the Blessing so much esteemed) I mean such a one, whether Monarchical or otherwise, as pursues for its End the Security, Ease, and Welfare of its People; the Reverse of which is, when those Considerations are put in the second Instance, and made but subsequent to some other. If I mistake not, Magistrates are originally appointed Ministers of God for good to the People, for which Cause Tribute is paid; not that the People are given as a Prey to the said Ministers. Now, in order to have the aforesaid ultimate End of Government duly consulted, I suppose it indispensably needful that the People have some *Representative*, which may not only report their Grievances, but be sufficiently empower'd to obtain Redress of them: Which

Sup-

Supposition, I own, does conclude, that Absolute Monarchy can be no more than accidentally and precariously propitious, but has in it no Conclusion at all against Monarchies of the *Gothick* Frame.

Upon Dissolution of the *Roman Empire* in the *West*, the several Nations that shar'd it among them agreed all in one Scheme of Government, which though it admitted of Variety in other Matters, yet every where did establish a *Representative* of the People, that had power to redress all Grievances in the Administration, which partook with the Prince in the Legislature, and without whose Consent he could levy no Taxes on the Subject. Herein then was abundant Provision for a mild and equal Regimen of Affairs, wherein near upon all the Countries in *Europe* were many Ages happy; but in the Century newly expir'd, a dismal Cloud did overspread the most of them, which hitherto has not reach'd our *Fortunate Island*; but *England* yet enjoys what they once possess'd. Without a sufficient *Representative* of the People, there can be no adequate Caution or Warranty for their Liberties: But *England* having preserv'd uncorruptedly the former, as the sole *Palladium*, she continues to enjoy the kindly Fruits and natural Effects of it; so that, I hope, the Testimony of *Philip de Commynes* will ever remain verified in us; *Of all the Seigneuries of the World, (says he) the Realm of England is the best govern'd Commonwealth, where the People are least oppress'd, and the Authors of Broils, or Disturbers of Peace, the most punish'd.*

The Constitution of *England*, often batter'd, often undermined, often betray'd, has not subsisted so long but by the miraculous Power of GOD several Times, for his own most wise and good Ends, interposing between her and Ruin; unto one eminent Instance of which, the Eyes of all Men living may bear Testimony, if their Memories do not wickedly fail them: And as *His Gracious Majesty* has fully answer'd the Promise of his Declaration, *to do all Things necessary on his Part*, that our Nation may be in no more Danger of falling at any Time hereafter under Arbitrary Power; so will the Prudence of our Senate shine bright, in all Ages to come, in making so many Provisions to keep the Fountain of all our Joys, the Kingdom's Representative in Parliament, pure and uncorrupt. Such are the following Clauses or express Acts in this Reign, that no Speeches in Parliament shall be questionable elsewhere, no Recommendation of Members for the *Cinque Ports* shall be made as usual, Penalties declar'd on *Excise-Officers* intermeddling with Elections, the like for False and Double Returns, Assignment of Time and Place for County Elections, no Members to be concern'd in any Monies granted by Parliament, no Officers of Excise or Customs to sit in the House, a Parliament to be new chose once in Three Years, no Expences to be after Date of the Writs for electing, no Person under the Age of One and twenty be capable of fitting; abridging the Privileges of Parliament in case of Debt or Process; and when the new *Line* commences, no one having Office or Pension from the Crown shall be capable to serve, no Pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an Impeachment of the Commons. Over and above these momentous Provisions, there was a Bill last Session in Agitation, for better maintaining the Dignity of Parliaments, which provided, That in such Boroughs as have fewer

VOL. II. L 11 than

than Five-score Votes of Electors, the Freeholders of the Hundred shall be allow'd to vote. For what Reasons the said Bill was dropt, the Author knows not, but that gave first the Life and Motion to these Thoughts of his.

The Representative of *England* consists then of Two Houses, which jointly make one Parliament; for the Lords, call'd to it by Summons or Patent of Nobility, are reputed Trustees for the Community, and Guardians of our Liberties, in the same Kind as some of the House of Commons are elected by their own Tenants, or the Proprietors of *Old Sarum*, (where no living Soul inhabits) may return themselves; and yet, when vested in the Trust, are equally careful of the Publick, as those who are introduc'd by several Thousand Voices. This Honour therefore can no ways be denied to the House of Peers, who have through a long Succession of Ages worthily acquitted themselves of it, and the publick Liberties are the safer by their Honours Prerogatives. However, the House of Commons having much more their Existence from, and Dependence on the People, do claim somewhat peculiar in this Matter, and in the Argument propos'd are solely to be treated of.

The Representative of the Commons of *England* at this Day, consists of Five hundred and thirteen Persons, under the Distinguishment of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, the Barons of the Cinque-Ports being comprehended under the latter Head; and the several Districts of the Kingdom whence these Deputies (as in *France*, *Poland*, *Holland*, and elsewhere such are and have been call'd) are sent, be obviously as followeth: The Forty Shires of *England* send 80 Knights, and the Twelve Shires of *Wales* 12, in all 92 Knights, elected by the Freeholders of the several Counties; the Cities, Boroughs, and Ports of *England* are Two hundred and four, which all send 409 Deputies, and the Twelve in *Wales* 12, together making 421, who with the 92 Knights, make up the Roll of that august Assembly. Among the Boroughs of *England*, — *Bewdly*, *Banbury*, *Abington*, *Monmouth*, and *Higham-ferrers* send each but one; *Londan*, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge* every one Four, and the rest all Two a-piece; in most of which Places privileg'd to elect, every House-keeper contributing to the Church and Poor, (as a Freeman of *England*) has a Vote, but in some that Right of the Electors is restrain'd, and in others enlarged profusely; touching which I noways intend a minute Discourse, but at present it shall suffice to say, That as the Charter of *Wenlock*, 8th *Edward* the IVth, is the first in our Records, which has in it an express Clause for sending Members to Parliament, so it is conceiv'd that all Corporations or Boroughs by Charter till that Time, had it virtually included, as a Right inseparable to such Bodies.

To bring the Essentials of our Constitution into Argument, were an unpardonable Presumption in a private Person; those who have the Legislature are ever to remain sole Judges of it: For my Part I do not allow myself to debate the Alteration of any Thing hitherto established, but as a sincere Lover of his Country, I think, it better becomes, to justify and applaud all the Parts of that Constitution under which we have liv'd so long, the happiest People under Heaven: Therefore if any object, That the *West* carries an unreasonable over-balance in this Representative; I answer, (granting the Supposition) There

There is even a Felicity in that Error, for those Counties have the best of our Ports, they are our immediate Frontier towards *France*, and so the Dominion of the Channel is their sole Barrier; they lie in the Line of Navigation, the richest of our Mines and most important Manufactures are on that side. If others object, That the Land-holders are not proportionably represented to the Inhabitants of Boroughs; I say, the Practice in the most of the said Boroughs being (for some Ages past) to return Gentlemen of considerable Estates in Land, has in some sort transmitted their Right to the same Interest; and hereby it is we are built on a firm Foundation, there being no such Caution of Good-behaviour to the Publick, as a valuable Concern in it; though had the Bill of last Session pass'd, or any other like it for the future should, to transfer the Right of Election to the Land-holders from incompetent Boroughs, there is little doubt but it would find a general Approbation and Applause, because, the more knowing, free, and numerous the Electors are, the better Judgment of the Candidates may be presum'd from them, provided the Number be not beyond Measure exorbitant.

To refer then those Affairs to their proper Judges, the Intention of these Papers is,

First, To enquire a little into Matter of Fact, how long the several Boroughs now electing Members have exercis'd that Privilege, which has given them the Title of Prescription; (for touching Knights of the Shire, I shall speak but occasionally.)

Secondly, To shew from Observations thence, that an Increase of Boroughs does no ways interfere with the Essentials of our Constitution.

Thirdly, To lay down a Scale of Property, or Rule to compute the several Proportions of the Body represented.

Fourthly, To demonstrate, that there is no parallel in the Kingdom to the Case of *Middlesex*.

Fifthly, To propose somewhat in favour of *London* and *Westminster*, from several Reasons and Arguments to prove, that the same would be of great Benefit to the Kingdom in general.

First, For Evidence of Prescription in those Boroughs, which sent Members to Parliament any time before the End of *Edward IVth*, the Author builds himself entirely upon the 3d and 4th Parts of *William Pryn's Collection* (from the Tower-Records) of *Parliament Writs*, both those for Election, and those for levying their Expences after the Session: which latter were constantly issued even down to the Commencement of the last Century; I refer my Reader to the aforesaid Books, where he will see the Names of all such who serv'd for every Borough in *England* during those Ages: He may observe also, within the Space of 220 Years, there were 110 new Parliaments elected; and many more Curiosities will therein appear; but I confine myself to such Observations only as belong to my proper Subject. Mr. *Pryn* says, the most an-

cient of those Writs are dated 49th *Henry III.* issued to the Sheriffs, to summon the several Boroughs in their Counties by Precept, to elect and return Members, whereon the Sheriffs made constantly their Returns with these Words, *Nec sunt plures Burgi intra Balivam meam*; so that his *Collection*, whereof is subjoyn'd an *Extract*, is certainly exclusive of all Right to Prescription higher than *Henry VII.* in the present Boroughs not specified therein. However, it is not to be conceived that the oldest of those Writs did erect an House of Commons, any more than Summons to Parliament of some Barons by Tenure (near the same Time) did first constitute an House of Lords; but rather it would seem, that the Practices then begun did from one undivided Council or Parliament of Barons form two distinct Houses.

I must premise also, that the Sheriffs being only enjoyn'd in those Writs to send Precepts to their Boroughs, without a List of what Towns were such, they sometimes spoke their Partialities, in giving Precepts to some that were not so; whence it arose that there are thirty-five Towns mention'd in those Records which at this Day do not send Members, though thereby they had a like Claim with the twenty-three Astring'd, that now do; among which pretermitted Towns, *Axebridge* made five Returns, *Chard* eight, *Chipping-norton* three, *Farnham* three, *Witney* five, *Kingston on Thames* four, *Storford* eight, *Blandford* two, *Dadington* two, *Bradsham* two, *Ledesford* two, *Ravenspur* two, and all the rest but one; or, receiving Precepts, never did return at all: But *Torrington* in *Devonshire*, from the 30th *Edward I.* unto the 5th *Henry IV.* having made thirty-two Returns, pleaded her Poverty by Petition to the King's Council, for a Discharge from that Burden; wherein, after two or three Applications, they were gratified by Letters Patents of Exemption: To maintain two of their Burghesses for the Benefit of the Commonwealth, was not look'd upon so much a Franchise in those Days as a Service in which they were bound to the Crown. The same Reason made others not to send very frequently, and some utterly to refuse the Privilege; and if now-a-days Two Shillings *per diem* were levy'd on the Boroughs, for each of their Representatives, during *Parliament Attendance*, perhaps *Torrington* would not long remain the sole Instance of praying a Discharge.

Boroughs which sent Members to Parliament before An. Chr. 1483, and how often they did severally return unto that Time, as followeth.

*From the
Counties of*

Bedford.

Bedford, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 106 Returns

Berks.

New Windsor, 1 Edw. 2. and in all 22 Returns

Reading, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 89 Returns

Wallingford, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 85 Returns

Bucks.

Chypping Wycomb, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 79 Returns

* Agmondesham, 28 Edw. 1. and 1 and 2 Edw. 2. lately restored.

* Wendover, 28 Edw. 1. and 1 and 2 Edw. 2. restored 21 Jac.

* Great Merlow, 4 times to 33 Edw. 3. lately restored

Cambridge

Cambridge, 26 Ed. 1. and in all 95 Returns

Cornwall

Launceston, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 88 Returns

Leskard, 1 Edw. 2. and in all 65 Returns

Loftwithiel, 4 Edw. 2. and in all 64 Returns

Truro, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 75 Returns

Bodmin, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 86 Returns

Helston, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 77 Returns

Cumberl.

Carlisle, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 88 Returns

Darbysh.

Darby, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 97 Returns

Devonsh.

Exeter, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 109 Returns

Totnes, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 77 Returns

Plymouth, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 11 Returns

Barnstable, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 82 Returns

Plympton, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 76 Returns

Tavistock, 4 Edw. 3. and in all 71 Returns

Dartmouth, 24 Edw. 3. and in all 51 Returns

* Honiton, 28 Edw. 1. and 4 Edw. 2. restored lately

* Oakehampton, 28 Edw. 1. and 7 Edw. 2. restored lately

* Ashburton, 26 Edw. 1. and no more till lately

Dorsetsh.

Pool, 14 Edw. 3. and 4 times more to 12 Edw. 4.

Dorchester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 83 Returns

Lyme, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 70 Returns

Weymouth, 12 Edw. 2. and in all 50 Returns

Melcomb Regis, 1 Edw. 2. and in all 75 Returns

Bridport, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 75 Returns

Shaftsbury, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 81 Returns

Wareham, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 57 Returns

Essex.

Colchester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 94 Returns

Malden, 7 Edw. 3. and in all 69 Returns

* Harwich, 17 Edw. 3. only restored lately

Glo-

446 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

- Glocestersh. Gloucester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 90 Returns
 Herefordsh. Hereford, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 102 Returns
 Lempster, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 85 Returns
 * Weobly, 26 Edw. 1. and thrice more to 33 Edw. 3. restored
 3 Char. 1.
 Hertfordsh. Hertford, 26 Edw. 1. to 7 Hen. 5. in all 18 Returns
 * St. Albans, 26 Edw. 1. and ten more to 5 Edw. 3. restored by
 Edw. 6.
 Huntingt. Huntington, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 93 Returns
 Kent. Canterbury, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 101 Returns
 Rochester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 88 Returns
 Cinq. Ports Sandwich, } from 49 Hen. 3. unto 12 Edw. 3. were enjoined to
 Dover, } elect three or four each, and most of that Time the
 Hyeth, } same Stile was used in their Writs as to Barons,
 Rounny, } whence so called to this Day.
 Lancashire * Lancaster, 26 Edw. 1. and to 33 Edw. 3. but 11 Returns; lately
 restored
 * Preston, 26 Edw. 1. and to 33 Edw. 3. but 11 Returns; lately
 restored
 Leicestersh. Leicester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 99 Returns
 Lincolnsh. Lincoln, 49 Hen. 3. and in all 111 Returns
 Grimsby, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 84 Returns
 Stamford, 26 Edw. 1. and but 6 Returns in all
 Grantham, created by Edw. 4.
 Middlesex London, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 93 Returns
 Norfolk Norwich, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 91 Returns
 Lynne, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 70 Returns
 Yarmouth, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 85 Returns
 Northampt. Northampton, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 101 Returns
 Northumb. Newcastle, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 80 Returns
 Nottingh. Nottingham, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 98 Returns
 Oxfordsh. Oxford, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 110 Returns
 * Woodstock, 30 Edw. 1. and 33 Edw. 3. restored 13 Eliz.
 Salop. Shrewsbury, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 97 Returns
 Bridgenorth, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 92 Returns
 Wenlock, 8 Edw. 4. by Charter
 Somersets. Bristol, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 96 Returns
 Bath, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 99 Returns
 Wells, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 88 Returns
 Taunton, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 75 Returns
 Bridgewater, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 91 Returns
 Ilchester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 30 Returns
 * Milburn-port, 28 Edw. 1. and 33 Edw. 3. restored 3 Car.

- Southampt. Winchester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 96 Returns
 Southampton, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 79 Returns
 Portsmouth, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 78 Returns
 * Andover, four times to the 33 Edw. 3. restored lately
- Staffordsh. * Litchfield, 4 Edw. 2. and to 33 Edw. 3. and in all 9 Returns
 Stafford, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 89 Returns
 Newcastle, 29 Edw. 3. and in all 45 Returns
- Suffolk. Ipswich, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 85 Returns
 Dunewich, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 60 Returns
 * Orford, 26 and 35 Edw. 1. restored lately.
- Surrey Southwark, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 88 Returns
 Blechingly, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 59 Returns
 Ryegate, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 61 Returns
 Guilford, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 98 Returns
 Gatton, 29 Hen. 6. and in all 5 Returns
- Suffex Chichester, 1 Edw. 2. and in all 93 Returns
 Horsham, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 65 Returns
 Midhurst, 4 Edw. 2. and in all 50 Returns
 Lewes, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 61 Returns
 Shoreham, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 66 Returns
 East Grinstead, 1 Edw. 2. and in all 52 Returns
 Arundel, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 75 Returns
 Brembre, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 26 } Usually, as one Borough, re-
 Steinings, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 13 } turned jointly.
 Seaford, 20 Edw. to 1 Hen. 4. and in all 8 Returns, not as a Port
 Rye,
 Winchelsea, } Vide Kent, Cinque Ports.
 Hastings, }
- Warwicksh. Warwick, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 88 Returns
 * Coventry, 30 Edw. 1. and to the 27 Edw. 3. in all 8 Returns
- Westmorl. Appleby, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 85 Returns
- Wiltshire Salisbury, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 97 Returns
 Wilton, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 93 Returns
 Downton, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 25 Returns
 Calne, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 32 Returns
 Devizes, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 51 Returns
 Chippenham, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 27 Returns
 Malmesbury, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 57 Returns
 Cricklade, 1 Edw. 2. and in all 34 Returns
 Great Bedwin, 30 Edw. 1. and in all 27 Returns
 Lurgurhall, 28 Edw. 1. and in all 25 Returns
 Old Sarum, 34 Edw. 3. and in all 28 Returns
 Marlborough, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 61 Returns
 Hindon, 27 Hen. 6. and in all 6 Returns
 Heytesbury, 28 Hen. 6. and in all 5 Returns

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 449

Northampt.	Peterborough,	—	—	—	Brackly
	Higham-Ferrers.				
Northumb.	Morpeth,	—	—	—	Berwick
Nottingh.	Newark, <i>by Charter of Charles 2.</i>				
	East Retford.				
Oxfordsh.	Banbury.				
Salop.	Ludlow,	—	—	—	Bishops-Castle
Somerfetsh.	Mynehead, <i>by Charter 5 Eliz.</i>				
Southampt.	Christchurch, <i>by Charter 13 Eliz.</i>				
	Stockbridge, <i>by Charter 5 Eliz.</i>				
	Petersfield	—	—	—	Yarmouth
	Lymington,	—	—	—	Newton
	Whitchurch,	—	—	—	Newport
Stafford.	Tamworth, <i>by Charter 5 Eliz.</i>				
Suffolk	Aldborough, <i>by Charter 13 Eliz.</i>				
	Eye, <i>by Charter 13 Eliz.</i>				
	St. Edmondsbury,	—	—	—	Sudbury
Surry	Haslemere.				
Worcester.	Evesham, <i>by Charter 3 James.</i>				
	Bewdley.				
Yorksh.	Knareborough,	—	—	—	Richmond
	Boroughbridge,	—	—	—	Heydon
	Aldborough,	—	—	—	Thirke
Wales	12 Boroughs, <i>by Acts 27 & 38 Hen. 8.</i>				

This Catalogue contains 82 *Boroughs*, and the former 134, which together compleat the Number in our Parliament, viz. 216.

Secondly, By Computations drawn from these recited Catalogues it will manifestly appear, that an Increase of Boroughs has never been judged any Breach of the Constitution, but contrariwise, the continual Progression of Number seems to have been a considerable Access of Strength to it: There is no Instance of Diminution, except the single Case of *Torrington*, for the Pretermision of those 35 formerly summoned cannot amount to it; the Majority of them expressed sufficiently their Indifference and Refusal of that Privilege, and the seven which obeyed their Precepts more than twice, yet soon grew weary of the Sheriffs Officiousness to summon them; or else the Sheriffs desisted therefrom, because really they never had, in the Tenure of their Towns, or by Charter, any Right to be summoned; one of which Causes must also belong to the astracised 23: And it may well be conceived the Continuance of returning Members in several others of the lesser Boroughs, was due rather to some Gentlemen of Estates adjoining, than to any Disposition or Concern of the Inhabitants; nor is it improbable their very first Summoning or Institution was so likewise.

As to the 23 I have astracised in the first Catalogue, 6 of them sent but once, and 6 twice, but neither they, or any one of the Remainder, did send Members for above 120 Years preceding the End of this Collection of Records; so that

no impartial Man can disallow us to deduct those 23 from the 134, and to say, that at the latter End of *Edw. 4.* the Representative of *England* had in it but 111 Boroughs at the most, and 37 Counties, (*Monmouth, Durham, Cheshire,* and those in *Wales* being since added) which allowing 2 Members for every one of either, makes in all but 296 Persons: *Edw. 4.* created *Grantham* and *Wenlock, Hen. 6.* *Gatton, Hindon, Heytersbury, Westbury, and Wottonbasset,* so that until his Reign there could be but 282 Members in the House of Commons: Nor is it likely the Number was higher in any Reign before; for *Edw. 3.* and 2. created 38 Boroughs between them, which overbalances the 36 pretermitted: But if we consider how frequently many of the allowed Boroughs failed to make Returns, and that the Counties sometimes sent but one Knight, and in particular, that *Windsor, Pool, Plymouth, Hertford, Stamford, Ilchester, Brembre, Steynings, Seaford, Downton, Calne, Chipenham, Bedwin, Lurgurshall,* not one of them sent a fourth Part of the Times that Parliaments were called; it is not probable that, until the Reign of *Henry 6.* the House of Commons did ordinarily consist of more than half the present Constituent thereof.

From *Edw. 4.* unto *Edw. 6.* Mr. *Pryn* tells us the Records of this kind are near all lost; and since the latter, they are so confused, that he could not draw from thence a like Account of the newer Boroughs: What is therefore observed of the last Catalogue of 82, and the astracised 23, was drawn by him from the Commons Journal, except some very few Things which the Author hereof has on good Authority added: I could have wish'd to have made the Chronology of the latter Table as perfect as that of the first, for thereby my Argument would have look'd with a better Grace, though already there is abundantly sufficient to support it. *Hen. 8.* by Act privileged *Chester, Monmouth* and *Wales,* all which Counties and Boroughs increased the House of Commons 31 Voices; *Maidston* and *St. Albans* were added by *Edw. 6.* thirteen Boroughs more by Queen *Elizabeth*; three more and the Universities by *James 1.* four in the Time of *Charles 1.* *Newark* by Charter, and *Durham* with Knights to the County by Act in *Charles 2.*

Since then, from the highest Antiquity in Record, frequent Addition of new Boroughs has been, and almost in every Reign successively to this Day, without any Imputation of altering the Foundations of our Constitution thereby, the like therefore may surely be again whenever the King and Parliament see good; which is all the Inference drawn from the Premises, except that Addition of Number in the same Borough is taken to be included, as of the like Nature; so *Wenlock,* and some others now sending two, formerly did but one, and *Cambridge* and *Oxford* have been privileged to send four. The *Venetian* Grand Council has in it 3000 without Confusion, and that of the Barons by Tenure anciently in *England* had undoubtedly more. I proceed then to the third Division of this Discourse.

Thirdly, In pursuance of the intended Method, I am to lay down a Scale or Standard, by which to examine the several Proportions of the Body represented, in the Choice whereof (having no Precedent) I hope to be the more easily excused, if the Rule by which other Things are tried be itself not perfect; since to him

him who would use political Arithmetick, or argue touching Things from Numbers, (a Way lately recommended by a polite Hand) it is of Necessity to find an Area whereon to fix his Machine: A Foundation then to our Purpose must be, I conceive, some kind of Rule in Property, rather than any Scheme of Numbers, taken from the *Capitation* or *Poll-taxes*, and that I have chosen I thought more certain than any Terrar of Land which could be drawn; besides, I industriously evade all Novelties, and therefore shun any Parallel of *Oceana's Agrarian*, or forming the whole Representative from the Land, in prejudice of the Boroughs of this Kingdom, a Majority whereof has attained to so venerable Antiquity in their Prescription.

The Method of Taxation called a *Royal Aid*, which is become more frequent with us of some Years past than any other, is what I have fixed upon; whether it be the most unrepachable Rule of Subsidies, is not in my Argument to controvert; but this I undertake, to draw no Conclusion from the Use of it, but what must be verified by any other Scale of Proportions whatever. The particular Act I have taken of that Sort, is that which by an Assessment of Two Shillings *per l.* on all Revenues, did raise in the Year 1700 the Sum of 989965 *l.* 19 *s.* 6½ from the whole Kingdom, by the several Proportions hereunder specified, as in the Act more at large appears; which said Sum being subdivided by 513, (the Number of the Kingdom's Representatives) does produce 1930 *l.* to be the Standard, by which every County may be known, whether it be over or under represented in Parliament, and by what Degrees it is so: Not that I argue the Body ought to be represented by such Shares without Distinction, but craving Leave only to state Matter of Fact in the Form following, I hope not to frame thence any malignant Inference, or unworthy of a Gentleman.

452 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

			l.	s.	d.	Sends	Its Pro-
						Members.	portion.
Of the aforelaid Tax,	Bedfordshire paid	—	14277	7	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Berkshire paid	—	20527	0	4	9	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Buckinghamshire paid	—	23830	8	9	14	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cambridgeshire paid	—	16413	1	6	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cheshire paid	—	14299	12	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cornwall paid	—	15987	13	0	44	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Cumberland paid	—	1856	19	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	6	1
	Derbyshire paid	—	12046	19	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Devonshire paid	—	41291	11	8	26	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Dorsetshire paid	—	16558	3	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	20	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Durham paid	—	5298	17	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Essex paid	—	45503	10	10	8	23
	Gloucestershire paid	—	23761	6	5	8	12
	Herefordshire paid	—	10204	13	4	8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Hertfordshire paid	—	21486	12	8	6	11
	Huntingtonshire paid	—	7748	12	6	4	4
	Kent paid	—	41721	14	2	18	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Lancashire paid	—	10494	17	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Leicestershire paid	—	17435	19	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	9
	Lincolnshire paid	—	36113	5	2	12	19
	Middlesex paid	—	153877	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	79 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Monmouth paid	—	4906	3	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Norfolk paid	—	42330	6	2	12	22
	Northamptonshire paid	—	24053	13	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Northumberland paid	—	7274	8	8	8	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Nottinghamshire paid	—	13638	5	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	7
	Oxfordshire paid	—	19591	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	10
	Rutlandshire paid	—	2762	11	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Shropshire paid	—	14530	9	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Somersetshire paid	—	36236	11	9	18	19
	Southamptonshire paid	—	27594	3	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	26	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Staffordshire paid	—	13560	11	7	10	7
	Suffolk paid	—	36909	12	7	16	19
	Surrey paid	—	33507	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	17 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Sussex paid	—	30410	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	16
	Warwickshire paid	—	19932	5	4	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Westmoreland paid	—	1522	11	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Wiltshire paid	—	25836	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	34	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Worcestershire paid	—	16848	9	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Yorkshire paid	—	45816	5	8	30	23 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Wales entire paid	—	21968	16	8	24	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
			989965	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	513	1513

Fourthly,

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 453

Fourthly, To demonstrate that there is no Parallel in the Kingdom to the Case of *Middlesex*, I have no more to do than to state some Proportions in the recited Appropriations on the several Counties, as followeth.

Of the Counties most Over-represented,	fends	for	Of the Counties most Under-represented,	fends	for
<i>Cumberland</i> — — —	6	1	<i>Middlesex</i> — — —	8	79 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Westmoreland</i> — — —	4	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Essex</i> — — —	8	23
<i>Cornwall</i> — — —	44	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Leicester</i> — — —	4	9
<i>Wiltshire</i> — — —	34	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Cheshire</i> — — —	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Dorset</i> — — —	20	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Bedford</i> — — —	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Lancaster</i> — — —	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Norfolk</i> — — —	12	22
Those of <i>Wales</i> — —	24	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Hertfordshire</i> — — —	6	11
<i>Northumberland</i> — —	8	4	<i>Warwick</i> — — —	6	10
<i>Sussex</i> — — —	28	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Lincoln</i> — — —	12	19

As to the first Classis of this Table, *Over-represented*, I am no ways concern'd to reflect upon it, and have drawn it only for Illustration of the Case in hand: *Prescription* is their Title, and the Experience of some Ages having produc'd no dangerous Consequence that, in my Opinion, does sufficiently answer whatever Reflections may be rais'd from the *Agrarian* Principles; altho' at the same time I should think it very unequal to argue the same Right of Prescription for a Negative, *viz.* that because *Middlesex* never was represented by more than eight, therefore it never ought to be so; and this principal Reason I give, that the very same Argument applied to all the other Counties, must of necessity reduce them to their several Conditions in *Edward* the First.

Touching the second Part of this Table, the *Under-represented*, the most distinguished are three; *Leicester*, which has about one half of its Proportion; *Essex*, which has about one third, and *Middlesex* one tenth, so that the Case of the latter is undoubtedly without any Parallel; wherefore, if a way of Redress may be propos'd for her, which can never be drawn into Consequence, or applicable to any other, and which is at the same Time beneficial to the Kingdom in general, I hope not to deserve ill from any, in offering such a one. But before I descend to the said Proposal, one thing more ought to be premis'd, That the County of *Middlesex*, because of its entire Dependance on her two great Cities, is to be considered as their Suburbs; and therefore I shall not offer any thing on behalf of the Freehold-election, (that being conceiv'd not disproportioned to other Counties in general) but what I have to say, is in Behalf of *London* and *Westminster*, abstractedly taken.

Considering the Promise to make no use of my Standard of Proportions, which will not hold good by any other whatsoever, and that henceforth I am restrain'd to speak of *London* and *Westminster*, it follows to shew, that the other Cities of the Kingdom will have as little Reason to emulate any Favour paid to these, as the Counties in Competition with *Middlesex* could pretend: In the Act recited the Quota of *London* was l. 61667: 1: 3 $\frac{1}{2}$; that of *Westminster*

Westminster was l. 31729: 0: 4; whereas *Norwich* paid l. 5259: 5: 11½; *Bristol*, l. 3695: 15: 4; *York*, l. 2319: 14: 0; *Oxford*, l. 1867: 4: 10; *Cambridge*, l. 1423: 1: 6½. We see then that the Advantage of Argument rises higher by this Comparison than the former one of Counties; wherefore having thought fit to mention it, I do willingly abridge myself of it, lest any ill Construction should arise.

Fifthly, By the Standard us'd, the Proportion of *Middlesex* would be, to have 79 Members of Parliament; but since it is certain, the Rights of particular Places ought to be wav'd, if inconsistent with the Welfare of the Community, and the Inequality of other Counties (warranted by Prescription) will not justify any Pretensions to approach the like. I suppose myself to have abundantly express'd the native *English* Jealousy for the untainted Honour of our Constitution, and to have obviated all perverse Constructions, when I offer on behalf *Middlesex* but a quarter-part, by this Standard, of her Proportion, viz. that *London* might find Twelve, and *Westminster* Six Citizens for our Parliament, which with the Knights, would be in all Twenty for *Middlesex*: However, with the Freedom of a true *English-man* these Things are mention'd; it is entirely upon Supposition still that the same would be of permanent considerable Advantage to the Kingdom, which is refer'd to the Judgment of the Publick, and left to depend wholly on the Validity of the Arguments ensuing.

Now, to have the State of the Case rightly understood, it is needful to recite something in short of what has been already said: It has been taken for a Foundation-principle, that the Welfare of *England* does very much depend upon the Dignity of her Representative in Parliament, which Dignity appears to have been, for many Ages successively, consulted by Addition of Number to it; but her present Constituent being examin'd, and the Counties compar'd by a Scale of Computation, *Middlesex* is by vast Degrees the most of all other under-represented therein: For which obvious Defect in the Representative of our Country, a Provision is render'd in Terms so moderate, as is suppos'd to obviate all malign Reflections; since the same can never be pleaded on Behalf of any other County, because *Middlesex* will still continue (without Parallel) much the lowest represented in that Assembly, and because the Reasons given for such Provision can never probably be applicable to any other; so I proceed to offer the Considerations which do make it seem the common Advantage of the Kingdom.

1st, The Degree of Inequality in the particular Case before us, is itself an Argument for Redress, tho' a lesser would not be, because it is far from being parallel'd at home, or perhaps in other Countries abroad; for the Case of *Apenzil* having equal Vote in the Diet of *Switzerland* with the Canton of *Bearn*, and that of *Overissel* a like in the States-General with the County of *Holland*, is very different from ours, because in both those the greater are not concluded by the less; *Bearn* and *Holland* receive no Laws or Taxes from the over-ruling Votes of *Apenzil* and *Overissel*. This Instance is not indeed in other Points just the same with ours, and therefore I frame hence no Argument, but use it for Illustration.

Illustration only; somewhat nearer is that of *Amsterdam* compar'd with the small Cities, which jointly compose the States of the Province of *Holland*, and in this Instance the greater is concluded by the less, the Majority of Votes determining in many, though not in all Points; in that Assembly *Amsterdam* has one Vote in 19, *London* but one in 105 of the Boroughs. I alledge these foreign Instances only to obviate the Objection, That the Inequality here mention'd as a Grievance, is no more than what is found in all other Countries in the like Case. But the Inequality, say some, if warranted by Prescription of many Ages, why should it now be complain'd of? I answer, without debating whether that Title be indisputable in all Points, that *London* for many Ages has sent four Members to Parliament, when the whole Number rose not higher than half the *present*; unto which if we add the Growth of *London* and *Westminster* for 100 Years past, we shall find the Inequality pleadable now before us, has not much the Authority of Prescription for it.

But because no one shall suspect that this Inequality is due solely to a false Standard or Balance us'd, I am content the Quota propos'd be examined by two other Scales, which an ingenious Author has furnished us with; he says, the Number of living Souls in the Kingdom is computed at five Millions and an half, whereof within the Bills of Mortality are Five hundred and thirty thousand; he says, the latest Books of Hearth-money reckon a Million and three hundred thousand Houses in the Kingdom, (the lowest Cottages included) whereof the accurate Survey of *London* and *Westminster* (about the same time taken) reports therein near One hundred thousand; so that *Middlesex* rising higher than both those Proportions, may well be estimated One tenth Part of the whole Kingdom, by which Account her Members in Parliament would be Fifty-one: Wherefore the present Inequality may be suppos'd a Subject worthy of Redress, as is acknowledged in like Case by the Preamble of the 'Act 35 *Henry VIII.* empowering the County and City of *Chester* to send to Parliament.

2dly, The Proportion of Tax by the Act herein us'd may well stand for an Argument to prove my Proposition reasonable; for, Can there be any thing more so, than that those who bear the Burden should enjoy the Privilege? Is there any thing more agreeable to our Constitution, than that the Subjects Money be not given otherwise than by their own Consent? Can there be any Thing more laudable and good in the Sight of God and Men, than the utmost Impartiality possible be us'd in proportioning all the Impositions of the State? This is to have our Exactor's Righteousness, a Prayer which the Throne of Heaven does encourage; and I believe, if the Matter were enquir'd into, great and heavy Taxations have in all Countries been more cheerfully borne by the People, when levied with Equality, than far less when manifest Partiality has been practis'd; something of which Kind was a principal Ingredient in most of those calamitous Revolutions, which have broken the *Gothick* Frame in the several Principalities of *Europe*, as would be easy to make appear; but we need not any Argument to that End, the Act herein specified is conceived to be in Proportions equal, and in that Sense is the Foundation of all that has been advanc'd.

Where-

Wherefore taking it for granted that *Middlesex* justly bears two Parts in Thirteen of all Subsidies levied in the Kingdom, then can it be unreasonable she should have two in fifty-one of the Representative, which is the sum of our Proposal when allow'd? Or, What sufficient Reason can be given, that some Boroughs which pay but 20 *l.* for their Quota, should be represented equally in Estates with *Westminster*, which pays as often 31729 *l.* to the Support of the Government? Not that a Degree in the Representative is pleadable in Proportion to the Degree of such Payments, but only where so vast a Difference is in the *one*, there some Distinction ought likewise to be in the *other*; as appears to have been practis'd from the ancientest Records of our Constitution, for *London* and the *Cinque Ports* (usually) were enjoyn'd to send more than any other of the Boroughs. If Queen *Elizabeth*, having for some Years to do with the E. of *Desmond*, a powerful Rebel in *Munster*, gave unto *Mynehead* in *Somersetshire* this Privilege among others by Charter, on the Condition of keeping their Harbour in good Repair at their own Costs, from the same just Reason of Usefulness and Benefit to the Publick, is some Distinction here pleaded for, on Behalf of *London* and *Westminster*.

3dly, The Interest of Naval Power, our common Glory and Defence, seems to stand in need of some extraordinary Cultivation; for tho' we hear it frequently advanced, That *England* by her good Fleet could subsist and defend herself against any foreign Invasion, without Alliances abroad; however it be a Riddle in itself, yet is built commonly upon a Paradox more absurd, which is to say, that our Dominion at Sea may be sufficiently maintained without the Root of a mercantile Navigation; so that to exalt our Power at Sea, and depreciate at the same Time the Subsistence of Traffick, is common among us: If such would be pleas'd to look backwards, I am well assured Trade will appear to have been mostly the Parent of all Marine Force, and the natural Support of it, and without which it never has subsisted in any Nation longer than the Reign of some extraordinary Prince, or during some difficult Junctures. To expatiate on this Subject, would need a Tract apart, therefore taking it for granted, that the Royal Navy of *England* cannot long flourish without the Subsistence of an answerable Commercial Navigation, what I have to say is as followeth.

Most Countries in *Europe* at this Time employ their sedulous Endeavours to cultivate every one their proper Manufactures, to invent new ones, to improve their Native Materials or Productions, to discourage Foreign Imports; and, as 'tis called, turn the Balance of Traffick in their respective Favours; which Measures, I conceive, arise from a Consent in Politicks, that as Money is now (more than ever) the Nerve of War, (so that Gold seems rather to command Iron, than Iron Gold) Trade is necessarily consulted, as the chief Minister of Wealth. Now no Country in *Christendom* has the natural Advantages, and so much Adaptness for Trade as *England*, and withal has a more absolute Dependance upon it, but at the same Time *Aulick* Councils and Commitees of Country Gentlemen are not likely to produce that political Encouragement which were to be wish'd; therefore, as good Regulations with us arise ordinarily

ly from the House of Commons, so the Multitude of her constant Emergencies, the Uncertainty of her Session, and above all, the general Incapacity of her Members for Mechanical Affairs has effected, that we see not commonly those good Fruits of her Results in this Kind as in others. I should imagine then the Admission of the Number propos'd, of Men better turn'd to those Affairs, would be various Ways and Means of advancing and securing the Interest of Trade among us; and when by the New Provision *Courtiers* must cease their Pretensions to *Westminster* Election, it is probable the Interest of Trade will there prevail, as in *London*.

But because some may judge such-like Matters not worthy the Consideration I would put upon them, and to prevent other Obloquies, I desire them to heed well the Measures of *France* on this head; her superbe Monarch does not think it beneath him to nourish several new Projects of this Nature with his own Subscriptions to the first Funds of them; he has erected Courts in several of his great Cities, for the more easy Decision of Causes commercial; his Treaties with foreign States are as minutely weigh'd in this Regard as any other; and the *Mercury* of *August* 1700 tells of an Edict issued for erecting a *Council of Trade*, compos'd of six Counsellors of State, and twelve Merchants, *viz.* from *Paris* two, *Rohan*, *Bordeaux*, *Lyons*, *Marseilles*, *St. Maloes*, *Rockel*, *Nantes*, *Lisle*, *Dunkirk*, and *Bayonne*, one each; these Merchants are to be yearly elected by those Cities in *July*, by the Plurality of Tradesmen respectively, and to render themselves at *Paris* by the first of *October*, there to meet once at least every Week, to deliberate of all Proposals, to intend the Welfare of Traffick, and to report their Result to the Council of State. In my Mind, this very Pattern, a little modelled to our Constitution, would be more probable to discover the Decays, to rectify the Errors, and to induce a flourishing Prosperity in our Traffick, than any Council which has been hitherto in use among us, for the particular Reason that made me mention it, *viz.* the great Majority of Tradesmen in it.

4thly, Publick Credit is well known to be of indispensable Necessity with us, wherefore the good Condition of it is a Benefit very valuable to the Kingdom; without which, Parliamentary Supplies in the usual Course cannot answer the Exigencies of the State; so that the ordinary Charges of the Government, such as the maintaining a *Summer Squadron*, the having in Readiness any Quantity of *Naval Stores*; nay, the *Disbursements of the Household* in Time of Peace, are not supplied without Credit; much less in Time of War can Sea or Land-soldiers be levied, our grand Fleet put to Sea, or the necessary Operations in such a Case proceed, but by this: And more especially, in extraordinary Emergencies, Surprise, or Distresses of the State, the very Security of *England* must depend wholly upon the good Condition of publick Credit.

By *Publick Credit* is meant, when private Persons lend Sums of Money, or vend Commodities upon *Trust*, for the Use of the Government; so when that is done with a streightened Hand, then it follows, whatever Money is needed by the State, cannot be had without high *Premiums*; and in like manner, what-

ever kind of Merchandise she wants, she must give extravagant Prices for, because in both Cases there will appear more of Hazard. 'Tis therefore of inestimable Advantage to the Publick to put this Matter into a good Posture, touching which various Tracts have been published; and I shall therefore confine myself to the Subject in hand.

If then the Cities treated of do afford, in a manner, all the Commodities, and advance all the Money which the State has more or less Occasion for; I conceive the allowing them an Addition to their Representative in Parliament, would be a very cogent Means to create and perpetuate in them that Readiness and Confidence in this kind, as would turn to the vast Emolument of the Nation; whereby the Occasions of high *Premiums* and *Interest* will be obviated: Nor does it appear what Inconveniencies can arise therefrom; for if from inscrutable Ages some Parts of the Kingdom have possessed an Overbalance in our Parliament, without Damage to the Publick, how should this inconsiderable Addition bring any?

5thly, The Cities herein mentioned making up the August Capitol of our Empire, are the Royal Chamber of our Monarchs, the Seat of our High Court of Parliament, as well as of the highest subordinate Courts of Justice, the Center of Foreign and Domestick Trade, from which all the Parts of the Kingdom (as their Head) derive Influence, as well as reciprocally minister to it: This is our sole *Emporium*, able to furnish our Fleets and Armies, and, in fine, wherein the Majesty and Strength of our Government resides: On which Accounts (if the forementioned be postponed) it were not very unbecoming to allow some distinguishing Favour in the Representative.

But, I conceive, there is no such Thing at present; for if *London* sends four Members, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* do the same, though by a much newer Title. If the near Vicinity of *London* and *Westminster* be pleaded for a Favour, that's no more than is frequent elsewhere; as in the Case of *New* and *Old Sarum*, (though the old be the newer Borough) *Brembre* and *Steynings* (formerly returning but as one) *Eastlowe* and *Westlowe*, *Launceston* and *Newport*, *St. Ives* and *Callington*, *Tregony* and *Grampound*, *Truro* and *St. Michael*, *Weymouth* and *Melcomb Regis*, *Rye* and *Winchelsea*, with some others, if *Speed's* Maps of those Countries may be relied on. One Thing more from the Grandeur of *London* and *Westminster*, which might weigh in this Case is, that the Number and Quality of their Electors is such as will not easily admit of those Corruptions in Election, which have been so rife in the lesser Boroughs.

These Reasons alledged for some Distinction to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* in the Representative of *England*, are obviously taken from Matters of Fact, and put together without Art, the Author being sensible enough he is unable any ways to imbellish a Theme of this Nature; so that however the Subject has suffered by his Defect, he will have always for his Consolation, the Conscience of a disinterested and unpretended Aim, at least, to the Benefit of his Country: Whether his Judgment herein be condemned or approved, he will be very little affected, having no personal Concern, more than his private Inheritance, embarked in the Vessel of the Commonwealth; and as he has been dictated by none but his own solitary Amusement, and therefore has no Intention to serve
a Party,

a Party, so his peculiar Care has been, to avoid whatever might justly give Offence; but if in that he should be disappointed, he has this one Consolation left, the safe Retreat of a mistaken or abused Innocence.

In closing a Discourse of this Subject, having pretended to be a Lover of my Country in a Juncture like the present, I hope to be pardoned in adding a few Lines alien from the Point in hand.

It is well known, Dangers from abroad can threaten *England* only from the Side of *France*, and his gracious Majesty has imparted his Opinion, *That our Animosities are the sole Hope of our Enemies*; and if so, I doubt not but the Wisdom of our Parliament will soon make it give up the Ghost: God forbid! if no Confusion of Languages in the new cementing Kingdoms do defeat our modern *Nimrod* of his projected *Universal Monarchy*, that any such amongst us should however further and accomplish it; let the past Ages warn us sufficiently.

How did the Court of *France* blow the Coals between *Henry* the Second and his rebellious Sons, and then warm herself at the Flames? How did *Philip Augustus* avail himself of our Confusions under King *John* and *Henry* the Third? During the Distractions of *Richard* the Second, how did the *French* extend their Ravages on our Coasts? On the other Side, the Animosities of *France* between the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, did more to place our *Henry* on that Throne than the Battle of *Agincourt*; and as soon as the House of *Burgundy* withdrew her Interest from ours by the Treaty of *Arras*, the *English* Affairs declined there apace. Neither was it the peculiar Bravery of the *English* alone which acquired us those vast Advantages under *Edward* the Third, granted by the Treaty of *Britany*, but in the Torrent of that Success we were much favoured by the Malecontents of that Kingdom, as the Earls of *Artois* and *Montfort*, the Lord of *Harcourt*, and above all by the King of *Navarre*, as Earl of *Devereux*, with their respective Partizans. Now let us turn the Tables again, and no sooner does *Henry* the Sixth, in *England*, put us into Broilleries at home, but within the Compass of Three Years we lost all those spacious Dominions in *France*, except *Calais*, with this shameful Circumstance, that what was gained with unparallel'd Bravery, was lost without any Manner of Defence, so much did the Animosities then rising unman the *English*. Thus Grandeur and Success between *England* and *France* has been like a Tide between both Shores, ebbing and flowing as good Order or Confusion reign'd on either Side.

'Tis certain no Differences or Animosities can much injure us, but those that affect the supreme Branches of the Legislature; touching which, as I have restrained my Discourse to the House of Commons, so I see but one Thing desirable to her on this Head, which is, that since Petitions of Complaint touching Elections are grown to be so numerous every Parliament, some Expedient might be found to decide them, with more Ease and Expedition, for the Complainants and the House herself: But as every one, no doubt, desires the same, so I hope some good Genius will at length find out a Method to content.

460 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

In fine, tho' we have been a Nation disunited, and *France* at Union within herself too long, yet in God's good Time it shall be otherwise; the Number of the Princes of the Blood encreasing, Baulks and Disappointments arising abroad, and Poverty within at the same Time, may soon disjoint that Kingdom; and if our Animosities have been fomented thence, they will consequently fail, when the supposed Fuel is withdrawn. 'Tis certain Cardinal *Richlieu* laid it down as a Maxim, That *ENGLAND* could never be destroyed but by herself; and accordingly he work'd his Engines, whereof there will never be wanting, while the Popish Cause so flourishes beyond Sea, and we tolerate so many embittered Subjects of that Perswasion at home: But, I hope, since the Mine is discover'd, it shall not bury us in its Ruins, nor (through the Goodness of God) shall the Head of the *Protestant Interest* sink, till Time shall be no more.

Priestcraft in Perfection: Or, a DETECTION of the FRAUD of inserting and continuing this Clause (The Church hath Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith) in the Twentieth Article of the Articles of the Church of England.

To forge an Article of Religion, either in Whole or in Part, and then thrust it upon the Church, is a most heinous Crime, far worse than Forging of a Deed. Archbishop Laud's Speech in the Star-chamber. Remains, Vol. 2. pag. 82.

Maximè habenda sunt pro suspectis, quæ quomodocunque dependent à Religionē. *Baconis Nov. Org. Lib. 2. Aph. 29.*

The Preface.

THE Authority of the Church in Controversies of Faith, is the grand, if not the sole Topick, whereby the Papists have seduced many Protestants of the Church of England into their Communion; while they have been able to make few or no Converts among our Dissenters, who universally disclaim that Authority. And I must needs say, that I am so far from being surprized at it, that I think it argues either great Want of Dexterity in the Popish Priests, or great Negligence and Indifferency among us in Matters of Religion, That they have not more Success with those who believe the Church has Authority in Controversies of Faith: For if by the Authority of the Church in Controversies of Faith be understood

*understood (according to *Bp. Sparrow, the Editor of our Articles and Canons, and all other High Churchmen) a Power in the Governors of the Church to determine what shall be receiv'd and profess'd for Truth among the Members of the Church, and bind them to Submission to their Sentence, tho' they err in their Sentence; we of the Church of England could have no Pretence to separate from the Church of Rome in Queen Elizabeth's Time, nor to continue in that Separation to this Day. For we being only a small Branch of the Roman Church before the Reformation, ought by that Principle to have been concluded by the Majority of the Governors of that Church; and consequently ought to have continued Papists in Profession, till the Majority of those Governors had determined for a Reformation. But we were so far from proceeding on any such Principle, that the Reformation was carry'd on here in England, not only in Opposition to the Governors of the Roman Church in general, but even in Opposition to the Governors of our own Church: For in the † 1st of Queen Elizabeth, the Parliament alone established the Queen's Supremacy, and the Common Prayer-Book, in spite of all Opposition from the Bishops in the House of Lords; and the Convocation then sitting were so far from having any Hand in those Church-Acts for Reformation, that they presented to the Parliament several Propositions in behalf of the Tenets of Popery, directly contrary to the Proceedings of the Parliament. And as for the Articles of our Church, they could never have been agreed to by the Convocation of 1562, had not the Bishops been first deprived by Law for their Popery, and their Sees fill'd with Protestant Bishops.*

I have therefore been amazed how it was possible for our Reformers to have asserted, That the Church had Authority in Controversies of Faith, so contrary to the Principle on which they proceeded; or that they would ever suppose an Authority in Bishops (against which they then acted) to bring back all the Absurdities of Popery, of which this is the Chief, as well as the Foundation of all that monstrous Superstructure; and which can never be demolish'd by Reason and Argument, till this supposed Authority be intirely taken away.

But upon Examination into the Truth of this Matter, I find they were honest and more rational Men than they stand represented. They thought there was no reforming without mending; and therefore they as much abhorred the Doctrine of the Authority of the Church, as any other Absurdities of Popery, as appears by the Books written by them: And as for the Clause in our Articles that asserts it, I shall prove beyond all Contradiction, that it was not of their composing, but a Forgery inserted into our Articles, which by Time got Strength among us, like some other Things, without any just Foundation: Such as the Use of Organs in Churches, said to be superstitious ‡ by our Homilies; Cuts
in.

* See his Preface to his Collection of Canons, Articles, &c.

† 1558, 1559.

‡ The Homilies introduce a Woman saying to her Neighbour: *Alas, Gossip, what shall we do at Church, since all the Saints are taken away, since all the goodly Sights we were*

462 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

in the † Common-Prayer-Book, and Pictures in Churches, forbid by Queen Elizabeth; placing the Communion-Table Altar-wise, when the Sacrament is administered, contrary to the express Direction of our Rubrick, which says, The Table at the Communion Time shall stand where Morning and Evening Prayer is appointed to be said; bowing towards the East, and placing Candles (unlighted) on the Communion Table; which since they are no where enjoind by our

were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like Piping, Chaunting, and Playing upon the Organs that we could before? And in Answer to the Old Woman, the Homily replies: But (Dearly Beloved) we ought greatly to rejoice, and give God Thanks, that our Churches are delivered out of all those Things which displeased God so sore, and filthily defil'd his Holy House, and his Place of Prayer, for the which he hath justly destroyed many Nations. And this we ought greatly to praise God for, that such superstitious and idolatrous Manners as were utterly naught, and defaced God's Glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved. Homilies, printed at Oxford in Folio, p. 221.

† Dr. Nowel Dean of St. Paul's, having gotten several fine Cuts and Pictures, representing the Stories and Passions of the Saints and Martyrs, caused them to be bound up in a Common-Prayer-Book, and laid it for the Queen's Use in the Place where she commonly sat; intending it for a New-Year's-Gift to her Majesty, and thinking to have pleased her Fancy therewith. But it had not that Effect, but the contrary: For she considered how this varied from her late open Injunctions and Proclamations against the superstitious Use of Images in Churches, and taking away all such Relicks of Popery. When she came to her Place (at St. Paul's) she opened the Book, and perused it, and saw the Pictures, but frowned and blushed, and then shut it; and calling the Verger, bad him bring her the old Book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After Sermon, instead of taking Horse, &c. immediately she went to the Vestry, and applied herself to the Dean thus:

Q. Mr. Dean, How came it to pass that a new Service-Book was placed on my Cushion?

D. May it please your Majesty, I caus'd it to be placed there.

Q. Wherefore did you so?

D. To present your Majesty with a New-Year's-Gift.

Q. You could never present me with a worse.

D. Why so, Madam?

Q. You know I have an Aversion to Idolatry, to Images and Pictures of this Kind.

D. Wherein is the Idolatry, may it please your Majesty?

Q. In the Cuts resembling Angels and Saints; nay, grosser Absurdities, Pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.

D. I meant no harm: nor did I think it would offend your Majesty, when I intended it for a New-Year's-Gift.

Q. You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our Proclamation against Images, Pictures, and Romish Relicks in the Churches? Was it not read in your Deanery?

D. It was read. But be your Majesty assured I meant no Harm when I caused the Cuts to be bound with the Service-Book.

Q. You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our Prohibition of them.

D. It being my Ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon me.

Q. I am sorry for it; yet glad to hear it was your Ignorance, rather than your Opinion.

D. Be your Majesty assured, it was my Ignorance.

Q. If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more Wisdom for the future.

D. Amen,

our Common-Prayer-Book, are therefore forbidden by the Act † of Uniformity made after the Restoration.

And I am persuaded, that there cannot be a nobler Service to our most excellent and pure Church (at the same Time that our Legislature are clearing her from maintaining the most absurd and blasphemous Doctrine of Passive-Obedience) nor greater Honour done to the Memory of our glorious Reformers, than to wipe off the Scandal of this Popish Clause both from her and them, among those who take it to be a Part of her Articles. I say, among those who take it to be a Part of her Articles; because we are really thought to be Protestants abroad, tho' some of us desire to appear like Papists at home. For in the Collections of the several Articles of Religion of the Reformed Churches, printed abroad under the Title of the Harmony of Confessions, our 20th Article stands without the Addition of the Clause for the Church's Power, as Dr. Heylin assures us in his History of the Presbyterians, p. 268. And I hope there needs no Apology for recommending our Church to those who pretend to be her Friends, by freeing her from this Clause, and thereby rendering her truly (what a Reverend Dean of our Church call'd her, just after the Restoration, while he was sweeping up a large Fine) The best constituted Church in the whole World.

London, Jan. 1,

1709.

D. Amen, I pray God.

Q. I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by these Pictures? Who engrav'd them?

D. I know not who engrav'd them. I bought them.

Q. From whom bought you them?

D. From a German.

Q. It is well it was from a Stranger; had it been any of our Subjects, we should have question'd the Matter. Pray let no more of these Mistakes, or of this Kind, be committed within the Churches of this Realm for the future.

D. There shall not.

This Matter occasioned all the Clergy in and about London, and the Churchwardens of each Parish, to search the Churches and Chapels; and caused them to wash out of the Walls all Paintings that seemed Romish and Idolatrous, and in lieu thereof suitable Texts taken out of the Holy Scriptures to be written. *Strype's Annals of Q. Eliz. pag. 238, 239.*

† Which says, That no Rites or Ceremonies shall be openly used in any Church or Chapel, or other publick Place of Worship, or in any College or Hall in either of the Universities, the Colleges of Westminster, Winchester, or Eaton, or any of them, other than what is prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the Common-Prayer-Book, &c.

Priestcraft.

Priestcraft in Perfection, &c.

THE *Articles of the Church of England* were agreed to and subscrib'd by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in a Convocation, held at *London*, in the Year of our Lord 1562, and the 5th of Queen *Elizabeth*. They were afterwards review'd by another Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, held at *London* in the Year 1571, and in the Beginning of that Year (which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratify'd in Parliament, under the Title of **Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a Book imprinted, intituled, "Articles whereupon it was agreed by the "Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the "Convocation holden at London in the Year of our Lord 1562, according to "the Computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the Diversity "of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion, put "forth by the Queen's Authority."* From which Act arises their Legal Authority, as my Lord of † *Sarum* truly observes.

These being the Authorities upon which the *Articles* of our Church stand, we have no other way of knowing what and how many these *Articles* are, but from the Records of the Proceedings of the before-mentioned Convocations, and from the *imprinted Book* refer'd to in the Act of Parliament. And if we are to be governed by these, it will be evident that the first Clause of the 20th Article, viz. — (*The Church hath a Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith*) — printed in all our modern Editions of the *Articles* since the Year 1617, is a perfect Forgery, and never pass'd either the Convocation of 1562, or the Convocation of 1571, nor was it contained in the *imprinted Book* that was ratified by Parliament.

For, 1st, We have the Original Manuscript of the *Articles* which pass'd the Convocation of 1562, of which my Lord of *Sarum* gives the following Account, † *That this Manuscript is without doubt an Original; that the Hands of the Subscribers are well known; that it belong'd to Abp. Parker* (who was President of that Assembly) *and that it was left by him to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, and is sign'd with a particular Care; for at the End of it there is not only a sum of the Number of Pages, but of the Lines in every Page. And tho' this was the Work of the Province of Canterbury, yet the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Durham and Chester, subscribed it likewise; and it is also subscrib'd by the whole Lower House.*

And, 2dly, we have an original Manuscript of the *Articles*, that were review'd in the Convocation of 1571, left to the same College by Abp. *Parker* (who was President likewise of that Convocation) but that is *only subscribed by the Archbishop, and ten Bishops of his Province* ||; whereas those of 1562, are subscrib'd

* Cap. 12.

† *Expos. of the 39 Art. p. 8.*

‡ *Ib. p. 26.*

|| *Ibid.*

subscrib'd by both Houses of the Province of *Canterbury*, and some Bishops of the Province of *York*.

Now that the Clause of the *Church's Power* is not in the Beginning of the 20th Article of either of these Manuscripts, appears from several Collations that have lately been made of our printed modern Editions with them. The Reader may satisfy himself about the Truth of this Matter from my Lord of *Sarum's Exposition* only †; where Dr. *Moss*, Mr. *Jaggard*, and Mr. *Lunn*, Fellows of the College, testify that the Clause is not in the Manuscript of 1562, || and where Dr. *Green*, the present Master of the College, certifies the Bishop that it is wanting in that of 1571.

3dly, As to the *Imprinted Book of Articles* that was ratify'd by Parliament, either it was never tack'd to the original Record of the Act, or else it has been purloin'd from it: For upon Examination in the Office where the Records are kept, the** *Imprinted Book* refer'd to in the Act of Parliament is not to be found. Yet Providence has preserv'd to us the most compleat Evidence in the World (next to the Appearance of the *imprinted Book* itself tack'd to the Record) that the Clause of the *Church's Power* was not in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament; and that is, *Notoriety of Fact*, even among the Clergy themselves. For,

1. † When the famous *Burton* affirmed, in an *Epistle to the Temporal Lords*, That the Prelates had forg'd a new Article of Religion brought from Rome, (viz. The Church hath a Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith) which gives them full Power to alter the Doctrine and Discipline of our Church at a Blow, and have foisted it into the Beginning of the Twentieth Article of our Church; for, says he, it is not to be found in the Articles of Queen Elizabeth, ratify'd by Parliament; Archbishop *Laud* (who in his Speech in the Star-chamber endeavours to vindicate the Authority of this Clause against this Passage of *Burton*) does not deny what *Burton* alledges, That it is not to be found in the Articles ratified by Parliament; but only labours to prove, first, That he himself did not forge the Clause (from which Charge I allow he effectually clears himself) and secondly, argues for the Authority of the Clause from several antient printed Copies, and from the publick Records kept in his Office. And it cannot be doubted but his Zeal for that Clause would have led him to affirm it was ratified by Parliament, had not the Matter of Fact been very notorious.

2. Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, in his *Church-History of Great-Britain*, says, * That the Clause of the *Church's Power* is omitted in the English and Latin Articles set forth in 1571, when they were first ratify'd by Act: And then proceeds to make this just Observation upon the

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† Ib. p. 10.

|| P. 13.

** Q. Where to find the Articles by Law established, since the *imprinted Book* pass'd by Parliament, that contained them, is not upon Record?

† *Laud's Speech in the Star-Chamber*: in his Remains, vol. 2. p. 86.

* Cent. 16. p. 74.

the Authority of the whole Body of the Articles, as they stood without this Clause; *That their being obligatory to Punishment bears not Date from their * Composition in Convocation in the Year 1562, but henceforward from their Confirmation in Parliament.*

3. Dr. Heylin, Archbishop Laud's Chaplain, in his *Animadversions* on this Passage of Fuller, confirms Fuller's Account of the Matter, and only censures him, first, for making the Articles obligatory but from the Time of their being confirmed by Parliament; and secondly, for using the Term *Confirmation* with Relation to the Act wherein the Articles received their legal Authority. His Words are: † *Our Author does so dream of the Power of Parliaments in Matters of Religion, that he will not suffer any Act of Convocation to be obligatory to the Subject, till confirmed by Parliament. But I would fain know of him where he finds any Act of Parliament that confirms these Articles. There was nothing done by the Parliament to confirm these Articles, but only a pious Care expressed for Reformation, by requiring Subscriptions of the Clergy to them under temporal Punishments. And then concludes, That Fuller might very well have spar'd this flourish, "That the Obligatoriness of these Articles, "as to temporal Punishment, bears not Date nine Years before from their Composition in Convocation, but henceforward from their Confirmation in Parliament."* And I think it can't be doubted, but Heylin had Zeal enough for the Authority of this Clause, and against his Adversary Fuller, to have affirmed, *That it was not omitted in the imprinted Book, to which the Parliament required the Subscriptions of the Clergy; had not Fuller's Assertion, That it was omitted, been undoubtedly true.*

Bishop Pearson says, § *In the Year 1571, the Articles were re-printed, and then the Act of Parliament was published; which Words do imply his Opinion, that the Book passed by Parliament was printed in 1571. But however, for a fuller Confirmation of the Matter, take this farther Explanation. He says, †† That the Articles of Religion to which King Charles Ist's Declaration are affixed,*

* Fuller, tho' he thought the Clause not obligatory, was misled so far by Bishop Laud's Speech in the Star-Chamber, as to imagine it was extant in the Records of the Convocation of 1562.

† Heylin's *Animad.* on Fuller's Church Hist. p. 146, 147.

‡ The Convocation of 1562, disclaim'd all Right to a Legislative Power in Matters of Religion, so much insisted on of late by High-Church Priests; and had very different Notions of their own and of the Parliament's Power, from this Reverend High Churchman: For at the End of the Original Manuscript of the Articles, immediately after the Subscribers Names, are added these Words; || *Ista Subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, quod nihil statuunt in præjudicium cujusquam Senatusconsulti; sed tantum supplicem libellum, Petitiones suas continentem, humiliter offerunt. In English thus: This Subscription is made by all with this Protestation, That they resolve on nothing in prejudice of the Privileges and Rights of either House of Parliament; but only humbly offer this supplicatory Book of Articles, containing their Requests or Petitions.*

§ Bibl. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 362.

†† P. 583.

|| Strype's *Annals*, p. 291.

*fixed, are the same with the Articles mentioned in the 13th of || Elizabeth, in Number, Nature, Substance and Words; as he is assured, having himself diligently collated them with an Edition of the Articles, printed by R. Jugg and J. Cawood, Printers to the Queen's Majesty Anno Domini 1571. These last Words evidently show Bishop Pearson's Opinion, That the imprinted Book ratify'd by Parliament, was a Book printed 1571, by Jugg and Cawood. And if that was the Book ratify'd by Parliament, nothing can be plainer than that the Clause of the Church's Power was not ratify'd in Parliament. I have that very Edition without the Clause; but the Reader may perhaps be satisfy'd in this Matter by either * Fuller, or † Laud, or ‡ Heylin, or my || Lord of Sarum, who all affirm that the Clause of the Church's Power was left out in the Editions of 1571.*

There is one Thing in this last Citation out of Bishop Pearson would have amaz'd me, had not a little Inquiry into Ecclesiastical History convinced me that nothing was more reconcileable in Practice than writing *Expositions on the Creed*, and downright Forgery and Falsification. For notwithstanding Bishop Pearson affirms that *the Articles printed with King Charles 1st's Declaration before them are the same in Nature, Substance and Words, with those printed by Jugg and Cawood in 1571, and that he himself collated them*: Yet there is this material Difference between these two Editions; the Articles printed with Charles the First's Declaration have the Clause of the *Church's Power* in them, and the Articles printed by Jugg and Cawood in 1571, are without the Clause; and I am ready to produce both these Editions for the Satisfaction of any Inquirer.

5. The several printed Editions of the Articles in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth are another Evidence how *notorious* it was that the Clause of the *Church's Power* was never ratify'd by Parliament. I have, as I said before, an Edition of the Articles in *English* in the Year 1571, by Richard Jugg and John Cawood Printers to the Queen, when they were first ratify'd by Parliament, wherein the Clause of the *Church's Power* is omitted. I have likewise another Edition, printed the same Year in *Latin* by John Day, without the Clause. And yet Bishop § Sparrow has the Assurance to pretend to give us a *Latin* Copy of the *Articles*, under the Title of *Articles, &c. printed by John Day in 1571*, wherein he has inserted the Clause of the *Church's Power*, contrary to John Day's own Edition. But what surprized me extremely, was to find a *Latin* Copy of our *Articles* under the same Title, with the Clause likewise inserted, printed before my Lord of Sarum's *Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles*; which I did not expect to find in a Book written by one that has show'd so much Ingenuity as my Lord of Sarum has done in this Affair: For it is from the Discoveries made by him of old Manuscripts, that I had the first Hint of the Forgery of this Clause.

However, I think I have just Grounds to clear my Lord himself from any Design to impose on the Reader; but may rather suppose in his Behalf, That

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|| C. 12.

† Remains, vol. 2. p. 83.

|| Expos. p. 16.

* Church-Hist. cent. 16, p. 74.

† History of the Presbyt. 268.

§ Collection of Artic. printed 1671. p. 207.

468 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

when he sent his *Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles* to be printed, he trusted to some Chaplain or Corrector of the Press to put a *Latin* Edition of the Articles before his Book, who thus imposed on his Lordship and the World. And my Reason for not making this an Act of his Lordship, is, because his Lordship knew, * *That the Clause of the Church's Power was left out of the printed Editions of 1571.*

The Omission of this Clause in the Year 1571 was so notorious, that Archbishop *Laud* confesses it, and gives Reasons why it was so. Says he, † *In Fact this is manifest, that in the Year 1571 the Articles were printed both in Latin and English, and this Clause for the Church left out of both. And certainly, says he, this could not be done but by the malicious Cunning of that opposite Faction. And I shall spare dead Mens Names where I have no Certainty; yet if you please to consider who they were that governed Businesses in 1571, and rid the Church almost at their Pleasure, you will think it no hard Matter to have the Articles printed, and this Clause left out.* This the Reader must needs think a most choice Remark, when he considers that the Convocation of 1571 passed the Articles without this Clause, as well as the Parliament; and consequently that they who *rid the Church* at that Time, were the *Governors* thereof, in the Archbishop's own Sense of the Word. By whom would he have had the *Church rid*, but by its Governors? And if he would have it *rid* by them, why should he not suppose these Governors had as much *Right* to omit the Clause of the *Church's Power* if they thought fit, as any other Governors had to insert it in the Articles? But I find no Proceedings of Church-Governors will satisfy the greatest Advocates of their Power, unless they be perfectly agreeable to their Inclinations, any more than they do the errantest Fanaticks in the World. And this Observation is not only verify'd by this Remark of Archbishop *Laud*, but by the Proceedings of the High-Church Priests at this Day, who at the same Time that they preach up the greatest Submission in the World to the Governors of the Church, and make them all to be *Jure Divino*, are continually affronting and abusing them in the most scandalous Manner: Whereby they become so much worse than the Fanaticks of old, in that they are inconsistent with themselves; whereas the Fanaticks denied that they ow'd the Bishops any Subjection.

But to return: The Articles were not only printed without the Clause of the *Church's Power* in the Year 1571, but continued to be printed so for some Time after. A Friend at Oxford writes me Word, *That there is a Latin Copy of the Articles in the Bodleian Library, printed 1575, in which the Clause of the Church's Power is omitted.* How long it was after 1571 before the Clause was put into the printed Copies, my Lord of || *Sarum* says *he cannot find out* But if Archbishop *Laud* ‡ gives us a compleat List of the printed Editions of the Articles, it was not inserted in the Articles till 1593 And if Dr. *Heylin's* Word is to be taken, he confirms the Omission of th
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* *Expos. p. 16.*
|| *Expos. p. 16.*

† *Speech in the Star-Chamber, Rem. vol. 2. p. 83.*
‡ *Speech, p. 83.*

Clause till that Year. He says, * *The Clause of the Church's Power was left out in the new Impression of 1571, and was accordingly left out in all the Harmonies of Confession, or Collections of the same. And so it stood in England till the Death of Leicester, after which in the Year 1593, it was again re-printed.* So that, according to the Confession even of *Laud* and *Heylin*, the Clause was left out in the printed Copies, not only in the Year wherein the Articles were ratify'd by Law, but for two and twenty Years afterwards: And this, I suppose, will be allow'd by all impartial Judges to be a good Evidence of the *Notoriety* of the Fact. That the Clause of the *Church's Power* was not in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament.

But 6. and lastly: To put the Matter upon such an Issue as may clearly demonstrate that the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament was without the Clause; I desire those who defend its Authority to produce any one *English* Edition of the Articles (for it was an *English* one that was ratify'd by Parliament) printed in or before the Year 1571, when the Articles were confirmed by Law, that contains the Clause of the Church's Power in it. And if this cannot be done, it is a Demonstration, that the Parliament passed the Articles without the Clause, unless they could pass a printed Book before it was printed; tho' did such an *English* Book appear, it would be no Proof at all that the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament had the Clause in: For I have proved by sufficient Evidence, that they passed an *imprinted Book* without the Clause.

Having thus stated the Evidence against the Authority of the Clause, I come now to consider what has been urged in its Behalf.

And first Archbishop *Laud* says, † *The Articles were printed in Latin in 1563, (the Year after they passed in Convocation) with the affirmative Clause of the Church's Power in them.* And my Lord of || *Sarum* speaks of one Copy printed in that Year: But Dr. *Heylin* goes farther, and says, ‡ *That the Clause of the Church's Power was printed as a Part of the twentieth Article, both in Latin and English, 1562.* [I suppose it should be 1563.]

Of the Insertion of this Clause in the printed Edition of 1563, contrary to the original Manuscript of the Articles subscribed by the Convocation in 1562, my Lord of *Sarum* makes the following Use: Says he, ||| *The Alterations from the original Manuscript was then made when the Thing was fresh and well known; therefore no Fraud nor Artifice is to be suspected, since some Objections would have been then made, especially by the great Party of the complying Papists, who then continued in the Church: They would not have fail'd to have made use of this, and to have taken great Advantages from it, if there had been any Occasion or Colour for it; and yet nothing of this Kind was done.*

I. In answer to which, I beseech his Lordship to consider what greater Evidence there can be of a *Fraud*, than the printed Articles of 1563, contradicting the original Manuscript subscribed by both Houses of Convocation the Year before? Especially when a subsequent Convocation in 1571, thought fit to review

* Hist. of the Presbyt. p. 268.

† Hist. of the Presbyt. p. 268.

‡ Speech, p. 83.

||| Exp. p. 16.

|| Exp. p. 16.

view the Articles, and ratify them without the Clause of the *Church's Power*. This last Act of Convocation ought to be look'd on as decisive of the *Fraud*, since they proceeded so contrary to the printed Edition 1563.

2. As to my Lord of *Sarum's* Reason why *no Fraud is to be suspected*, viz. *Because the complying Papists made no Complaint*; I can see no Force at all in it, because the complying Papists were so far from having any Cause to complain of the Addition of that *Clause*, that they must be pleased to see our Church make so great a Step, so early after the Reformation, towards them, and vest such a Power in the *Church* as they always contended for. And perhaps these *complying Papists* had as great a Hand in the Forgery, as I shall prove their Successors, the *complying High-Churchmen*, have had in endeavouring to perpetuate it to Posterity.

3. But my Lord imagines, *That such an Alteration could not be made while the Thing was fresh and well known*: Whereas I think the Experience of all Ages shows how easy Impositions of this kind are; and I dare say, my Lord of *Sarum*, out of his vast Reading, is able to give us a *History* of Impositions of that kind, as big as his *History of the Reformation*.

(1.) The Stupidity of Mankind, even in the Times of the greatest Liberty and Freedom of Thinking, was always Security enough for some Impositions. For who, at this day, among the Laity, dare give themselves the Trouble to examine into the Authority of the Articles of any Church (when meddling with such sacred Things always exposes a Man to the Imputation of Atheism) or are able to tell what the Articles of their own Church are? The Laity are ever ready to fight the Priests Battles, and contend eagerly for what they determine in their Synods and Convocations, without ever troubling themselves to understand what they fight and contend for. But in Queen *Elizabeth's* time the State of Affairs was very different from what it is at this time. There was not only less Freedom of Thinking, but a most excessive Ignorance was spread throughout the Nation. Mr. *Strype* says in his *Annals*, Page 291, *That many of the Subscribers of the Lower House of Convocation of 1562, (who were, without Doubt, the most learned of the inferior Clergy) wrote so ill, that it is difficult to read their Names.* And in the *Injunctions* set forth in the Year 1559, *Sparrow's Collect.* Page 81. *All Ministers and Readers of publick Prayers, Chapters and Homilies, are charged to read leisurely, plainly, and distinctly, and to peruse over before, once or twice, the Chapters and Homilies, to the Intent they may read to the better Understanding of the People.* And, as a further Specimen of the Ignorance of those times, it may not be amiss to give the Reader an entertaining Passage out of Dr. *Langbain's* Preface before a Book of Sir *John Cheek's*, intitled, *The true Subject to the Rebel.* Says he, *What rare Preachers shall we imagine they had at the University in Queen Elizabeth's time, when Mr. Tavernour of Water-Eaton, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, came in pure Charity, not Ostentation, to give the Scholars a Sermon in St. Mary's, with his Gold Chain about his Neck, and Sword by his Side, beginning with these Words: "Arriving at the Mount*
" of St. Mary's on the stony Stage where I now stand, I have brought you
" some fine Biskets, baked in the Oven of Charity, and carefully conserved for
" the

“ the Chickens of the Church, the Sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet Swallows of Salvation.”

But to bring the Ignorance or Negligence of Queen *Elizabeth's* time home to the present Question, I ask what greater Instance can there be either of the one or the other, than such a Silence among the Writers of that time concerning the Authority of this Clause? For tho' it was printed in some Editions of the Articles, and left out in others, yet I cannot find the least Notice taken of it by any of the Authors of that time; so little were the Articles of the Church regarded, and so easy was it for the Clergy to print what they pleased for Articles of the Church. Nothing therefore can possibly hinder Frauds of this kind, but the Honesty and Integrity of the Clergy, or their Fear of being discovered: But neither of these can be thought a sufficient Security to any one who has look'd into the History of other Countries, or even of his own, where the Clergy, in the Reign of *Richard* the Second, have had the Impudence to forge an *Act of Parliament* for the Destruction of Hereticks, said by them in the Title *to be made in the Parliament at Westminster quinto Regis* *. This *Imposture* was indeed detected in the next Sessions of Parliament, and this Act of theirs declared to be null and void: So their Design came to nothing. But I think this sufficiently shows their Disposition, and what Uses they are ready to make of our Simplicity.

(2.) But it will be still more easy to conceive how this Clause was imposed on us, if the *Articles* were only printed in *Latin* in the Year 1563 with the Clause in them, and in that very Year in *English* without the Clause, as I am apt to imagine they were. For tho' Dr. *Heylin* says, *they were printed both in Latin and English, with the Clause of the Church's Power in them, in 1563*, yet I find it affirmed by a Gentleman in the Year 1660 †, *That there was a Diversity of printed Copies as to the Clause of the Church's Power, in the very Year they were first agreed on.* And again, at the Bottom of the same Page, *That in that very Year there were two printed Editions of the Articles, one in English, and another in Latin, whereof the one had the Clause, and the other wanted it.* And to confirm this Account, I shall present the Reader with a Passage out of a Letter from a Friend of mine at *Oxford*, whom I desired to send me a Collation of the first *English* Edition of the Articles, mentioned in the *Oxford Catalogue*. He writes me word, *That he has done his Endeavour to satisfy me, but not with that good Success he hoped for: Since for the first Edition of them in English in the Year 1563, he found there had been one; but when he came to look over the Book in which it had been bound up among other Miscellanies, he found it intirely cut out, as appears by the Space that is there left.* So that if it be considered, that the Articles were only printed in *Latin* in 1563, with the Clause in them, but that it was left out in the *English* Edition of that Year, my Lord of *Sarum* may very easily imagine how such an Imposition might begin in those times.

(3.) I have a further Reason besides Mr. *Hamilton's* Testimony, and the cutting out of the Articles of 1563 at *Oxford*, for supposing the *English* Edition of that

* The Case of *Ephraim* and *Judah*, p. 21, 22, 23.

† Some Necessity of Reformation, by *W. Hamilton*, Gent. p. 14.

that Year wanted the *Clause*. I have an old Edition of the Articles in *English*, printed by R. Jugg and J. Carwood, Printers to the Queen, without any Date, where the *Clause* is wanting. And, upon Examination, I think I have Reason to believe this to be the *English* Edition of 1563, because I find it answers all the Characters that Bishop Pearson ** gives us of the first Edition of the Articles in *English*. He says, †† the first Edition was set forth by R. Jugg and J. Carwood, and that the Articles had no Number affixed to them; both which exactly agree to my Edition, and the last Particular distinguishes it from all the Editions I have seen; for in the Edition of 1571, and all since, I find the Articles are numbered.

Besides, this old Edition of mine recites only the Titles of twenty Homilies, agreeable to an Edition of the Homilies printed in 1563, which contains only twenty; whereas the later Editions of the Articles give us the Titles of one and twenty Homilies, agreeable to the later Editions of the Homilies.

Wherefore I think I may with some Confidence assert, That in the very first Year wherein the Articles were printed, there were two different Copies going at at the same time, one in *Latin* with the *Clause*, and the other in *English* without the *Clause*; and consequently the Difficulty of conceiving how the Imposition of the *Clause* might begin, is very easily solved.

(4.) But for a full and effectual Confutation of my Lord of Sarum's Supposition in favour of some (whom one would think he should know better) *That no Fraud is to be suspected while a Thing is fresh and well known*; I will lay before him two Instances, which his Lordship will allow to be just, whereby it may appear how very practicable it is for some Men to impose on others, *while Things are fresh and well known*.

In the Year 1552. and the 6th of King Edward the Sixth, there was a Convocation held in London *: And during the sitting of the Convocation there came out in print a *Catechism* and *Articles of Religion*, both bearing the Name of that Synod. And it is a Matter of Fact delivered down to this time, that they both had the Authority of the Convocation. Dr. Atterbury says ‖, *That in the sixth Year of King Edward the Sixth (1552) the Convocation then met, and past 42 Articles*. Bishop Pearson † and Mr. Strype § both say the same thing. And Bishop Sparrow, in his *Collection of our Articles and Canons*, gives them the Title of *Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of 1552*.

As for the *Catechism*, Dr. Atterbury says, (*Rights*, &c. p. 201, 202.) *It had the very same convocational Authority which the Articles had, and that it was generally understood so in those times when it came abroad*; and Cranmer says, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 50.) *It bore the Name of a Synod*.

And yet nothing is more plain, than that neither the *Catechism* nor the *Articles* ever pass'd the Synod, but were both Impositions of some of the Clergy and others of those times upon the Synod.

For

** Bib. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 357.

†† Ibid. p. 361.

* Fox's *Martyrs*, Vol. 3. p. 50.

Atterbury's *Rights*, 2d Edit. p. 205, 206, 401.

‖ Ibid. p. 401.

† Bibl. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 356.

§ *Annals*, p. 286.

For, 1st, As to the Catechism. There was a Disputation between *Philpot* the Martyr, and *Weston* a Papist, in the Convocation-House in 1553, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign; where *Weston* objected to *Philpot*, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 16.) *That he had set forth a Catechism, bearing the Name of this honourable Synod, without your Consents.* *Philpot* replied, *That this House had granted Authority to make Ecclesiastical Laws, unto certain Persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty; and whatsoever Ecclesiastical Laws they, or the most Part of them, did set forth, they might be well said to be done in the Synod of London; and in this Point he thought the Setter-forth nothing to have slandered this House, as they went about to persuade the World, since they had committed the Synodical Authority to them.*

There was a Dispute likewise between the same *Weston* and *Cranmer* in Oxford 1554, wherein *Weston* objected to *Cranmer*, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 50.) *That he had set forth a Catechism in the Name of the Synod, and yet there be fifty who witness that they were of the Number of the Convocation, and yet they never heard one Word of the Catechism.* And *Cranmer* answers, *I was ignorant of the setting to of that Title, and as soon as I had Knowledge of it, I did not like it; therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered by them, That the Book was so intitled, because it was set forth in the Time of Convocation.*

These Answers of *Philpot* and *Cranmer* clearly show the Imposition on the Synod; and I cannot help adding, out of respect to that excellent Martyr *Cranmer*, that *Cranmer's* Answer clearly shows his own Honesty and Integrity in this whole Affair.

2^{dly}, As to the *Articles* of 1552 being imposed on the Synod, that will likewise appear evidently out of *Fox*. One of the Popish Charges against *Cranmer* in 1553, in the Beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign, was, (*Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 551.) *That he did compile and cause to be set abroad divers Books.* *Cranmer* answered, *That, as for the Catechism and Book of Articles, he granted them to be his Doings; which Words, according to my Lord of Sarum himself, (Reflections on Atterbury's Rights, p. 28.) decide the Point, so that it will admit of no more Debate, viz. that neither the Catechism nor the Articles were compiled by the Convocation, tho' both of them were put out in their Name, and while they sat.*

My Lord of *Sarum*, to clear further the Authority of the Edition of the *Articles* in 1563, against the Original Manuscript subscribed by both Houses of Convocation, says, (*Expos.* p. 16.) *The true Account of the Difficulty is this, When the Articles were first settled, they were subscribed by both Houses on Paper; but that being done, they were afterwards ingrossed in Parchment, and made up in Form, to remain as Records. Now, in all such Bodies, many Alterations are often made after a Minute or first Draught is agreed on, before the Matter is brought to full Perfection; so this Alteration was made between the Time that they were first subscribed, and the last voting of them. But, says my Lord Bishop, the Original Records, which, if extant, would have cleared the*

474 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

whole Matter, having been burnt in the Fire of London, it is not possible to appeal to them.

To which I answer, 1. That let the *Articles be ingross'd in Parchment, after they were subscrib'd by both Houses on Paper*, still those subscrib'd are the authentick Originals; and were those Parchments (which the Bishop supposes) in Being, they would not be of equal Authority with the Originals in Paper, sign'd by both Houses of Convocation.

2. His Lordship's Supposition, *That the Alteration was made between the Time the Articles were first subscrib'd, and the last voting of them*, is inconsistent with the Proceedings of all other Assemblies of Men, who always *vote first and subscribe last*: And this Method which his Lordship supposes the Convocation took, will never be allow'd to be the Method of Convocation, even by Men who have no great Opinion of the reasonable Proceedings of such a Body.

3. His Lordship refers the Proof of his Supposition to Records that are *lost* (which did they appear would signify nothing) and therefore can never be admitted to take place against such incontestable Evidence as I have produced. And I hope, in regard to the Authority of human Testimony, whereon the Truth of the Christian Religion in some Measure depends, that neither his Lordship, nor the Clergy will urge such Presumptions in Favour of themselves and their own Power, against the highest Evidence a Matter of Fact is capable of, lest *Infidels and Scepticks* with as much Reason turn such Objections upon them.

4. But to vindicate beyond Contradiction the Authority of the Manuscript Articles of 1562, left to *Corpus Christi* College by Archbishop Parker, and to destroy the Credit of the *Latin* Edition printed in 1563, and overthrow my Lord of Sarum's Supposition of the Convocation's *first subscribing the Articles* without the Clause, and then *voting* them with the Clause, I shall produce a Passage out of that very *Latin* Edition of 1563, where the Clause was first printed, with which I am furnish'd by Bishop Pearson, who in a Book, intitled, *No Necessity of Reformation*, says, * *We know that there was an Original of the Articles enroll'd; we can tell them how many Pages that Original consisted of, even determinately Nineteen; we can assure them this was deposited with Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury; we can tell them the Day when it was done, viz. the Fifth Day of February: All which appeareth by the Postscript printed with the Articles in Latin in the Year 1563, by Reynald Wolfe the Queen's Printer.* And he then proceeds to give us the *Postscript*, which in *English* runs thus: *These Articles † of Christian Faith, containing in all*
Nineteen

* Bib. Scrip. Eccl. Ang. p. 362.

† Hos Articulos Christianæ Fidei, continentes in universum novemdecem paginas in Autographo, quod asservatur apud Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, Dominum Matthæum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, totius Angliæ Primatem & Metropolitanum, Archiepiscopi & Episcopi utriusque Provinciæ regno Angliæ, in sacrâ Provinciali Synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu recipiunt & profitentur, & ut veros atque Orthodoxos, manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant, vicesimo nono die mensis Januarii, Anno

Nineteen Pages, in a Manuscript in the Custody of the most Reverend Father in Christ Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, the Archbishops and Bishops of each Province, lawfully assembled in a Holy Provincial Synod, do receive and profess with unanimous Assent, and approve as true and orthodox by Subscription of their Hands on the twenty-ninth of January, in the Year of our Lord, according to the Computation of the Church of England, One Thousand Five Hundred Sixty-two: And all the Clergy of the Lower House did unanimously receive and profess the same, as appears by the Subscription of their Hands, which they brought and deposited with the same most Reverend Archbishop, on the Fifth of February in the aforesaid Year.

These Words contain such a Description of the Manuscript left by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, as demonstrate that to be the only authentick Original of the Articles of 1562.

For, 1st, The *Postscript* says, That the *Articles in Manuscript* were kept by Archbishop Parker; and it is certain Parker gave these Manuscript Articles to Corpus Christi College.

2^{dly}, The *Postscript* says, *The Manuscript in all contain'd nineteen Pages*, so does the Manuscript of Corpus Christi College; for at the End of it are these Words, * *These Articles containing in all nineteen Pages, &c.* † This Agreement of the *Postscript* with the original Manuscript as to nineteen Pages, is of the more Consequence, because this Manuscript is a fair Draught of K. Edward's Articles (which were forty-two in Number) accurately writ out for the Use and serious Consideration of the Archbishop; some of which are wholly superseded and struck out by the Archbishop with a red-lead Pen, and divers others of them are shortned, dashing that thro' which he was minded to have omitted ‡: Whereas had it been a Manuscript consisting only of thirty-nine of those Articles of K. Edward, and those contracted too, it is reasonable to imagine the Manuscript would have fallen short of nineteen Pages; but since it consists of exactly nineteen Pages, it must be the Manuscript refer'd to in the *Postscript*.

3^{dly}, The *Postscript* says, *The Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces subscrib'd the Manuscript Articles, kept by Archbishop Parker, on the 29th of January, 1562; and so says the Manuscript of Corpus Christi College* ||. From all which nothing is more clear, than that the Latin Edition in 1563, upon which so much is built, destroys its own Credit, establishes the Authority of the Manuscript of Corpus Christi College, and cuts off all Pretence for imagining the Clause of the Church's Power was voted after the Articles were first subscrib'd; since the printed Edition of 1563 came out after the Convocation had done both subscribing and voting.

P p p 2

2. Be-

Anno Domini, secundum computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, millesimo quingentesimo, sexagesimo secundo: universusque Clerus inferioris domus, eosdem & recepit & professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & deposuit apud eundem Reverendissimum, quinto die Februarii, Anno prædicto.

* Hos Articulos Fidei Christianæ continentes in universum novemdecem paginas, &c.

† Strype's *Annals*, p. 289.

‡ Ib. p. 288.

|| Ib. p. 289.

2. Besides the Authority of the *Latin* Copy printed in 1563, it is further pretended, in Behalf of the Clause in question, That before the *Fire of London* there were Records of Convocation in Being that had the *Clause* in them, and that from thence it was taken and printed in the Year 1563. (*Bp. of Sarum's Exp.* p. 16.)

Dr. Heylin says, (*Animad. on Fuller's Ch. Hist.* p. 144, 145.) That having Occasion to consult the Records of Convocation, he found this controverted Clause of the Church's Power verbatim. Archbishop Laud, in his Speech in the Star-chamber, at the Censure of Pryn, Bastwick and Burton, is more particular, and says, (p. 83.) That he sent to the publick Records in his Office, and here, under his Officer's Hand, who is a Publick Notary, is return'd to him the 20th Article, with the affirmative Clause of the Church's Power in it. And there is the whole Body of the Articles to be seen; and that these Articles were fully and fairly agreed to and subscrib'd in 1562.

And as to the Articles review'd by the Convocation in 1571, he says, They were settled as in the Year 1562, with the Clause in them for the Church: For looking further into the Records which were in his own Hands, he found the Book of 1562, subscrib'd by all the Lower House of Convocation in the Year 1571. These Particulars urg'd by Heylin and Laud, seem at first View to give some Authority to the disputed Clause; but as all Objections to the Truth do, when examin'd, tend to its Confirmation, so here these Objections will give me an Opportunity of setting this Matter in a clearer Light than I could have done, had not Archbishop Laud and Heylin thought fit to produce these Authorities.

I begin first with the pretended Record of the Articles subscrib'd in the Year 1571, because my Answer here will discover what sort of Evidence Archbishop Laud was, and thereby prepare my Reader for what I shall observe more largely, on Occasion of the pretended Records of the Articles of 1562, cited also by Archbishop Laud.

Now that Archbishop Laud never saw any Articles that were settled and subscrib'd in 1571, as he says he did in his Speech in the Star-chamber in 1637, will be evident from the following Passage written by him, in his *History of his own Troubles and Trial*: Says he, (p. 208.) A Committee of the House of Commons sent Mr. Dobson my Comptroller to me to the Tower, to require me to send them, under my Hand, what Originals I had of the Articles of Religion establish'd in 1571. This was on Wednesday, July 12, (1643.) and I return'd him the same Day this Answer in Writing, with my Name to it: "The Original Articles of 1571, I could never find in my Paper Study at Lambeth, or any where else; and whether any Copy of them were left there, I cannot tell." So that here you have Laud contradicting himself, and destroying his own Testimony in the Star-chamber, in the fullest Manner that can be. While he was in the Height of his Power, and had no Fear of being call'd to an Account for what he said, this blessed Martyr made no Scruple to put a Falshood on the World, by saying, That looking into the Records which were in his own Hands, he found the Articles subscrib'd by all the Lower House of

of Convocation in 1571. But when he was in Apprehension that he should be obliged to produce his Vouchers for what he said, he proceeded with more Caution, and tells the Parliament, *That he could not find the original Articles of 1571, either at Lambeth, or any where else.* I do not think his Admirers will alter their Opinion concerning him (any more than I do mine) on account of this notorious Prevarication: I do not hope to produce that Effect on them; nor is it of any Moment to the Question in Debate, either whether they do not believe a Word that he says, or else lay an equal Stress on both his Testimonies; for let them take which Side they please, it is demonstrable that his Testimony in the Star-chamber must go for nothing.

2. As to the Record of the *Articles* that Archbishop *Laud* says were agreed and subscrib'd to in 1562, and for which he produced the *Hand* of a Publick Notary in the Star-chamber, I answer,

1st, By asking, (1.) On what Day this *Record* was agreed to and subscrib'd? For if it was subscrib'd before Archbishop *Parker's* Manuscript was subscrib'd, it can be of no Validity to establish the Authority of the controverted Clause, the subsequent Subscription of *Parker's* Manuscript nulling all former Subscription. (2.) I ask by whom this *Record* was subscrib'd? For unless it was subscrib'd by both Houses of Convocation, it is of no Validity against a *Record* subscrib'd by both Houses, as Archbishop *Parker's* is. (3.) I ask in what Manner this *Record* is subscrib'd? For in my Enquiries I meet with something very strange, and that for ought I know Archbishop *Laud* may call *Subscription*. A Friend at *Oxford* writes we word, *That there are two Latin Copies of the Articles printed in the Year 1563, by Renald Wolfe, wherein the Clause of the Church's Power is inserted; and, says he, I cannot but observe a notable Piece of Fraud as to one of these Copies, to the Vellum Cover of which is pasted a long Scroul of Names, of the supposed Subscribers to the Articles of 1562. But when I came to compare these Names with those Mr. Strype has given us out of Corpus Christi College Library, (Annals, p. 289,) that are subscrib'd to Archbishop Parker's Manuscript of 1562, I found them quite different; for tho' some of the Names are the same with these, yet it is commonly by other Titles: so that neither the Prolocutor nor the Members could be the same that subscribed the Articles of 1562.* Unless therefore Archbishop *Laud*, Dr. *Heylin*, or somebody else, had told us in what Manner this Book was subscribed; we may very well imagine that there was such a Piece of Artifice used, as there is at *Oxford*, to give Credit to the controverted Clause: especially since so much Prevarication appears in supporting it, and there is the greatest Evidence in the World for rejecting it.

2^{dly}, I answer, That there could be no Records of Convocation in the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Office left in *Laud's* Time, proper to determine the Question of the Authority of the controverted Clause. For it has already been shewn, that the original Articles were left with Archbishop *Parker*, and that they were given by him as a Legacy to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*, at his Death in 1575, where they still remain.

3^{dly}, Had

3dly, Had not the Manuscript of 1562 all the marks in the World of being genuine, yet the Authority of Archbishop Parker must be allow'd to be greater in this case than Archbishop Laud's. I suppose Archbishop Parker is generally esteem'd a High Churchman, by what I meet with of him in Wood * (who never gives a good word to any one of another Character) That *he sat in the See of Canterbury with great honour to the time of his death*: And therefore he must be suppos'd at least willing to do justice to the Church, tho' he might make some scruple of prevaricating in its behalf, as Laud did. But there was a great difference between them in another respect. Archbishop Parker, as President of the Convocation of 1562, and 1571, the only Convocations that ever had the affair of our Articles before them, must be acquainted perfectly with their Proceedings, and consequently be better qualified to give an account of our Articles than any succeeding Archbishop.

4thly, That there were no Records in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Office, proper to determine the question before us, in Laud's time, will appear likewise from a Passage out of Dr. Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Archbishop Laud*; which on other accounts, as well as that before us, deserves to be cited at large. Says he, † *The Archbishop* (that is Archbishop Abbot, Laud's immediate Predecessor) *had been off the hooks since the Affront (as he conceiv'd) was put upon him, in burning his Chaplain Dr. Mocket's Book intitled, Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; which had given no small reputation to the Church of England beyond the seas: for which Severity, tho' many just reasons were alledg'd, yet it was generally conceiv'd, that as the Book far'd the worse for the Author's sake, so the Author did not speed the better for the Archbishop's sake; between whom and the Bishop of Winchester there had been some differences, which the rest of the Court-Bishops were apt enough to make use of to his disadvantage. This Dr. Mocket had publish'd in the Latin Tongue the Liturgy of the Church of England, the publick Catechisms, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and many doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homilies; together with Bishop Jewel's Apology, Mr. Noel's Catechism, and his own Politia, &c. A Collection which the good Man publish'd in a pious Zeal, for gaining honour to this Church among foreign Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompany'd with so little Knowledge in the Constitution of this Church, or so much byass'd to Calvin's Platform, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a publick flame. For first his Extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceiv'd to be rather fram'd according to his own Judgment, which inclin'd him towards Calvinism, as his Patron did; than squar'd according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of England. And possible enough it is, that some just offence might be taken at him, for making the Fast-days appointed in the Liturgy of the Church of England to be commanded and observ'd ob Politicas Considerationes, for politick Considerations only. But that which I conceive to have been the true cause why the Book was burnt, was, that in publishing the twentieth*

Article

Article concerning the Authority of the Church, he totally left out the first Clause, viz. Habet Ecclesia Ritus five Ceremonias statuendi jus, & in Controversiis fidei auctoritatem: by means whereof the Article was apparently falsify'd, the Church's Authority disavow'd, and consequently a wide gap open'd to dispute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations of what sort soever.

From which Passage of Dr. Heylin, I argue, (1.) That if *Mocket's Book* was burnt out of enmity to Archbishop *Abbot* his Patron; and if the Reasons publicly assign'd were what the Doctor suggests; and if the Doctor *conceives* aright as to *the true cause of burning it*; it is evident that the Clause of the *Church's Power* must be a pure piece of Forgery. For if the Omission of the Clause had been really a defect in *Mocket*, why was not that assign'd as a publick Reason for burning the Book? That wou'd have been so glorious an opportunity for the *Court-Bishops* to show their enmity to *Abbot*, that their omitting to assign that as a Reason for burning his Book, evidently shows that they could not defend the Authority of the Clause. (2.) *Mocket's Book* show'd the Judgment of Archbishop *Abbot*, and in all likelihood of many other Divines of that time, and thereby render'd the Authority of the Clause very suspicious; so that it became the *Court Bishops* not only out of enmity to Archbishop *Abbot*, but out of regard to the Church, to have settled the Authority of this disputed Clause, which the Records of that time must have enabled them to do, had there been any to the purpose. But since no attempt was made at that time towards establishing the Authority of this doubtful Clause; and since Archbishop *Abbot* and several other eminent Divines must be suppos'd likewise to think it spurious; nothing can be plainer than that there were no Records then in being proper to determine the Affair of this controverted Clause, but what made against its Authority. The Records belonging to the Office of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* were as visible then as they were afterwards in *Laud's* time; but since no one then thought fit to make use of them, when so just an occasion was given, I conclude that there were then none there in favour of the Clause, and that if Archbishop *Laud's* Manuscript did appear to have been there in Archbishop *Abbot's* time, it wou'd be of no authority.

5thly, But Archbishop *Laud* himself has enabled me to put an end intirely to the Authority of this Manuscript, (for which he produc'd the Hand of a publick Notary) in almost as ample a manner as he did in the case of the original Articles of 1571. For when the House of Commons in 1643 sent to him at the same time about the Original of the Articles of 1562, as they did about those of 1571, he sent this Answer with his Name to it: * *The original Articles of 1562, with many hands, I did see and peruse at Lambeth; but whether the Bishops hands were to them or not, I cannot remember.* So that these original Articles of 1562, for which he cites a *Publick Notary*, are plainly of no authority, when consider'd in opposition to Archbishop *Parker's Manuscript*:

* Hist. of his Troubles, p. 208.

script: For sure no one will say that a Manuscript subscrib'd by one House of Convocation, is of equal Authority with one subscrib'd by both Houses, and both Provinces. But,

6thly, It does appear, That there was a double Subscription of the Articles, first by * *some Members of the Lower House*, and afterwards by the *Body of the Lower House on the fifth of February*†. From whence I argue, That either the Articles, which were thus doubly subscrib'd, were numerically the same, or somewhat different from one another. If they were numerically the same, then the *Records* for which *Laud* produces the Hand of a *Publick Notary*, must be forg'd Records, with a sham List of Names tack'd to them: because these Records of *Laud* differ from the Articles sign'd by the *Body of the Lower House on the fifth of February*, which were lodg'd with *Archbishop Parker* (as appears from a § *Postscript* to the first *Latin* Edition of the Articles in 1563.) and are now to be seen at *Corpus-Christi* College in *Cambridge* without the Clause. If the Articles thus doubly subscrib'd were not the same in all respects, then those *Records*, for which *Laud* produc'd the Hand of a *Publick Notary* (if they were true Records) must be those first subscrib'd by some Members of the Lower House; because *Archbishop Parker's* Manuscript was left by him to *Corpus-Christi* College at his Death in 1575, and consequently was remov'd from the *Archbishop of Canterbury's* Office long before *Laud's* time. Wherefore did those Records now appear with the Clause for the *Church's Power*, they wou'd be so far from establishing its Authority, that they wou'd intirely destroy it. For the appearance of such a Record would show that there was a Contest in the Convocation of 1562, about the Clause of the *Church's Power*; and the Manuscript of *Corpus-Christi* College would show not only that the Clause is no part of our twentieth Article, but that the Convocation of 1562 acquitted themselves like Protestants, in throwing out such a Clause, which some at that time of day were so much Papists as to subscribe; whereby the Sense of our Church wou'd be discover'd in a more compleat manner against the Doctrine of the *Authority of the Church in Controversies of Faith*, than if a Clause asserting its *Authority* had never been offer'd at.

Thus I have produc'd what I think fit at present to demonstrate, both Forgery and Absurdity of this Clause: But yet I hope no one can think me so irrational, as to propose either by the *one* or the *other* to produce any other effect on our *High-Church Priests*, than a greater Noise and Zeal than ever in its behalf; for as my Lord of *Sarum* very justly observes, (*Exp. p. 5.*) *When Corruptions are beneficial to the whole Body of the Clergy, they can never be reform'd without a Miracle by the major part.* And therefore I shall conclude this matter with a few Inferences from the whole, for the sake of those to whom it

* *Acta Conv. 1562. printed in the Synodus Anglic. p. 206.*

† *Ibid. p. 207. compar'd with the Postscript (to the first Latin Edition of the Articles in 1563.) printed in Bibl. Script. Eccl. Ang. p. 362.*

§ *Bib. Script. Eccl. Ang. p. 362.*

it is written; who either have no Interest to mislead them, or else have a Love of Truth superior to such a Consideration.

As, 1st, A Man may see by this Instance how uncertain *Tradition* is, and by what sort of means *that* has, not with the *Jews* only, but with the Majority of Christians, gone a great way towards *making the Word of God of none effect*. *Mark* 7. 13.

2^{dly}, How uncertain the Evidence of the gravest Divines in Church-Matters is, more especially since they give ground to make one believe, that they think themselves oblig'd in Conscience to promote the *good of the Church* by Fraud (as well as Force) as the Instances I have given would tempt one to imagine. For I can hardly conceive so ill an Opinion of Archbishop *Laud* or Bishop *Pearson*, as to believe them capable of offering things to the World against their own Knowledge, upon any other Principle, but that out of Conscience they think themselves oblig'd to use that *Trick* (as Archbishop *Tillotson* * phrases it) *of the Zealots, of Lying for the Truth*.

3^{dly}, If Men may be impos'd on so easily in such a Country as ours, how much more easily may they be impos'd on in the more ignorant and dark Corners of the Earth, especially before Printing was invented, when all kind of Literature was wholly in the hands of Ecclesiasticks?

4^{thly}, If Priests are capable of venturing to forge an Article of Religion, and Mankind are so stupid as to let them have Success, how can we receive Books of Bulk (such as the *Fathers* and *Councils*) that have gone thro' their hands, and lay any stress or dependance on their Authority? Ought we not rather to suppose, that where they have had an Opportunity, they have laid out their natural Talents in Alterations, Interpolations and Rasures of those Books, than that they have let us have any thing pure and unmix'd as from the Fountain, where it has been in the least degree in their Power?

5^{thly}, We may learn how advantageous such Discoveries are to *True Religion*, which can never be rendered suspicious, or of doubtful Authority, but when it is mix'd and blended, and put on the same foot of Credit with the Forgeries of Priests. Let Religion (which signifies Man's Duty to God) stand on those Reasons which must of course occur to every body, without the Assistance of Forgery from the Priests, and Persecution from Magistrates at their Instigation; and it cannot be suppos'd, but that all *well-meaning* Men must come into it, without a high Reflection on Almighty God, in making him to require that as a Duty of us, which with the best Intentions we are not able to arrive at the Knowledge of.

6^{thly}, And Lastly, How great a value we Protestants ought to set upon the Holy Scriptures, those inestimable Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, since there is nothing but Uncertainty to be met with every where else; and since we are assur'd by the Spirit of Truth itself, that *they alone are able to make us wise unto Salvation*. *2 Tim.* 3. 15. They have a universal Tradition to support them, infinitely beyond the Evidence of any other Matter of Fact, and

have besides the *Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power*. * But I cannot express my sense better against the Authority of Priests, and for the Authority of the Protestant Religion contain'd in the Scriptures, than in the Words of our incomparable *Chillingworth*: † says he, "By the Religion of Protestants I do not understand the Doctrine of *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Melancthon*; nor the Confession of *Augusta* or *Geneva*, nor the Catechism of *Heidelberg*, nor the *Articles of the Church of England*; but the Bible, the Bible, I say, the Bible only is the Religion of Protestants. Whatsoever else they may believe as Matter of Faith and Religion, they cannot do it with Coherence to their own Grounds, nor require the Belief of it of others, without most high and most schismatical Presumption. I for my part, after a long, and (as I verily believe and hope) impartial Search of the true way to Eternal Happiness, do profess plainly, that I cannot find any rest for the Sole of my Feet, but upon this Rock only. I see plainly and with my own Eyes, Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a Consent of Fathers of one Age against a Consent of Fathers of another Age, and the Church of one Age against the Church of another Age. Traditive Interpretations of Scripture are pretended, but few or none to be found: No Tradition but only of Scripture, can derive itself from the Fountain. In a word, there is no sufficient Certainty, but of Scripture only, for any considering Man to build upon. This therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe: this I will profess, according to this I will live; and for this, if there be occasion, I will not only willingly, but gladly lose my Life, tho' I should be sorry that Christians should take it from me."

The French Favourites: or, the Seventh Discourse of BALZAC'S POLITICKS. Publish'd by the Rev. Dr. KENNET, Dean of PETERBOROUGH, February 13th, 1708-9.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

HE must be a Stranger to the HISTORY of Cardinal *Mazarine's* Administration, who will not allow these Reflections of Monsieur *Balzac* to be very just, and well suited to his Times; and I presume they are as applicable to the present State of the *French Court* and *Ministry*, since they are so lately and so warmly recommended to *English Readers*, by that *Impartial Historian*, and *Judicious Writer*, Dr. *Kennet*.

"This Translation, says he, of the finest part of *Balzac's* Works, will, I presume, be grateful to all Persons who have a Taste of Wit and Language, and

* 1. Cor. 2. 4.

† Prot. Rel. a safe way, cap. 6. Sect. 56.

“ and the Conversation of a Court. The Subject is as nice in its Nature, and
“ as well set forth, as any thing that was ever yet prepar’d for publick Enter-
“ tainment. The Author writes like a *Briton*, and his Discourses have
“ that Truth and Freedom, that they make a very good Book in *England*,
“ but would be thought a dangerous Libel in *France*.”

I have nothing to add after so celebrated a Pen, only to assure the Reader,
That tho’ in ranging these select Observations, I was oblig’d sometimes to
change the Author’s Method, yet I have been very punctual in transcribing the
very Words of the Translator.

The French *FAVOURITES*, &c.

Page 153. **A**S there is not in the whole World any Good more Great and Ex-
cellent, and more universally Diffusive of itself, than a good Prince;
nor any Evil that spreads wider or with more mischievous Effect, than an evil
Prince: So there is not, in the utmost Extent of Human Justice, any Punish-
ment proportion’d to their Crime, who turn this Good into Evil, and corrupt
what is thus Sovereign and Salutary.

Page 144. Let us then inquire who they are, that Govern the World in
Despight of itself? Who they are that Reign without *Right*, without *Merit*,
and without a *Crown*?

Page 154. And since the Persons of Sovereigns, whatever they are, ought
to be held Sacred and Inviolable; since the Character of the Finger of God de-
mands our highest Veneration, on whatever Matter it is impress’d, let us direct
all our Hatred and Censure against these vile——, who lead us into Miseries
beyond retrieve.

Page 164. It is not long since we have seen a *Lady of the Court* arrive at
such a pitch of Insolence, that being solicited in an Affair which, to engage
her the more willingly, was represented as easy and just, she reply’d with
a Spirit worthy her,——“ That she was not so lavish of her Interest; that
“ another might serve on this slight occasion, and might undertake Things just
“ and possible: As for her part she used herself to attempt none but such as
“ are Unjust and Impossible.

Page 165. What a train of Calamities must follow such a Management?
What Outrages will be committed under the shelter of this unlawful Favour?
Has the *Great Man at Court* any one Slave who does not take himself to have
the Privilege of abusing *Freemen*, and of doing Violence with Impunity, in
the Name and by the Authority of his Master? Does he not restrain those about
him whose Business it is to Rob and Plunder, and enrich themselves with the
refuse of his *Avarice*?

Page 142. What shall we say to these Insolent *Favourites*, who with Ban-
ners display’d, bid Defiance to Law and Justice? Who undertake the Govern-
ment of States, with a formal Design to Ruin them? Who owe their good
Plight to the Juice and Substance of exhausted *Province*? Who build their

Houses with the Wrecks and Devastations of whole Kingdoms? Who proclaims all guilty of High Treason, that do not fall down and worship them? Who cast a Nation into Despair, and reduce the best Subjects to an Incapacity of saving themselves, otherwise than by turning Rebels?

Page 151, 144. There have been *Favourites* (I do not say where) that have introduced themselves to Court, by Ways that are little and mean; and have ow'd the Beginnings of their Fortune to a well-adjusted *Dance*, to Agility of Body, or Comeliness of Person. And tho', as they rose from a Hill, they are properly of Kin to no Man, yet they take themselves for the true and lawful Heirs of all the World. There's no Office of the Crown, no Government or Commission, but they think they have a Right of succeeding to.

Page 152. They persuade the Prince in good Earnest, that he is under no manner of Obligation to keep his *Word*.

Page 155. They Reign openly, and Usurp without Disguise. So that looking on him only as the Right and Title of their own obtruded Authority; they add to the Yoke of Tyranny, the Scandal of its being impos'd by private Hands.

Page 145. 'Tis incredible how many sorts of Charms they make use of, without applying those of *Magick*, which the People, however, don't fail of laying to their Charge. Their first Essay is to strike him with a sort of Emulation and Vain-glory, in the Establishment of their own Fortunes.

Page 156. They give him to understand, that 'tis much Wiser to prefer People of obscure Parentage, who have no Dependencies, and shall hold only of his Majesty, than to employ Men of illustrious Birth and known Probity, who are already engaged in some Party or Interest: That he is concerned in Honour not to leave his own Works unfinished, but when he has prepar'd their *Substance* to do somewhat for their *Elegance* and *Ornament*; and to put them into such a Condition, as that none but himself can unmake them: That he cannot desert and give up a Person that has been once dear to him, without condemning his own Conduct for many Years, and giving a publick Proof of his past Blindness or present Levity.

Page 157. And indeed the desire we have the World should believe that all our Choices are well made, imposes a subsequent Necessity upon an Action, which in its rise was voluntary. Insomuch, that since what has been done against Reason, cannot be justify'd but by Resolution, we believe we can never be too Obstinate in maintaining it. And upon the strength of this Belief, even after we have withdrawn our *Affection*, we think ourselves oblig'd to defend our Judgment.

Page 158. Thus the Prince is engag'd and devoted to the making his beloved Subject great. To him he opens his Coffers and employs his Treasury. He has already loaded him with all the Offices of the Kingdom, and all the Ornaments of the Crown. He has nothing to add to his Royal Bounty, but his Royal Person, and this at length he makes over with so entire and absolute a Conveyance, that the very Monasteries do not afford an Instance of a more resign'd Will, and Self-renunciation.

Page 159. He is never shown in publick, but when his Presence may seem necessary to confirm those Orders, which he had no share in the making, and he is contented to come abroad upon this Errand. Care is taken to amuse him with some pretty Diversion unworthy his Condition, and his very Age; and should they send him a Collection of Play-things from the Toyshop, he would scarce fail to thank them for their agreeable Present. His Domesticks are every Day chang'd, and without his Notice. Every thing that can speak is remov'd from about his Person, and he does not guess at the Design. They new model the Court, and he takes it as they give it him. They contrive to bring all other Men into Hatred or Suspicion. They find some pretence to ease themselves of all that are truly Great and Virtuous, and he consents to their Ruin. Those that are more stubborn and impatient of the Yoke, they subdue by force of Arms. The Wealthy and Peaceable they attack with Informations and Calumnies. Such as are kept in Credit by their good Services and irreproachable Loyalty; on these they bestow some fatal Commission, or send them with feeble Troops, to reduce strong Garrisons, where, if they come off with their Lives, they shall be sure to lose their Reputation. Some they drive away with an absolute Command to leave the Court; others they more civilly banish. And in the room of all these, how numerous soever, the new Prime Minister substitutes Persons intirely at his Devotion, who rest in the visible cause of their good Fortune, and never cast a Look beyond their immediate Benefactor.

Page 165. The Prince all this while is not an Actor in the Sin, and yet is a Sharer in the Guilt, his Ignorance is inexcusable, his Patience is a Vice; and those Disorders which happen either without his Knowledge or by his Sufferance, are no less imputed to him by God, than if committed by his own Hand. And therefore Princes ought not to rest satisfy'd in a Private and *Personal* Innocence. It will not avail them to be Just themselves, if they miscarry thro' the Injustice of their *Ministers*.

To this Purpose I cannot forget a notable Strain of an *Italian* in our Fathers Days, preaching before a Prince of the same Country: Being in the midst of his Sermon, in which he had treated of the Duty of Sovereigns, and being weary of dwelling so long upon the general *Thesis*, he broke through it on a sudden in the following Words, address'd to the Prince himself: *May it please your Highness*, says he, *I had a very strange Vision last Night; methought the Earth open'd before me, and I could see distinctly to its very Center. I beheld the Punishments of the other World——and among the Wicked of past Ages, I could discern too many of the present——Yet having formerly observ'd their Lives, I did not wonder to see them arriv'd at a place, to which I knew they had wholly bent their Course. But that which struck me with the utmost Astonishment, was, that I espy'd You, Sir, in this unhappy Company; and as I could not but be fill'd with Surprise and Trouble at so unexpected an Adventure, I cry'd out to your Highness, Is it possible a Man should lose his Soul by saying his Prayers! that Your Highness should go this way! You who are the best and most Religious Prince in the World! To which your Highness answered with a Sigh, I don't go, Father, I am led.*

Page 169. Let the Monarch cast the Reflection of his Greatness in what measure he pleases, upon those who have found Favour in his Sight, let him communicate to them the Rays and Brightness of his Power; but let him not be shorn of his Beams, let him not impair his Orb of Light; let his Largesses enrich the Court, if they do not impoverish the Kingdom; let the Stream of his Magnificence flow abundantly into private Channels, provided he still continues Master of the Fountain-Head.

Page 172. But what Misery is more deplorable, than at the same time, to be placed at the top of Human Affairs, and yet to stand in the very lowest Rank of Men! To be call'd his *Majesty*, or his *Higness*, and show nothing but what is Little and Low?

Page 169. I remember the Answer given me upon this Subject, by that Oracle of the *Low-Countries*, the Learned and Wise *Justus Lipsius*, when I consulted him at *Lovain*; *What*, said he, *shall the King and the Ruler be always two different Persons? Shall Princes be oblig'd to correct the Form of their Decrees, and to alter their Subscriptions? Where an Act bears Date, the Tenth or Fifteenth Year of Our Reign, shall they blot out of Our Reign, and put of our Servitude, or at least of our Subjection?*

Page 160. Shall a poor Prince lie at the Mercy and Discretion of his Favourite? Speak not a Word but what is carried to his Governor's Ear? Not vent a *Sigh*, but what there's some Spy at Hand to catch and report?

Page 144. Shall he in the midst of his own *Palace*, endure all the Uneasiness of a *Solitude*?

Page 145. Have a Guard placed at all the Avenues, and admittance refus'd to his very *Confessor*?

Page 160. Shall he see no one about his Person that is of his Knowledge or Acquaintance? Not one faithful Ear, to which he may whisper what he suffers?

Page 161. Soberly speaking, the Battle of *Pavia* was not so fatal to *Francis* the First, nor the taking of *Rome* to *Clement* the Seventh: For if their Disgrace was heavy, yet it was not voluntary; if they lost their Liberty, yet, under all their Afflictions, they preserv'd the Greatness of their Spirit; and if they were made *Prisoners*, it was to a great Emperor, their declar'd Enemy, and not to the lowest of their People. There cannot be so base, so infamous, and so miserable a *Captivity*, as that of a Prince taken in his own *Closet*, and by his own *Slave*.

Page 162. Tyranny is indeed a Thing very distant from Royalty, and yet bears a nearer Resemblance to it than Servitude does. The former is at least some kind of Government, and a Way of Commanding, tho' not the most excellent Way. But when a Sovereign shall resign himself as a Prey to three or four puny Subjects, and not reserve either the Disposal of his own Will, for the following his *Inclinations*, or the Use of his own Reason, for the Knowledge of his Affairs, I want Words to express the Wretchedness of his Condition; and I think a State can suffer no worse *Interregnum*, than that of his Life, during which he does nothing, and yet does all the Mischief that can happen to a People.

In this Case he seems to be dead in Law, and has, as it were, deposed himself by his own Act. 'Tis only his Effigies that is carry'd in Publick, and to which some Duties of mere Custom and Pageantry are perform'd, and many useless Reverences paid.

Page 163. Men having forgotten their Allegiance to the Rightful and Natural Sovereignty, there's another started up in his Place; which is foreign and usurp'd, sprung from the first by a *Violent*, and, as it were, adulterous Birth. They desert *Royalty*, to run after Favour; of which the *Arabians* have this Proverb, *That the Daughters often destroy Mothers.*

Page 163. What a goodly Thing was it to see a King of *Castile*, who durst not take a Walk, or put on a new Suit, without asking Leave of *Alvarez de Luna*? Whatever Kindnesses were begg'd of him, he was to beg 'em over again of his Favourite. The utmost he could do, was to recommend his own Friends, and to use his best Interest, for those he loved and esteem'd. A goodly Thing, when a Minister shall be offended with his Master, for desiring once in his Life-time the Perusal of a Paper, brought to him to *Sign*! When he shall complain that this is to injure his Fidelity, and to forget his important Services! A goodly Thing to see a Courtier *revoke* the Prince's *Choice*, and dispose a-new of Commissions settled by the Royal Will!

Page 172. *Heavens blow this Plague to Asia's distant Shore.*

The SPEECH *of* Sir CHARLES SIDLEY *in*
the HOUSE *of* COMMONS, 1691.

WE have provided for the Navy, we have provided for the Army, and now at the latter End of a Sessions here is a new Reckoning brought us; we must provide likewise for the Civil List: Truly, Mr. Speaker, it is a sad Reflection, that some Men should wallow in Wealth and Places, whilst others pay away in Taxes the fourth part of their yearly Revenue for the Support of the same Government; we are not upon equal Terms for his Majesty's Service; the Courtiers and great Officers, charge as it were in Armour, they feel not the Taxes by reason of their Places, while the Country Gentlemen are shot through and through with them.

The King is pleased to lay his Wants before us, and I am confident expects our Advice upon it: We ought therefore to tell him what Pensions are too great, what Places may be extinguished during this Time of War, and publick Calamities. His Majesty is encompassed with, and sees nothing but Plenty, great Tables, Coaches and Six Horses, and all things suitable; and therefore cannot imagine the Want and Misery of the rest of his Subjects. He is a Wise and Virtuous Prince, but he is but a Young King, encompass'd and hemm'd in among a Company of crafty old Courtiers; to say no more of them, with Places some of 3000, some of 6000 and some 11,000. I am told the Commissioners of the Treasury have 3000 *l.* a Year a-piece: Certainly such Pensions, whatever they may have been formerly, are much too great, in the present

present Want and Calamities that reign every where else; and it is a general Scandal, that a Government so sick at Heart as ours, should look so well in the Face. We must save the King Money where-ever we can, for I am afraid our Work is too big for our Purse, if things be not managed with all the Thrift imaginable. When the People of *England* see that all is saved that can be saved, that there are no exorbitant Pensions nor unnecessary Salaries, that all is apply'd to the Use for which it was given, we shall give and they will chearfully pay whatever his Majesty can want to secure the Protestant Religion, to keep out the King of *France*, aye, and King *James* too: Whom, by the way, I have not heard named this Session, whether out of Fear, Respect or Discretion, I cannot tell. I conclude, Mr. Speaker, let us save the King what we can, and then let us proceed to give him what we are able.

The SPEECH of Sir PETER KING, *Kt. Recorder*
of London, at St. Margaret's-Hill, to the King's most
Excellent Majesty, upon his Royal Entry, Sept. 20.
1714.

May it please your Majesty.

YOUR Majesty is now entring into the Liberties of the City of *London*. The Citizens have, with Impatience, waited for your Royal Presence amongst them, to secure those invaluable Blessings which they promise themselves from a Prince of the most illustrious Merit.

Enlivened by the distant Influence of your Majesty's Government, they have earnestly desir'd its nearer Approaches.

The long-expected Day is now come, a Day of universal Joy, to see your Majesty's solemn Entrance, with his Royal Highness the Prince, into the Capital of your Kingdoms: The Citizens of *London* never met any of your Predecessors, Kings or Queens of this Realm, with more Duty and Loyalty, than they meet your Majesty; nor with a greater Desire to testify their Joy in the most becoming and affectionate Manner.

History hath preserv'd the Memory of several triumphant and joyful Entries; but the Exultations and Triumphs of those Entries, even of the most joyful, are not to be mention'd with the Extasies and Rejoycings of this.

There was not the like Reason and Occasion for them.

We now behold a Prince, fam'd for his Justice, Clemency and Wisdom, come to take Possession of his Kingdoms. We see our Religion secur'd, our Laws and Liberties preserv'd, our Publick Credit advanced, our utmost Wishes exceeded, the Protestant Succession (concerning which we had many anxious and solicitous Thoughts) taking effect in a quiet and peaceable Possession, and a Prospect of a lasting and continued Settlement under your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity after you.

We have nothing now to do, but securely enjoying our own, to beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty with a long, happy and glorious Reign; and to do every thing in our respective Stations, which may contribute to make your Majesty's Government safe, prosperous and easy.

An

An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutensian Edition of the New Testament, as principally founded on the most Ancient Vatican Manuscripts; together with some Research of that Manuscript. In order to decide the Dispute about 1 John v. 7.

In a LETTER to the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon BENTLEY, Master of Trinity-College in Cambridge.

Rev. SIR,

THAT Regard is paid by the Learned World to your superior Skill in Critical Enquiries, that I cannot think it improper to address the following Essay to a Person of your acknowledg'd Sagacity, in order to receive a just Solution of the Question propos'd. And indeed I am particularly determin'd to give you the Trouble of this Application, by your having lately publish'd your Design to give us the *New Testament* as review'd by yourself, and consequently to oblige the World with an Examination of both *Greek* and *Latin* MSS. that relate to the disputed Text in the 5th Chap. of the 1st Epist. of St. *John*; towards deciding the Authority of which, these Papers are now offer'd to the Consideration of yourself and the Publick. Certainly it is high Time that this celebrated Passage should be examin'd with the greatest Accuracy, that either its Authority may be satisfactorily vindicated, or be fairly given up for an Interpolation, if it is not capable of being defended. The Church has been of late so rudely insulted for retaining it in the *English* Translation of St. *John's* first Epistle, and the Memory of your ancient Friend, the late faithful and learned Reviser of the *New Testament*, has been reflected on so severely for deciding in Favour of it, that it may seem surprizing to some, that little more has on that Occasion been wrote in Vindication of it, than what has been offer'd by the ingenious Mr. *Martin*, in his Controversy with Mr. *Emlin*. (a)

But since this is a Text that has been frequently cited in Controversy against the *Unitarians* and others, as a Passage of Scripture that most expressly asserts Three Persons in the Divine Nature; and since by the (b) *Greek* and *Latin*

VOL. II.

R r r

Churches

(a) It ought to be added, that a copious Vindication of this Text has been very lately publish'd, in four Sermons, by Dr. *E. Calamy*.

(b) Certè in Ritualibus Ecclesiæ Græcorum Orientalis, velut ab antiquis seculis, recepta est ejusdem [sc. v. 7. c. 5. 1. Epist.

S. Johann.] in Epistola illa lectio publica quotannis in quinta feria Hebdomadis a Paschate trigesimæ quintæ, ut liquet ex eorum Codice cui Titulus Αἰόσιος. Vid. Selden. de Synedriis, l. 2. c. 4. In Lectionibus Dominicæ in Albis, seu Dominicæ Pascha proximè sequentis, reliquisq; usq; ad Festum Ascensionis,

Churches now read this Passage, and have done so for many Ages, in a very solemn Manner; and since in particular the Church of *England* has in her Liturgy appointed the reading of this Passage as Part of one of the *Lessons* on *Trinity-Sunday*, and has likewise ever since the Reformation prescrib'd the publick Reading of it in one of her (c) *Epistolary* Sections, namely, that on the first *Sunday* after *Easter*, according to ancient Custom; since, I say, some Stress seems to have been laid upon this Passage; in Honour and Decency, and out of a just Regard to what has been so long reputed Part of the Word of God, its Authority ought to be examin'd with the most mature Deliberation, before it be either tacitly or avowedly given up as an indefensible Passage. It is not easy indeed to add any thing considerable to what has already been laid before the Publick about the Quotation of this Passage by *St. Cyprian*, or the suppos'd Allusion to it by *Tertullian*, together with the Methods that have been made use of to elude those Authorities; and therefore I shall not here enter into an Enquiry whether *St. Cyprian* directly quoted this Passage, as *Fulgentius* seems to affirm, or whether he mention'd it only as a Mystical Interpretation of the 8th Verse, as *Facundus* tells us; tho' *Facundus* liv'd too remotely from the Age of *St. Cyprian*, to know with Certainty, that what *St. Cyprian* seems to quote literally out of Scripture, was design'd by him merely for a mystical Interpretation of another Passage. Neither shall I now examine, whether *Tertullian* alluded to the controverted Passage, or spoke his own Sense without any Allusion. These Matters have been so expatiated upon by our late Writers, who on one Side have copy'd chiefly after *F. Simon*, that instead of repeating what is so well known, I rather choose to lay before the Publick another Part of this Argument, that has not been so thoroughly discuss'd as it deserves. And it is taken from the Authority of the *Complutensian* Edition of the *Greek Testament*, which (as is well known) was not only the first, but the most accurate Edition of it, and which in Fact inserted the disputed Passage of the threefold Testimony in Heaven. An Edition this, that was firmly believ'd by the subsequent Editors of the *New Testament* to have been entirely founded on the most ancient MSS. as will appear in its proper Place. The Question then is, upon what Authority the *Complutensian* Editors inserted this famous Passage of *St. John*, and particularly whether they did insert it upon the Authority of the most ancient *Vatican* MS. or MSS. This is a Question of great Importance to this Text, since the *British Greek* MS. cited by *Erasmus* in Favour of this Text, and consulted by himself, is perish'd, or not now to be found; since likewise *Robert Stephens's* *Greek* MSS. that have long been believ'd to have had this Text, are either lost, or endeavour'd to be render'd dubious; tho' *Beza* (d) confirm'd their Authority, by declaring that he re-

view'd

Ascensionis, solenne fuit antiquitus ut hodieq; pro Epistola Diei inter alias propria legere partem Capitis jam dictæ Johannis Epistolæ quinti, atq; in lectione illa publica & receptissima velut omnino genuinum agnosci jam dictum Comma. [sc. 7. cap. 5.] Ibid.

(c) — sub Henrico Octavo, in Epistolis post Reformationem sic inceptam Solennibus,

& sub Edwardo Sexto in Liturgia Anglicana Publica, ut postmodum similiter perpetuo sub Elizabetha Regina deincepsq; legebatur [hoc Comma] ut alibi, ut pars Capitis quinti Epistolæ primæ Johannis, Dominicæ proximæ Paschæ sequenti propriæ. Ibid. p. 138. & 139. Lond. 1653.

(d) Vid. Præfat. & Epistl. Dedic. N. T.

view'd them himself; and tho' they have lately been vindicated with great Strength against the new Artifices of *F. Le Long*: (e) And since also the Authority of this Passage in the noble Edition of *Complutum* or *Alcala*, as being pretended to have been founded on no *Greek* MS. at all, is much disputed. Since therefore it has been roundly asserted that this Text is not to be found in any ancient *Greek* MS. and since it must be confess'd that we are reduc'd into a narrow Compass with regard to *Greek* MSS. it may not be unserviceable to endeavour to clear up the Authority of the *Complutensian* Edition of the *Greek* Testament, and of this disputed Text in particular, as founded on a very ancient MS. or MSS. And that it was so founded, I hope to evince in the following Method.

First, I shall shew, that the *Complutensian* *Greek* Testament, as soon as it appear'd in the World, was of that Authority, as to oblige *Erasmus*, *Robert Stephens*, and the other subsequent Editors of the New Testament, to accommodate their Text very much to that Edition.

Tho' the *Complutensian* *Greek* Testament was really the first that ever was printed, yet since (by some accidental Obstructions) (f) it lay concealed and unpublished for several Years after it was finished, *Erasmus* did in Fact publish Three Editions of the *Greek* Testament before the *Complutensian* Edition saw the Light, and was known to the learned World. For the *Greek* Testament was finished in 1514, but that Testament was not published, till about 1525. Before which Time, namely, in 1522, *Erasmus* published his Third Edition of the *Greek* Testament. But *Erasmus* in his Fourth Edition of it, namely, in 1527, (g) professed his Agreement with the *Complutensian* Text of the New Testament, took many various Readings out of the same, and in many Places alter'd his former Text, by taking into the room of it the Readings of that excellent *Spanish* Edition, that had by that Time gained the highest Reputation and Authority. And (h) as for his Fifth and last Edition, he made very little Alteration in it from that which immediately preceded it, that is, at the Distance of eight Years, and just before his Death. So that he continued his great Esteem for the *Complutensian* Edition as long as he lived. And more especially with Application to the disputed Verse in *St. John*, whereas it has been said by several Writers that *Erasmus* put that Verse into the Text of his Testament, merely on the Authority of the *Codex Britannicus*, and to prevent Calumny; it is observable, that this was spoke by *Erasmus* only of his Third Edition of the New Testament, in which he inserted that disputed Verse after he had omitted it in his two former Editions; for he seems to have been confirmed in the Genuineness of that Verse, since he (i) continued it in his Fourth and Fifth Editions of the New Testament, that is, after he had seen it in the *Complutensian* Edition, to which he paid a great Respect, and very much accommodated both those Editions.

Next to *Erasmus's* Editions of the New Testament, those of *Robert Stephens* made the greatest Figure. And we have particular Reason to mention these, because our Present Text of the New Testament is the same with his. Now

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we

(e) Vid. Martin's Genuineness of this Hispan. illustrat. Francof. 1603. 1 Vol. Fol. Text, p. 62.

(g) Vid. Millii Proleg. 114.

(f) Vid. Millii Proleg. p. 109. Edit. Oxon. Vid. Alv. Gomecium de reb. gest. Ximenii, lib. 2. p. 966. apud A. Schotti

(h) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 116.

(i) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 114.

we are assured by Dr. Mill, (k) that *Robert Stephens* founded the Text of his New Testament upon the *Complutensian* Edition as the Basis of his Work; and likewise that upon Collation of *Greek MSS.* in the *French King's Library*, he judged those *MSS.* the best that most agreed with the *Complutensian* Edition; which he preferred to *Erasmus's* fifth and last. This was his *Criterion*, and this his Method throughout his first Edition of the New Testament in 1546; with which his following one agreed, with regard to the controverted Verse. And as for his second Edition of the New Testament in 1549, he added more Readings out of the *Complutensian* Testament to what he had extracted thence in his former Edition. (l)

And with regard to *Robert Stephens's* Third and most Celebrated Edition in 1550, in *Folio*, Dr. Mill computes that there are 598 Readings in it taken out of the *Complutensian* Edition. And he assures us, that *Robert Stephens* had that Value for it, and paid that Regard to its Authority, that in this his best Edition he resumed several Readings out of the *Complutensian* Testament, which he had before rejected; and this in Opposition to all other Editions then extant: Of which we have many eminent Instances in the *Apocalypse*. (m)

As for other Editors of lesser Character, tho' 'tis clear from Dr. Mill's Collection that most of them paid that Deference to the *Complutensian* Edition as to accommodate their Editions of the New Testament to it, yet it would be superfluous to mention them in particular, after what has been asserted of those superior Editors *Erasmus* and *Robert Stephens*, who have been chiefly copied after by the subsequent Editors.

Secondly, The Reason of this Authority of the *Complutensian* Edition was founded on the most ancient *Vatican MSS.* and particularly on that excellent *Vatican MS.* which was recommended, or rather prescribed, to the *Complutensian* Editors as the Ground-work of their Edition of the New Testament.

It is so well known that the *Complutensian* New Testament was carried on at the vast Expence of that munificent Patron of Learning, Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, just before the Reformation began, that I shall not here enlarge upon it: But shall only take notice, that that great Man was supplied with *Greek MSS.* of the New Testament out of the *Vatican Library*, by Order of Pope *Leo X.* for his Assistance on that Occasion; as we are assured from the Preface to the *Complutensian* New Testament, in which the learned Men employ'd as Editors under the Cardinal acquaint us, that the said *Greek Testament* was formed upon several most ancient and most correct *MSS.* But that it principally was transcribed from one particular *Vatican MS.* of great Character for its extraordinary Antiquity and Correctness, appears, says Dr. Mill, (n) from the Acknowledgment of those Editors, but (I think) more evidently from *Erasmus's* (o) Sense of that Matter. It was this *MS.* from which Pope *Leo* commanded

(k) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 116, 117, 119, 120.

(l) Ibid. p. 125.

(m) Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 126.

(n) Vid. Prolegom. p. 108.

(o) Quibus [sc. Hispanis Editoribus] ex autoritate Exemplar eximia vetusta-

tis spectataeque fidei exhibitum e Bibliotheca Vaticana, a quo jussi sunt non recedere. Apud Erasmi Epistol. ad Rob. Aldrisium, p. 1249. Edit. Lond. Vid. etiam Erasmi Cap. Argument. cont. moros. præfix. 5tæ Edit. N. T. Bas. 1535.

commanded those Editors not to depart, but to adhere to it as the Ground-work and Text of their *Greek Testament*. Of all which since Dr. *Mill* has given a very copious Account, I rather chuse to refer to it than transcribe it. (p) It is sufficient under this Head to observe, that the great Authority which the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament soon obtained among the Learned must have been founded on the *Vatican* MSS. and more especially on that distinguished MS. which had the Honour to be prescrib'd by the Pope himself as the Text of that Edition; since I do not find that any more *Greek* MSS. than those of the *Vatican* were collated by the *Complutensian* Editors, except the *Rhodian* one of the *Acts* and *Epistles*, (cited often by *Stunica*) and except the *Codex Britannicus*, (mentioned by *Erasmus*) which the late Bishop *Stillingfleet* (q) assures us was sent to *Ximenes* on this Occasion; tho' I confess I know not upon what Authority this is asserted by that very learned Person.

Thirdly, It is highly probable that the *Complutensian* Editors found the Controverted Passage of St. *John* in the *Vatican* MS. recommended particularly by Pope *Leo*, and therefore inserted it in their Edition of the New Testament. And that for the following Reasons.

First, Pope *Leo* (as has been just now shewn) expressly commanded Cardinal *Ximenes* and the learned Men employed by him in the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament, not to vary from the *Vatican* MS. that he recommended to them. Now it cannot easily be imagined but that this Command of the supreme Head of their Church should have had great Weight with and Influence on them; and that not only when we consider those Editors for the most Part as *Spaniards*, that is, as Men most strongly attached to the Obedience of the Papal Chair, but more especially as engaged in a Work of so nice a Nature, as the giving the *first* Printed Edition of the *Greek Testament*, the great Rule of Faith and Manners, to the Christian World, and that from a certain Copy prescribed them as their unvaried Text by no less a Person than the supposed Vicar of Christ upon Earth. When these Circumstances, I say, are consider'd, it is by no means credible that those Editors should incur the Imputation of corrupting the Word of God, or run the greater Hazard of being disobedient to the Pope's express Command on so solemn an Occasion.

Secondly, The *Complutensian* Editors themselves affirm (as has been already intimated from (r) Dr. *Mill*) that they formed their Edition of the New Testament principally upon one particular *Vatican* MS. Tho' he does not pretend that they did entirely do so in Exclusion of all the other MSS. sent by Pope *Leo*, he asserts, (s) that in effect they transcribed that MS. into their Edition. It is confessed indeed by the Editors in their Preface, that they were supplied with several ancient MSS. in order to perfect their Edition of the New Testament; yet since the chief Stress was by Pope *Leo*'s Command to be laid upon one particular MS. it is reasonable to think that tho' they might in some few Places vary from it upon the Credit of the other MSS. yet that they would not do so with regard to our Text in St. *John*, since it had been long read in both Eastern and Western Churches, and was known to be applied to so important a Doctrine as that of the Trinity.

Thirdly,

(p) Vid. Proleg. p. 108, 109.

(q) Vid. Vindication of Trinity, p. 126.

(r) *Quam* [sc. Editionem] *ad eum* [sc. Cod.

MS. Vaticanum] *maximè expressam aiunt.*

[sc. Complutenses.] Vid. Mill. Proleg. p. 108.

(s) Vid. Ibid.

Thirdly, The Singular Readings of this Text (as well as of many others) in the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament shew that they were taken from the *Vatican* MS. so particularly recommended to the Editors as their Standard. For, as Dr. *Mill* judiciously observes, those Readings are not now to be met with in the other MSS. of the New Testament. And it is peculiar to this disputed Passage in the *Complutensian* Edition, that at the End of the 7th Verse it is read of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, *Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι.* All other Copies that we have heard of, that have the 7th Verse, read it, *Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι.* In the *Complutensian* Edition, the Words, *Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι,* are omitted at the End of the 8th Verse. But this Omission, tho' disagreeable to the Common Reading is not peculiar to that Edition: For the *Codex Britannicus*, and some other Copies, have likewise omitted it. In the *Complutensian* Edition it is read, *ἐν τῇ γῆ*; whereas in the other Copies it is read, *ἐν τῇ γῆ.* Now since the *Complutensian* Editors had, according to Dr. *Mill*, no other Greek Copies of the New Testament, (t) but the *Vatican* MSS. the *Rhodian* MS. and (perhaps) the *British* MS. those Singular Readings of their Text must have been derived (if from any MS) from one or other of these. It has been just now shewn, that the 7th Verse was read otherwise in the *Codex Britannicus*. And *Stunica* (who in his Dispute with *Erasmus* frequently cites the *Rhodian* MS. on other Occasions) does not quote that MS. in favour of this Text of St. *John* when omitted by *Erasmus*. It must therefore have been (if in any) in one or other of the *Vatican* MSS. And in which could it have been so probably, as in that distinguished MS. from which the Pope expressly commanded them not to recede? Not to mention what is so frequently insisted on against this Text by our Adversaries, but really turns in favour of it; namely, that this Text was not found in any of the *Vatican* MSS. by *Caryophilus* in the Review of *Urban VIII*. Whence it follows, that if those *Vatican* MSS. were some of the MSS. that were formerly sent to *Ximenes*, (as is the common Opinion) and if this Text was taken from a certain *Vatican* MS. it must have been so from some other *Vatican* MS. that was not collated by *Caryophilus*; and therefore most probably from that *Vatican* MS. which was enjoined by Pope *Leo* to be the Standard of the *Complutensian* Edition. And that more especially, since the many Singular Readings in the *Complutensian* Edition, as well as those of this disputed Text, are not in the *Vatican* MSS. that were examined by *Caryophilus*, nor indeed in any other MSS. that are now extant, as far as we have heard. And therefore as it is not doubted that the many other Singular Readings in that primitive Edition were taken from some or other of the *Vatican* MSS. there is little Reason to doubt that this Singular Text in St. *John* was likewise taken from some or other of the same MSS. If the other Singular Readings are allowed to be genuine, this Singular Reading ought also to be so allow'd. For MSS. can now no more be produc'd for the one than the other. And if the many other Singular Readings are not allow'd to be genuine, the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament, which has always been highly valued by all competent Judges, must be given up as of no Authority.

If

(t) Vid. *Mill*. Prolegom. p. 108.

If it be said on this Occasion, (u) *that an unprejudiced Reader would presently guess from the marginal Note in the very Complutensian Edition it self, that the Editors put in this Text, [i. e. 7th Verse] upon the Authority of St. Thomas Aquinas, who knew no Greek, and not from their Vatican MSS.* To this it may be replied, that the contrary is very evident from the said marginal Note. (x) For from thence it by no means follows that the *Complutensian* Editors made any Alteration in the 7th Verse; but that if they made any at all, it was in the 8th Verse; namely, that in the 8th they omitted these Words, *Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι*, after the Testimony of the Spirit, Water and Blood. For the Argument against Abbot *Joachim*, as mentioned in the marginal Note, turns upon *these* Words, with relation only to two or three Witnesses on *Earth*, and cannot possibly be applied to the three Witnesses in *Heaven*. But however, it does not follow, that even these Words in the 8th Verse were omitted on the Account of *Aquinas*; since they were not in the *Codex Britannicus*, said to have been consulted by the *Complutensian* Editors; and therefore might be omitted on the Authority of that MS. as well as of the *Vatican* MS. (y) And indeed several great Men, upon the Authority of ancient Copies, have been of Opinion, that this Passage in the 8th Verse ought to be omitted; and have probably supposed that it was inserted with Design to derogate from the Belief of the essential Unity of the Three Heavenly Witnesses. The Conjecture then of the 7th Verse having been inserted in the *Complutensian* Edition from *Aquinas*, is not only ill-grounded and unconvincing, but is attended with some fatal Consequences. For such a Supposition would render the Authority of the first Editors of the *Greek* Testament so very precarious, as to derogate from the Authority of their great Work it self, with regard to all those Singular Readings that occur in it, and (as has been shewn) are on the same Foot with this Singular Reading in *St. John*. And if so, the subsequent Editions that have been copied after the *Complutensian* Testament, and have retained many of its Singular Readings, will suffer some Diminution of Authority. For if it were allowed that the *Complutensian* Editors could have taken the Liberty of inserting a spurious Text merely from *Aquinas*, and without Regard, and indeed in Opposition to the *Vatican* MS. prescribed them by Pope *Leo* as the Standard of their Edition; it must be granted that they deserve to be censured

(u) Vid. Answ. to Mr. Nelson, p. 209.

(x) *Sanctus Thomas in Expositione secundæ Decretalis de summa Trinitate & fide Catholica tractans istum passum contra Abbatem Joachim, vid. Tres sunt qui Testimonium dant in Cælo, Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus Sanctus; dicit ad literam verba sequentia. Et ad insinuandam Unitatem trium Personarum subditur, & hi tres unum sunt. Quod quidem dicitur propter Essentiæ Unitatem: Sed hoc Joachim perversè trahere volens ad Unitatem Charitatis & Consensus inducebat consequentem auctoritatem. Nam subditur ibidem; & tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terrâ, sc. Spiritus, Aqua, & Sanguis. Et in quibusdam libris additur: & hi tres Unum*

sunt. Sed hoc in veris Exemplaribus non habetur; sed dicitur esse appositum ab Hæreticis Arianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum Auctoritatis præmissæ de Unitate Essentiæ trium Personarum. Hæ Beatus Thomas ubi supra. Not. ad 5tum Cap. 1mæ Epist. S. Johannis in Complutens. Edit.

(y) Et quidem in MSS Exemplaribus multis Latinis Græcisque, etiam in Editionibus aliquot Græcis, &c. omittitur illud de Unitate Spiritus, Aquæ, & Sanguinis. Viri aliquot magni Veterum Exemplarium Auctoritate ducti verbis illis locum ibi deberi nolunt. Vid. Selden. de Synedris, l. 2. c. 4. p. 141.

ured as wicked Impostors, that could have practised so great a Piece of Prevarication; and by so notorious a Cheat on the Christian World, must have sunk for ever not only their own Reputation, but that of their Edition of the New Testament. All which is contrary to the Judgment of the learned World both with regard to *Ximenes* and his Assistants, who have been so universally celebrated, and likewise with regard to their Edition it self, which has been so justly valued and copied after by the subsequent Editors of the New Testament. And surely the Sense of so many learned Persons, who have allow'd that the Text of the *Complutensian* Edition of the New Testament was entirely formed upon ancient MSS. is of great Weight against some late Suspicions of Falsification.

Fourthly, It appears from several Passages of *Erasmus*, that, as much as he doubted of the disputed Text in *St. John*, he doubted not but that the *Complutensian* Testament was taken from the ancient *Vatican* MS. and that in particular this controverted Text was taken out of it. For he not only assures us, (as has been shewn before under the second Head) that the (z) *Complutensian* Editors were commanded by *P. Leo* to adhere without Variation to that most ancient and correct Copy that was sent them out of the *Vatican* Library by his Authority; but he farther declares in his Fourth Edition of the New Testament (which was the first after the Publication of the *Complutensian* Testament) that he almost entirely agreed with the *Complutensian* Greek Text, which (a) *Ximenes* had taken from the *Vatican* Copy that *P. Leo* had supplied him with. And in his fifth and last Edition of the New Testament, *Erasmus* says in general, that those Editors followed the said *Vatican* Copy. (b) But above all, *Erasmus* acquaints us more fully in his *Annotations* on this very Text, (c) that it was his Opinion that the *Spanish* Editors followed the *Vatican* Copy when they inserted this Verse of *St. John*. And surely the Judgment of so great a Critick as *Erasmus*, considered as Cōtemporary with the *Complutensian* Editors, and likewise as the very first Person that raised Scruples about the Genuineness of this Verse, is of so great Weight, as to be almost decisive in the present Dispute.

Fifthly, The *Louvain* Divines, who (after *Hontenius*) reviewed the New Testament in 1574, understood this Matter as *Erasmus* did. For in their Corrected *Latin* Bible, and on this very Text of *St. John*, they declare, that (d) the Concurrence of the two Greek Copies, namely, the *British* and *Spanish* Copies, produced by *Erasmus*, is an Argument of the Genuineness of the said Text. In which Passage, as the *British* Copy was confessedly a Manuscript, so (by all Rules of Construction) must the *Spanish*, that is, the *Complutensian* Copy, be understood to be likewise a Manuscript, namely, the ancient *Vatican* MS. recommended to and used by the *Complutensian* Criticks, in their Edition of the

New

(z) Vid. p. 13. in Margin.

(a) Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 114.

(b) Vid. Cap. Argument. præfix. Edit. 5tæ [apud Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.]

(c) Exemplar ex eadem, ni fallor, Bibliothecâ [sc. Vaticanâ] petiit secuti sunt Hispani. Annotat. in locum.

(d) Quod pro Textûs lectione facit, cui

& Latinorum libri plurimi suffragantur, quibus consentientes duos Græcos Codices, unum Britannicum, alterum Hispanicum, *Erasmus* profert. Apud Not. in N. T. Edit. *Levan.* 1574, ad Epist. 1. *Johan.* c. 5. v. 7. [in Marg. Simonii de Version. Nov. Test. p. 107.]

New Testament, which (as was just now shewn) was allowed by *Erasmus* to have been followed by them.

And on this Occasion I cannot but take notice, that tho' *Lucus Brugensis* seems to doubt, whether the Semicircle placed by *Robert Stephens* after the Words *ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ*, and not after the Words *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, be rightly placed; yet the Concurrence of *Hentenius*, the Editor of the first *Louvain Bible* in 1547, in placing the said little Semicircle, that is, the Mark of spurious Addition, immediately after the Words *in Cælo*, and not after the Words *in terrâ*, and this upon the Authority of several *Latin MSS.* This Agreement, I say, in placing that significant little Hook, by *Stephens* and *Hentenius*, is an Argument of some Weight to prove the Genuineness of our disputed Verse, since *Stephen's* placing of it from *Greek MSS.* is confirmed by the very same Placing of it by *Hentenius* from *Latin MSS.* and indeed this Coincidence is so surprizing, as to remove all Suspicion of Mistake in the placing of it by *R. Stephens*.

Sixthly, *F. Amelote* of the Oratory, confessed by his Adversary *F. Simon* to be a learned Man, and tho' vain-glorious, yet not false and dishonest; he, I say, assures us in his Notes on his own Version of the New Testament, that he himself had seen this controverted Verse in the most ancient MS. of the *Vatican Library*. If this Testimony of *F. Amelote* be not true, he was certainly one of the most egregious Liars in the World; and if it be true, there is an End put to our present Dispute: Since then no doubt this was the very MS. that was sent by Pope *Leo* to *C. Ximenes* as the Standard of his Edition of the New Testament. But this Matter shall be farther considered in its proper Place, under one of the following Heads of this Discourse.

Seventhly, *F. Simon* himself, the most professed Adversary of our present Text, not only wishes that all the subsequent Editors had exactly followed the (e) *Complutensian* New Testament, which he owns to be the first Edition; but likewise acknowledges that the said Edition was taken from *Manuscripts*, and makes no Question but that *C. Ximenes* consulted the most ancient Copies of the New Testament when he published his Edition. In Consequence of which Concession it appears, that *F. Simon* could not deny that this disputed Verse was taken by the *Complutensian* Editors from some antient *Manuscript*, which is what the late Writers, who generally transcribe his Arguments against this Text, are not ingenuous enough to allow. And I cannot but take Notice on this Occasion, that *F. Simon* (f) is so frank as to acknowledge, that *Erasmus* had declared, he had seen a *Greek Copy* in *England*, which obliged him to insert in his following Edition of the New Testament the disputed Passage of *St. John*. Which is another Piece of Ingenuity of *F. Simon*, not practised by our present Adversaries, who are pleas'd to doubt, whether *Erasmus* ever really saw such a Manuscript in *England*, tho' he himself says he had seen it; and tho' likewise he had owned (g) after his *First* Edition of the New Testament,

V o l. II.

S i f

ment,

(e) See Crit. Hist. of the New Testament, Part II. E. Edit. p. 114. and p. 12. and p. 157.

(f) Vid. Crit. Hist. p. 3.

(g) Quod si mihi contigisset unum Exem-

plar in quo fuisset quod nos legimus [sc. 1. *John* c. 5. v. 7.] nimirum illinc adjecissem quod in cæteris aberat.

Apud *Erasmi* Respons. ad E. Leam. p. 234. Tom. 9. Bas. 1540.

ment, that if he had met with one Copy that had the disputed Verse, he would have inserted it; as accordingly he did, when he found it in a *Greek Copy in England*, as he himself acquaints us; and consequently must be allowed to have acted sincerely on that Occasion. And here we ought to reflect again, that the aforesaid Concessions of so zealous and learned an Adversary as F. Simon, are of the greatest Weight even against his own profess'd Opinion, with regard to the disputed Passage in St. *John*.

Fourthly, Notwithstanding the fore-mentioned Reasons, it would very much contribute to the Decision of the present Controversy above this Verse in St. *John*, if the Original *Vatican* Manuscript itself were again consulted, if it be still extant.

For tho' I cannot but think, that the Reasons now assigned carry an Air of great Probability, yet I am not so bigotted to them, as to pretend they are absolutely decisive in establishing the Authority of this Text as derived from the *Vatican* MS. For as I aim at nothing but the Discovery of Truth on this Occasion, it is acknowledged, that notwithstanding the Order of P. *Leo* to the *Complutensian* Editors not to depart from the most antient *Vatican* MS. that he recommended to them, it is certain that he likewise sent at the same time to them some other antient MS. no doubt to be made use of by them in Case of any considerable Defect in the aforesaid distinguished MS. And this is confessed in other Words by the Editors themselves, when they tell us in their Epistle to the Reader, That several very antient and very correct MSS. were communicated to them to form their Edition upon as the original Text. (b) And this is frankly owned by (i) *Gomecius* in his Life of *Ximenes*, and by (k) Dr. *Mill* himself. As for the Argument drawn from the many *Singular* Readings of the *Complutensian* New Testament, tho' it is really a good one, yet it is not quite decisive, nor does it irresistibly force our Assent, because *Stunica*, (l) one of the *Complutensian* Editors, and who bore a great Share in the Trouble of collating the *Vatican* MS. as well as the *Rhodian* one, does not in express Words inform us any where, in his Dispute with *Erasmus*, in what MS. he and the other Editors found the 7th Verse, and whether particularly they inserted it in their New Testament from the *Vatican* MS. so eminently recommended to them by P. *Leo*. And since I scorn to use any Disguise in this Enquiry, it is confessed; that tho' the Silence of *Stunica* does by no means overthrow the Argument drawn from the said *Singular* Readings, yet it is the greatest Difficulty to account for, and what sticks most with me. Again, *Erasmus's* Authority, as above-cited, would have been decretory, if he had spoken more expressly. And as for the *Louvain* Divines, they build their Assertion upon *Erasmus*, and indeed in their Notes in some subsequent Editions of their New Testament, do not seem to have been quite so frank in their Acknowledgment. And again, a greater Regard would be due to so positive an Assertion as that of F. *Amelote*, if he had pointed out the Number and Place of that most antient MS. in the *Vatican* Library, in which he saw this disputed Verse, and had more plainly referred his Readers to it for their more entire Satisfaction.

Upon

(b) ——— Complura Exemplaria impressioni huic Archetypa fuisse antiquissima emendatissimaq;

——— (i) Vid. Alv. Gomecium de vit. Ximen. lib. 2. p. 966.

(k) Vid. Prolegom. p. 109.

(l) *Stunica* ——— cui haud exiguae in conferendis hisce Codicibus partes erant. — Apud Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.

Upon the Whole therefore, it is highly requisite that this celebrated *Vatican* MS. said to be the chief Standard of the first and noblest Edition of the *Greek* Testament, be again consulted, reviewed, and collated a new, if it be still in Being, in order to determine with greater Assurance what Emendations were made of it by the other MSS. in forming the Text of the *Complutensian* New Testament, and consequently whether this disputed Passage of *St. John* was actually in it, and taken from it into the sacred Text.

Fifthly, In order to such a Review of the foresaid *Vatican* MS. it is necessary to obviate a Mistake that has been committed by several Writers, in confounding the *Vatican Greek* MS. which is at the End of *Sixtus Quintus's* Bible, with that *Vatican Greek* MS. which was the Ground-work of the *Complutensian* New Testament.

It was asserted by *Erasmus* in his (*m*) Answers to *Lee* and *Stunica*, that the most antient MS. of the *Vatican* Library has not the 7th Verse, and he gives us the very Words of *Paulus Bombasius* (the Collater of that MS.) in his Epistle to him to prove the same. *F. Mabillon* (*n*) likewise has taken Notice, that the Testimony of the three Witnesses in Heaven is wanting in the most antient MS. of the *Vatican* Library; and as he adds expressly, in that MS. from which *Sixtus's* Septuagint was publish'd. Bishop (*o*) *Burnet* too, has acknowledg'd the same is not to be found in the most antient *Vatican* MS. And not to mention any more, Mr. *Emlyn* (*p*) (the latest Writer against this Passage in *St. John*) has said the same after a great Number of Authors. And accordingly it has been imagin'd by Mr. *Emlyn* and many others, that this is the antient MS. that was recommended by *P. Leo*. Now all their Assertions that this Passage is not to be found in a *Vatican* MS. of great Antiquity are very true, if they are understood only of the very Ancient *Vatican* MS. which is at the End of *Sixtus Quintus's* Septuagint-Bible. But then they are foreign to our present Purpose; since it is very certain that the Antient *Greek* MS. of the New Testament which is at the End of *Sixtus Quintus's* Bible, is not the MS. that was recommended by Pope *Leo*, to the *Complutensian* Editors as the Standard of their Edition of the New Testament. For (as has been shewn before) the many *Singular* Readings in their Edition plainly evince that those Editors extracted them from some MS. very different from all the other MSS. that are now known, and consequently from that at the End of *Sixtus's* Septuagint. And if so, most probably they took them from that particular *Vatican* MS. which was recommended to them by *Leo* as the Text of their Edition. It is certain, that the MS. filed by (*q*) Dr. *Mill* and others, the *Codex Vaticanus* of great Antiquity, is the Copy now extant at the End of *Sixtus's* Bible: And it is as certain, that this MS. has not the *Singular* Readings that occur to the *Complutensian* Edition. And therefore this MS. is different from that which the *Complutensian* Editors made use of by particular

S f f 2

Order

(*m*) Quid si comperiat eadem Lectio in Exemplari Bibliothecæ Pontificiæ? Ap. Respons. ad Leum. pag. 231. Vid. supra.—Codex vetustissimus in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ summi Pontificis non habet testimonium triplex in Cælo.—nam Paulus Bombasius consulto Libro locum mihi descripsit ad Verbum.—Apud Apologiam ad Jac. Stunicam, p.

294. dict. Tom.—Vid. etiam. P. Bombasii Epistolam inter Erasmi Epistolas, p. 756, 757. Edit. Lond.

(*n*) Vid. Iter Italic. Part. I. Pag. 63, Par. 1687.

(*o*) See Letter I. p. 55. Amsterdam. 1686.

(*p*) See his Enquiry, p. 8 & 32.

(*q*) Vid. Dissertat. in 1 Johan. 5. 7.

Order of *Leo* the 10th. This is very agreeable to the Sentiments of the late learned Reviser of the New Testament Dr. *Mill*, who has made a just Distinction between these two ancient MSS. which seem to have been taken by Others for one and the same. He assures us (*r*), that all the *Greek* MSS. excepting that of the Apostolical Epistles sent to *Ximenes* and *Rhodes*, were procur'd from the *Vatican* Library. Of which he particularly mentions two eminent MSS. The first, that which is now extant at the End of *Sixtus Quintus's* Bible, written in large square or uncial Characters, and said to be above 1200 Years old. And to this MS. says he, no doubt those Editors had some Regard. But as for all the Rest of the *Vatican* MSS. that MS. was most eminently distinguish'd, as he adds, which for its great Antiquity and Correctness, P. *Leo* sent as a Standard to the *Complutensian* Editors. As Dr. *Mill* (*s*) proves likewise afterwards by the many Singular Readings of that Edition, not to be found in any other MS. and therefore not in the Ancient MS. annex'd to *Sixtus's* Bible in the *Vatican* Library. By this just Distinction an End is effectually put to the vain Triumphs of the Adversaries of the 7th Verse: Those I mean, who by affirming that the said Verse is wanting in the most Ancient MS. of the *Vatican* Library, have insinuated that there neither is, nor was formerly, a most Ancient MS. there that has, or had, that Text. This Distinction, as far as I can find, is what has never been consider'd in the Dispute now depending; and since it is of Importance, surely it deserves some farther Enquiry what is become of the latter *Greek* MS. on which the *Complutensian* New Testament was almost entirely form'd, and where that most valuable Copy is lodg'd, that it may be again consulted, as on other Occasions, so in a particular Manner to clear up the Authority of this disputed Verse in St. *John*.

Sixthly, Since it is certain, that the *Vatican* MS. was sent into *Spain* as the Ground-work of the *Complutensian* New Testament, and it is uncertain, whether it was ever return'd from thence to the *Vatican* Library, if it is still extant it must lie conceal'd at this Time in the Archives of the *Complutensian*, or some other *Spanish* Library; or if return'd to *Rome*, in the *Vatican* Archives. And consequently, till an accurate Search be made in those several Archives, the Dispute about the Authority of the aforesaid Verse in St. *John* ought to be suspended.

It is confess'd indeed, that the Learned Dr. *Mill* was of Opinion (*t*), that the fore-mention'd *Vatican* MS. was actually return'd to *Rome*, and lies now conceal'd in the Archives of the *Vatican* Library, tho' probably distinguish'd there by its deserv'd peculiar Character. And this seems to be favour'd by F. *Ame-lote's* Assertion, as cited above. It must likewise be own'd, that the Supposition of its being sent back to *Rome* looks plausible enough, when we consider that the

(*r*) Cæteri omnes Codices MSS. excepto sc. *Rheodio* Epistolarum Apostolicarum Cod. è Bibliothecâ *Vaticanâ* conquisiti sunt: iste certè in primis, qui extat jam ad finem Bibliorum Græcorum κατὰ τὰς ὁ, à *Sixto* quinto editorum; grandis ille, literisq; Quadratis sive Uncialibus, quas vocant, ante annos jam mille & ducentos, uti perhibent, exaratus.

Hujus enim haud dubium est quin rationem habuerint Editores isti. E reliquis erat insignis ille præ cæteris Codex, eximie Vetus-tatis, spectatæq; fidei, quem tanquam Archetypum *Complutensibus* nostris tradidit *Leo* decimus. Apud Prolegom. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.

(*s*) Vid. p. 109. ibid.

(*t*) Vide Prolegom. p. 109.

the *Vatican* MS. of the New-Testament at the End of *Sixtus Quintus's* Septuagint-Bible was return'd from *Spain* to *Rome*, after it had been collated by the *Complutensian* Editors. For we are assur'd by Dr. *Mill*, that it was sent thither with other *Vatican* MSS. by Pope *Leo*; and it is very probable it was so sent, upon Account of its great Antiquity. Now it is certain that this very MS. was return'd to *Rome* by the Time of *Sixtus Quintus*, since *Carafa* by his Order publish'd the Septuagint from that very MS. to the End of which the said Copy of the New Testament was annex'd. If therefore Dr. *Mill's* Supposition, that the MS. used by *Sixtus Quintus* in his Edition of the LXX was actually sent to C. *Ximenes* in *Spain* be well-grounded, it is not improbable that the famous *Vatican* MS. which we are now in Search of, was sent back to *Rome* with the fore-mention'd LXX Bible, and the annex'd MS. of the New-Testament. It is therefore highly expedient, that the Librarian of the *Vatican* should be consult- ed as soon as is possible, and the Archives of that Library be diligently exami- n'd, in order to find out the *Greek* MS. that was prescrib'd to Cardinal *Ximenes* by Pope *Leo*, as the Basis of his Edition of the New Testament. Hither then we ought to recur for Satisfaction in the very first Place. And indeed we have had not long ago such an Instance of the Civility of the Court of *Rome* in the late Pope's Permission of the Learned (u) Dr. *Wilkins*, to perfect his *Coptick* New Testa- ment by the MSS. in the *Vatican* Library, that any Man of Learning is suffi- ciently encourag'd to make his Application on this Occasion, and especially in Vindication of the Honour of the Noble *Complutensian* Edition to which P. *Leo* so much contributed.

But since, notwithstanding Dr. *Mill's* (x) warm Way of expressing himself on this Occasion, some Doubts may be rais'd, whether the sending of the said MS. of the New Testament (at the End of P. *Sixtus's* Bible) to *Spain*, be any thing more than conjectural; and if that were sent, whether the *Vatican* MS. which *Ximenes* chiefly used in this Edition of the New Testament might not be detain- ed there either accidentally, or in Vindication of the Authority of his said Edi- tion, in order to be produced upon proper Occasions against any Objections of Innovation, tho' *Sixtus's* MS. were supposed to have been sent back to *Rome*, together with the other MSS. that were sent into *Spain*; these, I say, are Doubts that deserve some Consideration. For when we reflect on the State of Things at *Rome*, a little before and after the Publication of the *Complutensian* Bible, such an Omission to send back to *Rome* the *Vatican* MS. chiefly used by the *Complutensian* Editors, may be accounted for. As it has been shewn before, that the *Complutensian* Bible was not published till 1524, or rather 1525, and even then in some Confusion; so it ought to be recollected that C. *Ximenes*, the Editor of that great Work, died in 1518, (according to (y) *Ciaconius*) and that P. *Leo* died in 1521; and that the Successor of *Leo*, namely, *Adrian* the 6th not only had no great Genius for Critical Learning, and was wholly taken up with Schemes of reforming Abuses in the Church, but (z) died within less than two Years from his Elevation to the Papal Chair, and likewise that the Successors

(u) Vid. Præfat. ad *Copticum* N. Testam. Oxon. 4to.

(x) Vid. Prolegom. p. 109.

(y) Vid. Vit. Pontific. Rom. p. 1381. Vol. II. Rom. 1630.

(z) Vid. *Ciaconium* in Vit. *Adrian*.

Successors of *Adrian*, in a long Train, had little Inclination to Learning, or after so long a Time might easily have forgot to demand back any of the MSS. that were sent to *Ximenes*; these Circumstances, I say, being consider'd, it appears by no means improbable, that the foresaid *Vatican* MS. and perhaps others sent from *Rome*, were never returned to the *Vatican* Library, but were either left among the Books and Papers of *Ximenes* at *Toledo* upon his Decease, or among the MSS. that he himself bought for carrying on his Edition of the Bible, and left in the Library which he gave to his newly erected University at *Complutum* or *Alcala d'Henares*, where that primitive Edition was begun and perfected.

But to consider the State of Things at *Rome* a little farther, it does not appear from the Lives of the following Popes, that is, from the Death of *Leo* the 10th till the Reign of *Urban* the 8th, which is about the Space of One Hundred Years, that any Design was carried on at *Rome* that required the Review or Examination of any of the *Vatican* MSS. of the New Testament that had been sent by *Leo* to *Ximenes*, excepting that at the End of *Sixtus's* Septuagint, which perhaps was never sent into *Spain*. For tho' (a) the Popes *Pius* 4th and 5th are said to have projected a New Edition of the Vulgar *Latin* Version, which *Sixtus* the 5th carried on, as well as order'd the Edition of the Septuagint by *Carafa*; and tho' *Clement* the 8th reformed the *Roman* Edition of the Vulgar *Latin*; yet, nothing appears to have been done at *Rome* with regard to the *Greek* Text of the New Testament, that required a Survey of the *Vatican* MSS. from the Time of *Leo* the 10th till *Urban* the 8th. And therefore in the Space of an whole Century, it might easily happen, that the foresaid *Vatican* MS. and perhaps some others might be forgot to be demanded back again to *Rome*. And that the *Vatican* MS. so particularly recommended to *Ximenes*, was not returned to *Rome* by the Time of *Urban* the 8th, appears credible from hence, that (b) when by that Pope's Command there was a Review made of the *Greek* MSS. of the New Testament at *Rome* by *Matth. Caryophilus*, in order to carry on a New Edition of the same at that Place, and when he collated (besides those of the Gospels) Eight *Greek* MSS. of the Epistles; MSS. of the greatest Antiquity in the *Vatican* and the other Principal Libraries in *Rome*; the disputed Verse of *St. John* was not to be found in any of them, as has been already intimated in this Discourse. But tho' the Suppression of that designed Edition be to this Day a Secret, yet it appears that the *Vatican* MS. which was the Ground-work of the *Complutensian* Edition, was not then at *Rome*. And if not then at *Rome*, it is not very probable that it has been sent thither since, and is there now; and more especially when we consider that tho' those Various Readings that were collected by *Caryophilus* have been since published by *P. Possinus*, the Design of another Review has not been since revived. We might have hoped for some Light in this Matter from some good Catalogue of the MSS. of the *Vatican* Library since the Reign of *Leo* the 10th. But there is no such printed Catalogue to be found, nor indeed any other but the imperfect one of *Possine*, (c) in which there is no Mention made of any *Greek* MSS. of the

(a) Vid. Ciaconium, p. 1825. Part II. p. 522, 523. Romæ. 1673. Vid. etiam
(b) Vid. Catenam in Marc. Pet. Possinum, Præfat.

(c) Vid. Possivini Apparatus. Sacra.

the New Testament. It is certain from *Spizelius*, who published his *Arcana Bibliothecarum illustr. detecta*, in 1668, that there was then no Catalogue published of the *Vatican* MSS. but that of *Possevine*, whose Catalogue he has reprinted. As for (d) *Alexander Raynaldus*, after *Possevine*, he seems only to have been concerned in drawing up a Catalogue of the *Latin* MSS. in the *Vatican* Library: Which, however, is not yet published. And perhaps the true Reason of its not being published is, that the (e) Poverty of the *Vatican* Library with regard even to ancient *Latin* MSS. and that too after the Accession of the *Palatine* and other Libraries to it, made it necessary to suppress the said Catalogue, in order to preserve the Reputation of the *Vatican* Library. If any thing of this Nature with regard either to *Greek* or *Latin* MSS. in the *Vatican* Library, is to be met with among us, we must recur for it to a curious Gentleman that resides not far from *Windsor*; who, according to credible Fame, has by him more exact Catalogues of the MSS. of the *Vatican* and other Eminent Libraries abroad, than have yet been published. He would therefore oblige the Learned Word, if he would please to communicate to it some Account of those MSS. and more especially, with regard to the Subject of the present Enquiry, if he would bestow upon the Publick what Catalogues he may have happen'd to be favour'd with of the MSS. of the *Vatican*, *Escorial*, *Toledo*, or *Alcala* Libraries. He will, I hope, pardon the Liberty of this Application from one who is entirely a Stranger to him; since it is occasioned by an Enquiry that may be beneficial to the Learned World.

In the mean Time with relation to the *Escorial* Library, it does not appear from the Collation of Eight *Greek* MSS. of that Library by (f) *Petrus Faxardus* that this disputed Passage of *St. John* was in any of them. I cannot find, that there is any Catalogue of the *Escorial* MSS. as yet published but that of (g) *Barvoetius*, which is too imperfect to give us an Account of the MSS. of the *Greek* Testament, as having been made only by Help of Memory. And in the Description of that Library by (h) *Claudius Clemens*, no Account is to be met with of any *Greek* MS. of the New Testament that is above 600 Years old. But indeed an End is put for ever to this Enquiry into the MSS. of the *Escorial* Library, if (i) *F. Montfaucon's* Account be true, namely, that the numerous and most Ancient MSS. of that Library are all destroy'd by Fire.

As for the other Libraries in *Spain*, in which the fore-mentioned *Vatican* MS. may probably be thought to lie concealed ever since it was used by *C. Ximenes*, they are those of *Complutum* or *Acala*, and *Toledo*, concerning either of which I confess I can meet with but slender Accounts. (k) But since *Ximenes* was the Founder of the University of *Alcala*, and settled Professors there; since his celebrated Edition of the Old and New Testament was begun, carry'd on, and finish'd at *Alcala* by Seven very learned Persons that were assembled by him

(d) Vid. Leon. Allatii Apes Urban. & Alibi. apud Labb. Biblioth. Nov. p. 175. Par. 1653. 4to.

(e) Vid. Burnet's Letters, p. 227.

(f) Vid. De la Cerda Adversar. p. 129. Lugd. 1626.

(g) Vid. Barvoëtii Catalogum præfix. Cyvilli Alex. Homiliis in Jeremiam editis Gr. & Lat. per Corderium. Antv. 1648. 8vo. &

(h) Vid. Claud. Clement. Biblioth. Escorial. Descript. c. 4. 528, &c. Lugd. 1635. 4to.

(i) Vid. Palæograph. Græc. p. 28.

(k) Vid. Alv. Gomæcium de gestis Ximenii, l. 2. p. 966.

him at that Place; since we are assur'd, that the Seven *Hebrew* Copies, with which the Old Testament was collated, are actually now at *Alcala*, or were so when *Gomecius* wrote his History of *Ximenes*; and lastly, since we are inform'd by (1) a very learned and competent Judge of these Matters, that the *Complutensian* or *Alcala* Library was filled with all Sorts of Books, and with those of Divinity in an extraordinary Manner by *Ximenes* himself, and that this Library is stiled *Wonderful* and *Singular*, and is recommended especially on Account of the *Bibles* contain'd in it; when all this, I say, is put together, it is by no Means improbable that the *Vatican* MS. so particularly used by *Ximenes* at *Alcala*, was lodg'd there with his own MSS. of the Bible, and in the fore-mention'd Hurry and Confusion occasion'd by the Death of *Ximenes* and *Leo* (before the Publication of the long-suppress'd *Complutensian* Edition of the Old Testament) may never have been return'd back to *Rome*. And consequently, since the said MS. may lie there conceal'd to this Day, the Library at *Alcala* well deserves to be nicely examin'd by some learned Person, upon Supposition that by a previous Search it is not be found in the *Vatican* Library.

With regard to *Toledo*, we are assured by the fore-mention'd (m) Writer of the Life of *Ximenes*, that there is a Volume of *Letters* wrote by *Ximenes* now extant in MS. in the Archives of the Church of *Toledo*; a few of which *Letters* are inserted by *Gomecius* in his said *Life*. Now these MSS. Letters of *Ximenes*, if consulted, may possibly give some Light to the Question what became of the *Vatican* MS. that we are now enquiring after, when *Ximenes* had perfected his Edition of the New Testament. For it is certain, that *Ximenes* lived one Year after that great Work was finish'd. For the whole Bible was begun in 1502, and finish'd in 15 Years, that is 1517, the famous *Æra* of *Luther's* Reformation. And, as has been shewn before, *Ximenes* died in 1518. Indeed it is not improbable, that the said *Vatican* MS. may have accidentally been deposited in the Archives of that Church in which *Ximenes* presided as Primate, when he died, and in which are actually found his unpublish'd Letters and Papers; with which that MS. we are in Search of, might easily be convey'd, and lie there undisturbed to this Day. It is therefore worth farther Enquiry in those unpublish'd Letters of *Ximenes*, and the other Papers and Books in the Archives of *Toledo*, in order to discover the most valuable *Vatican* MS. And that such an Examination of the *Spanish* Archives is practicable at this Time, and especially by procuring a particular Order of the Government there for that End, the present Peace with *Spain*, and the late renewing a friendly Commerce with that Nation, seem to perswade us; if the Bigottry that too much prevails there be not an insuperable Obstacle to all Enquiries of this Nature.

To conclude, as you are engag'd, Mr. Arch-deacon, in giving the World a New Edition of the *Greek* Testament, as you are known to have employ'd some learned Persons Abroad in the Collation of MSS. on that Occasion; so may it be justly expected that you will depute some Persons of Learning, to examine more nicely than ever the Archives of the *Vatican* and the fore-mentioned *Spanish* Libraries, in order to find out, and (if it be still in Being)

to

(1) Vid. De la Cerda de Appar. Lat. p. 61, 62. Francof. 1608. 4to.
Sermon. apud A. Schotti Hispaniæ Bibliothec. (m) Vid. Lib. 4.

to collate a new the famous *Vatican* MS. that was the Ground-work of the first and noblest Edition of the *Greek* Testament. And indeed such a Discovery, and subsequent Collation, of so valuable a MS. would be a very advantageous Distinction of your design'd Edition. For how antient soever those Collations you promise in your new Edition, (whether some of them be those of *Kuster* (b) or distinct ones) and which possibly were unknown to the late industrious Reviser Dr. *Mill*, yet it must add highly to your Honour, and that of your Work, if you shall be so happy as to discover and collate that most antient MS. on which not only the learned Doctor, but P. *Leo* and the *Complutensian* Editors laid so great a Stress. How false a Judgment soever has been made by some Criticks with regard to the Multitude of *Various Readings* in the New Testament, you have the Wishes of all competent Judges that you could discover many more *Greek* MSS. of it of so great Antiquity, and oblige the World with their Collations. But without derogating from the Value of your lately discovered *Greek* MSS. or any others that may be retrieved, it must be granted that none can be more decisive in the Dispute now depending about the Authority of the fore-mentioned Passage of St. *John* than the confessedly most antient *Vatican* MS. from which so many *Singular* Readings seem to have been copied into the *Complutensian* Edition, and from thence were transcrib'd into the most eminent subsequent Editions of the New Testament, in an entire Dependence on the great Antiquity and Correctness of that MS.

And indeed, Sir, besides these general Reasons for making a strict Enquiry after the *Vatican* MS. there seems to be a particular Reason or two for your giving Orders to some well-qualify'd Persons to search for, and (if it be extant) to collate that Copy. One Reason is, because it is obvious that your Edition of the *Greek* Testament is designed to outshine that of Dr. *Mill*. But, as he acquiesced in a mere Conjecture that the aforesaid *Vatican* MS. lies concealed at this Time in the Archives of the *Vatican* Library; how will your Edition excel his in this Respect, if you do not exert your self with great Vigour, in endeavouring to discover and collate so venerable a Copy of the New Testament? Another Reason is, that you are cited by profess'd (i) *Arian* Writers, as one that is of Opinion that the controverted Passage in St. *John* is spurious. Now as this Declaration of Opinion, previous to the Collation of several MSS. is no small Prejudice to your designed Edition, so one of the Methods that seems necessary to be used in Order to vindicate yourself from the Imputation of Partiality and Prepossession, seems to be that critical Examination of the *Vatican* and *Spanish* Libraries which is here propos'd, to find out and collate anew the most antient *Vatican* MS. which is so justly presum'd to have in it the fore-mentioned Passage of St. *John*. The last Reason I shall assign is, that however expensive such an Examination of the fore-said Libraries may be pretended to be, it is generally believ'd you have already receiv'd so large a Sum of Money, either in the Way of Bounty or Subscription,

Vol. II.

T t t

scription,

(b) Vid. Pref. to *Kuster's* Edit. of *Mill's* Gr. T. and *Whiston's* Answer to the Earl of Nottingham. p. 10. Pref.

(i) See *Emlyn's* Reply to *Martin*, p. 43.

scription, as will very amply support the Expences of the propos'd Examination.

Upon the whole, if it shall appear from the *Vatican* MS. when retriev'd, that the *Complutensian* Editors inserted the disputed Passage of St. *John* from that most antient Copy, an End will be put effectually to the Insults of the Adversaries of that Passage. And if it cannot be discovered, but must be given up for a lost or perish'd Copy, yet still the strong Probabilities will continue that the *Complutensian* Editors inserted the said Passage from it. However, it is very just and reasonable that the Controversy about this Passage should be suspended, till the greatest Diligence possible be used to find out the celebrated *Vatican* MS. And then it will be Time enough to decide upon the Authority of this Passage. In the mean Time, as the Method proposed by yourself, Sir, of endeavouring to find out whether the said Passage be genuine or not, by an accurate Collation of the most antient *Latin* MSS. of the New Testament, as supposed to be translated from the most antient uncorrupt *Greek* Copies; as this consequential Method, I say, is subsidiary, and may contribute to give some new Light in this Dispute (tho' it cannot be allow'd to be a decisive Argument) so is it highly probable that it is a Method that will be serviceable towards the Establishment of this Passage of St. *John*. For far the greater Number of those *Latin* MSS. that have been hitherto collated by learned Men, retain this Passage; and many of them no Doubt are very antient. Whatever be the Result of collating your own *Latin* MSS. asserted by you to be very antient, the Publick will be glad to be informed of it. For tho' it should happen that they want this Passage, their Authority will not be conclusive against that of a Multitude of other very antient *Vatican* MSS. that are not known to retain it.

On the other Side, if it shall appear from the *Vatican* MS. when retriev'd, that the *Complutensian* Editors did not insert the disputed Passage of St. *John* from that most antient Copy, but from *Latin* Copies of great Antiquity; tho' such a Discovery would confute the Reasons assigned in this Discourse, yet agreeably to the Method proposed by yourself, Sir, of finding out the Genuine *Greek* Text by the Concurrence of very antient *Latin* Copies that were translated from the most antient and uncorrupt *Greek* MSS. I say upon this Principle, neither the Reputation of the *Complutensian* Edition of the *Greek* Testament, nor the Authority of this controverted Text in particular, would be affected by such a Discovery. For if *Stunica* and his Brethren were persuaded that most, if not all, the *Greek* MSS. of St. *John* that are now extant, were corrupted, and that the *Latin* Copies that retain this Controverted Passage were agreeable to the most antient uncorrupted *Greek* Copies, and that consequently this Passage ought justly to be inserted in that Edition, as in Fact it was; I do not see why they ought to undergo any Censure from yourself, who pay so great a Regard to, and lay so mighty a Stress upon the antient *Latin* Copies of the New Testament, whatever Opinion the rest of the learned World might on this Occasion entertain, by way of Diminution, of the Authority of the *Complutensian* Editors.

I am,

Reverend S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

An

An Enquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament.

Offered by Sa. Oxon.

WHEN the Cardinals in *Rome* go abroad without *Fiocco's* on their Horfes Heads, it is understood that they will be then *Incognito*, and they expect nothing of that Respect which is pay'd them on other Occasions. So since there is no *Fiocco* at the Head of this *Discourse*, no Name nor Designation, it seems the Writer offers himself to be examined without those nice Regards that may be due to the Dignity he bears; and indeed when a Man forgets what he is himself, it is very natural for others to do it likewise.

It is no Wonder to see those of the *Roman Communion* bestir themselves so much as they do, to be delivered from the *Test*, and every Thing else that is uneasy to them: And though others may find it very reasonable to oppose themselves in all the just and legal Ways that agree with our Constitution to this Design, yet it is so natural to all that are under any Pressure, to desire to get free from it, that at the same Time that we cannot forbear to withstand them, we cannot much condemn them: but it raises Nature a little, to see a *Man* that has been so long fatten'd with the Spoils of our *Church*, and who has now got to a Degree so disproportioned to his Merit, to turn so treacherously upon it. If he is already weary of his *comfortable Importance*, and will here give her into the Bargain, and declare himself, no Body will be surprized at the Change of his Masque, since he has taken much Pains to convince the World, that his *Religion* goes no deeper than his *Habit*: Yet though his Confidence is of a Piece with all his other Virtues, few thought it could have carried him so far; I confess I am not surprized, but rather wonder to see that others should be so; for he has given sufficient Warning of what he is capable of; he has told the World *what is the worst Thing that Dr. Burnet can do*, p. 50. but I am sure the *Dr.* cannot be quit with him, to tell what is the *worst Thing* that he can do; it must needs be a very fruitful Fancy that can find out all the Degrees of Wickedness to which he can go: And though the Pamphlet is a good Essay of his Talent that Way, yet that *Terra Incognita* is boundless. In the *Title Page* it is said, that this was *first writ for the Author's own Satisfaction, and now published for all others whom it may concern*. But the Words are certainly wrong placed; for the Truth of the Matter is, That it was *written for the Author's own Benefit, and that it is now published for the Satisfaction of all whom it may concern*: In some Sense perhaps it was written for the Author's own Satisfaction; for so petulant and so depraved a Mind as his, is capable of being delighted with his Treachery, and a poor Bishoprick with the Addition of *Presidentship*, being too low a Prize for his Ambition and Avarice. He resolved to assure himself of the first great Bishoprick that falls; the *Liege Letter* let us see how far the *Jesuits* were assured of him, and how much courted by him: And that he said, *that none but Atheists supported the Protestant Religion now in England*; yet how many soever of these may be among us, he is upon the Point of lessening

fening their Number by one at least, and he takes care to justify the Hopes which these *Fathers* conceived of him. They are severe Masters, and will not be put off with secret Civilities, lewd Jest, Entertainments, and Healths drank to their good Success; so now the Price of the *Presidentship* is to be pay'd, so good a Morfel as this deserved that Dr. *Stillington*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Burnet*, and some other Divines should be ill used, and he to preserve the Character of *Drawcansir*, which is as due to him as that of *Bays*, falls upon the *Articles* of the *Church*, and upon both *Houses of Parliament*. It is Reproach enough to the *House of Lords*, that he is of it; but it is somewhat new, and a Character becoming *Sa. Oxon*, to arraign that *House* with all the Insolence to which he can raise his wanton Pen. Laws that are in Being are treated with Respect, even by those who move their Repeal; but our *Drawcansir* scorns that modest Strain; he is not contented to arraign the *Law*, but calls it *barbarous*, and says, *that nothing can be more barbarous and prophane than to make the renouncing of a Mystery, so unanimously received, a State Test*, pag. 133. pag. 64. But he ought to have avoided the Word *Prophane*, since it leads Men to remember that he had taxed the Praying for the King, *as under God and Christ, as Crude*, not to say *Prophane*: When in the Prospect he had then [36] of a Bishoprick, he raised the King above Christ, but now another Prospect will make him sink him beneath the *Pope*, who is but at best Christ's Vicar. But this is not all, there comes another Flower that is worthy of him. He tells us, *That the Test was the First-born of Oats's Plot, and brought forth on purpose to give Credit and Reputation to the Perjury*, pag. 5. And because this went in common between the *two Houses*, he bestows a more particular Mark of his Favour on the *House of Lords*, and tells them *that this was a Monument erected by themselves in Honour of so gross an Imposture*, (ibid.) But after all, the Royal Assent was added, and here no doubt it itched somewhere; for if it had not been for the Manner of the late King's Death, and the Papers published since his *Death*, he would have wreaked his Malice upon *his Memory*, for he will never forgive his not advancing him: And the late King being so true a Judge of Wit, could not but be much taken with the best *Satyr* of our Time, and saw that *Bays's Wit*, when measured with anothers, was of a Piece with his Virtues, and therefore judged in Favour of the *Rehearsal Transpos'd*: This went deep, and though it gave Occasion to the single Piece of Modesty, with which he can be charged, of withdrawing from the Town, and not importuning the Press more for some Years, since even a Face of Brass must grow red when it is so burnt as his was then; yet his Malice against the elder Brother was never extinguished but with his Life: But now a strange Conjunction has brought him again on the Stage, and *Bays* will be *Bays* still.

He begins his Prologue with the only soft Word in the whole Piece, *I humbly conceive*, but he quickly repents him of that *Debonarity*, and so makes *Thunder* and *Lightning* speak to the rest, as if his Design were to insult over the *two Houses*, and not to convince them. He who is one of the Punies of his Order, and is one of its justest Reproaches, tells us, pag. 8. "That to the Shame of the Bishops, this Law was consented to by them, in the House of Lords." But what Shame is due to him who has treated that venerable *Bench*, and in particular his *Metropolitan*, in so scurrilous a Manner? The Order has much more Cause

Cause to be ashamed of such a Member: Tho' if there are two or three such as he is among the Twenty-six, they may comfort themselves with this, That a Dozen of *much better* Men, had one among them, that I confess was not *much worse*, if it was not for this, That he let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than *Sa. Oxon* does, who is still true to his Old *Maxim*, that he delivered in Answer to one who asked him, "What was the best Body of Divinity?" which was, That that which would help a Man to keep a Coach and six "Horses, was certainly the best". But now I come to examine his Reasons for abrogating the Test.

The First is, "That it is contrary to the *Natural Rights of Peerage*, and "turns the Birth-Right of the *English* Nobility, into a precarious Title; "which is at the Mercy of every Faction and Passion in Parliament, and "that therefore, how useful soever the Test might have been in its Season, it "sometime must prove a very ill President against the Right of Peerage: And "upon this he tells a Story of a Protestation made in the House of Lords, "against the Test, that was brought in, in 1675, together with the Resolution "of the House against that Penalty upon the Peers, of losing their Votes in "case of a Refusal: He represents this, as a Test or Oath of Loyalty, against "the Lawfulness of taking Arms upon any Pretence whatsoever against the "King."

But in Answer to all this, one would gladly know what are the *Natural Rights of Peerage*, and in what Chapter of the Law of Nature they are to be found; for if those Rights have no other Warrant, but the Constitution of this Government, and they are still subject to the Legislative Authority, and may be regulated by it. The Right of Peerage is still in the Family, only as the Exercise of it is limited by the Law to such an Age, so it may be suspended as oft as the Publick Safety comes to require it: Even the indelible Character itself, may be brought under a total Suspension, of which our Author may, perhaps, afford an Instance at some Time or other.

2. Votes in either House of Parliament, are never to be put in Ballance with establish'd Laws: These are but the Opinions of one House, and are changeable.

3. But if the Test might have been useful in its Season, one would gladly see how it should be so soon out of Season: For its chief Use being to secure the Protestant Religion in 1678, it does not appear, That now in 1688, the Dangers are so quite dissipated, that there is no more Need of securing it. In one Sense we are in a safer Condition than we were then: For some false Brethren have shewed themselves, and have lost that little Credit which some unhappy Accident had procured them.

4. It was not the Loyalty in the Test of the Year 1675, that raised the greatest Opposition to it: But another Part of it, "That they should never endeavour any Alteration in the Government, either in the Church or State." Now it seemed to be an unreasonable Limitation on the Legislative Body, to have the *Members* engaged to make no Alteration: And it is that which would not have much pleased those, *For whose Satisfaction this Book is published.*

The second Reason was already hinted at, of its dishonourable Birth and Original; pag. 10. which according to the Decency of his Style, he calls *the first Sacrament*

Sacrament of the Otesian Villainy, pag. 9. This he aggravates as *such a monstrous and inhumane Piece of Barbarity as could never have entered into the Thoughts of any Man but the infamous Author of it*; this Piece of Elegance, tho' it belongs to this Reason, comes in again in its fourth Reason, *page. 6.* and to let the *House of Lords* see their Fate, if they will not yield to his Reason, he tells them that this will be not only an "Eternal National Reproach, but such a Blot upon the *Peers*, that no Length of Time could wear away, nothing but the "Universal Conflagration could destroy," which are the aptest Expressions that I know to mark how deeply, the many Blots with which he is stigmatized are rooted in his Nature. The wanton Man in his *Drawcansir* Humour thinks that *Parliaments* and a *House of Peers* are to be treated by him with as much Scorn as is justly due to himself. But to set this Matter in its true Light, it is to be remembred that in 1678, there were besides the Evidences of the *Witnesses*, a great many other Discoveries made of *Letters*, and *Negotiations* in Foreign Parts, chiefly in the Courts of *France* and *Rome*, for extirpating the *Protestant Religion*; upon which the *Party* that was most united to the *Court*, set on this Law, for the *Test*, as that which was both in itself, a just and necessary Security for the establish'd *Religion*, and that would probably lay the Fermentation which was then in the Nation: And the *Act* was so little acceptable to him, whom he calls *its Author*, that he spake of it then with Contempt, as a *Trick* of the *Court* to lay the *Nation* too soon asleep. The *Negotiations* beyond Sea were too evidently proved to be denied; and (which is not yet generally known) Mr. *Coleman* when examined by the *Committee* of the *House of Commons*, said plain enough to them, that the late *King* was concerned in them; but the *Committee* would not look into that Matter, so Mr. *Sacheverell*, that was their Chair-man, did not report it; yet the Thing was not so secret but that one to whom it was trusted, gave the late *King* an Account of it; who said, That he had not heard of it any other way, and was so fully convinced that the *Nation* had Cause given them to be jealous, that he himself set forward the *Act*, and the rather, because he saw that the *E. of S.* did not much like it. The *Parliament*, as long as it was known that the *Religion* was safe in the *King's* Negative, had not taken any great Care of its own Constitution, but it seemed the best Expedient that could be found, for laying the Jealousies of his late *Majesty*, and the Apprehensions of the *Successor*, to take so much Care of the *two Houses*, that so the Dangers with which Men were then alarm'd, might seem the less formidable, upon so effectual a Security: And thus all the Stir that he keeps with *Perjury* and *Imposture*, ought to make no other Impression, but to shew the Wantonness of his own Temper, that meddles so boldly with Things of which he knew so little the true Secret: For here was a *Law* passed of which all made great Use that opposed *the Bill of Exclusion*, to demonstrate to the *Nation* that there could be no Danger of *Popery*, even under a *Prince* of that *Religion*; but as he would turn the Matter, it amounts to this, That that *Law* might be of good Use in that Season, to lay the Jealousies of the *Nation*, till there were a *Prince* on the Throne of that *Communion*, and then when the Turn is served, it must be thrown away, to open the only Door that is now shut upon the Re-establishment of that *Religion*. This is but one Hint among a great many more of the State of Affairs at the Time that this *Act* of the *Test* was made, shew

shew that the *Evidence* given by the *Witnesses*, had no other Share in that Matter, but that it gave a Rise to the other Discoveries; and a fair Opportunity to those who knew the Secret of the late King's Religion, and the Negotiation at *Dover*, to provide such an effectual Security, as might both save the *Crown*, and secure the *Religion*; and this I am sure some of the *Bishops* knew, who (to their Honour) were faithful to both.

The third Reason he gives for repealing the *Act*, is, *the incompetent Authority of those who enacted it; for it was of an Ecclesiastical Nature*: And here he stretches out his Wings to a Top-flight, and charges it with nothing less than *the Deposing of Christ from his Throne, the disowning, neglecting and affronting his Commission to his Catholick Church, and entrenching upon this Sacred Prerogative of his Holy Catholick Church*: And then that, he might have Occasion to feed his Spleen with railing at the whole Order, he makes a ridiculous Objection of the *Bishops* being present in the *House of Lords*, that he might shew his Respect to them, by telling in a Parenthesis *that (to their Shame) they had consented to it*. But has this *Scaramuchio* no Shame left him? Did the *Parliament* pretend by this *Act* to make any Decision in those two Points of *Transubstantiation* and *Idolatry*? Had not the *Convocation* defined them both for above an Age before? In the 28th Article of our Church these Words are to be found; *Transubstantiation (or the Change of the Substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain Words of Scripture, overthrowes the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occasion to many Superstitions*; and for the *Idolatry* of the Church of *Rome* that was also declared very expressly in the same Body of *Articles*: Since in the Article the 35 *Homilies* are declared, "to contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine necessary for those Times;" and upon this it is judged that they should be read in the Churches, by the "Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People." And the Second of these, which is against the *Peril of Idolatry*, aggravates the *Idolatry* of that Church in so many Particulars, and with such severe Expressions, that those who at first made those *Articles*, and all those who do now sign them, or oblige others to sign 'em, must either believe the Church of *Rome* to be guilty of *Idolatry*, or that the Church of *England* is the impudentest Society that ever assumed the Name of a Church, if she proposes such *Homilies* to the People, in which this Charge is given so home, and yet does not believe it herself. A Man must be of *Bays's* Pitch to rise up to this Degree of Impudence. Upon the whole Matter then, those Points had been already determined, and were a Part of our *Doctrine* enacted by *Law*: All that the *Parliament* did, was only to take these out of a great many more, that by this *Test* it might appear whether they who came into either *House* were of that Religion or not; and now let our *Reasoner* try what he can make out of this, or how he can justify the Scandal that he so boldly throws upon his Order; *as if they had as much as in them lay destroyed the very Being of a Christian Church, and had profanely pawned the Bishop to the Lord; and betrayed the Rights of the Church of England as by Law established, in particular, as well as of the Church Catholick in general, p, 8, 9.* All this shews to whom he was pawned both the *Bishop* and the *Lord*, and something else too, which is both *Conscience* and *Honour*, if he has any left. When one reflects on two of the *Bishops*, that were of that Venerable

Body, while this *Act* passed, whose Memory will be blessed in the present and following Ages, those two great and good Men that filled the *Sees* of *Chester* and *Oxford*, he must conclude, that as the World was not worthy of them, so certainly their *Sees* were not worthy of them, since they have been plagued with such *Successors*; that because *Bays* delights in Figures taken from the *Roman Empire*, I must tell him, that since *Commodus* succeeded to *Marcus Aurelius*, I do not find a more incongruous Succession in History. With what sensible Regret must those who were so often edified with the Gravity, the Piety, the Generosity, and Charity of the late Bishop of *Oxford*, look on, when they see such a *Harlequin* in his room?

His fourth Reason is taken from the *Uncertainty and Falseness of the Matters contained in the Declaration itself*, p. 9. for our Comedian maintains his Character still, and scorns to speak of established Laws with any Decency; here he puts in a Paragraph, as was formerly marked, which belonged to his second Reason, but it seems some of those to whom he has pawned himself, thought he had not said enough on that Head, and therefore to save Blottings, he put it in here. After that, he tells the Gentry, that *Transubstantiation was a Notion belonging to the School-men and Metaphysicians*, and that he may bespeak their Favour, he tells them in very soft Words: *That their Learning was more polite and practicable in the Civil Affairs of human Life, to understand the Rules of Honour, and the Laws of their Country, the Practice of Martial Discipline, and the Examples of great Men in former Ages, and by them to square their Actions in their respective Stations, and the like.* But sure the Bishop is here without his *Fiocco*; yet at least for Decency's sake he should have named *Religion* and *Virtue* among the proper Studies of the Gentry; and if he dares not trust them with the Reading the *Scriptures*, yet at least they might read the *Articles of our Church*, and hearken to the *Homilies*; for tho' it has been long one of the first Maxims that he has infused into all the Clergy that come near him; that the People ought to be brought into an Ignorance in Matters of *Religion*, that Preaching ought to be laid aside, for a preaching Church could not stand, that in *Sermons* no Points of Doctrine ought to be explained, and that only the Rules of human Life ought to be told the People; yet after all, they may read the *short Articles*: and tho' they were as blindly implicit as he would wish them to be, yet they would without Enquiry, find *Transubstantiation* to be condemned in them. Next he triumphs over the renouncing of it, p. 11. "as too bold and too prophane an Affront to the Almighty God: when Men abjure a Thing which it is morally impossible for them to understand." And he appeals to the Members of both *Houses* (whom in a Fit of Respect he calls *Honourable*, after he had reproached them all he could) "if they have any distinct Idea or Notion in their Minds, of the Thing they here so solemnly renounce." I do verily believe none of them have any distinct Notion of *Transubstantiation*, and that it is not only *Morally* but *Physically* impossible for them to understand it: But one would think that this is enough for declaring that they do not believe it, since the Test contains no Declaration concerning *Transubstantiation* itself, whether it is a true or false Doctrine; but only concerning the Belief of him that takes it. And if one can have "no distinct Notion of it, so that it is morally impossible for him to understand it, he may

may very well declare, *that he does not believe it.* After a Farce of a slight Story he concludes, that *there seems to be nothing but a prophane Levity in the whole Matter; and a shameless Abuse put upon God and Religion, to carry on the Wicked Designs of a Rebel Faction.* For he cannot for his Heart, abate an ace of his Insolence, even when he makes the *King, Lords, and Commons,* the Subject of his Scorn. Certainly, whatever his Character is, it ought not to be expected that a Man who attacks all that is sacred under God and Christ, should not be treated as he deserves; it were a feeble Weakness, to have so great a Regard to a Character that is so prostituted by him. He tells us, p. 47. "That all Parties agree in the Thing, and that they differ only in the Word and Manner": And here he makes a long Excursion to shew his Learning, in tacking great many Things together, which passes with ignorant Readers as a Mark of his great Reading: whereas in this, as well as in all his other Books, in which any Shews of Learning appear, those who have searched into the Fountains, see that he does nothing but gather from the Collection of others: only he spoils them with the *Levities* of his *Buffoon Stile*, and which is worse, with his *Disingenuity*. I leave all these Matters to be examined, by those who have Leisure for it, and that think them worth their Pains. But as for *Transubstantiation*, the Words that I have cited from out of our *Articles* shew plainly, that it is rejected in our *Church*, so that he is bound either to renounce it, or to renounce our *Church*; therefore all that Shew he makes with our History, comes to nothing, since whatever he may say with relation to *Edward the Sixth's* Reign, it cannot be denied, but they were enacted by the Convocation in the Beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and they have been ever since, the Doctrine of our *Church*; so that without going further, this is now our *Doctrine*, and since *Sa. Oxon* carries the Authority of the Convocation so high, he will find the Original Record of these *Articles* in *Corpus Christi College* in *Cambridge*, subscribed by the Members of both Houses, in which there is a much more positive Decision than is in the Prints, not only against *Transubstantiation*, but against any *corporal or real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament*: And if he will give himself Scope to rail at those who suppressed this, I leave him to his Liberty. But here is the formal Decision of this *Church*, and the pretending that there was no Evidence of *Cranmer's* Opinion, but in an unknown *Manuscript*, or a famous *Invisible Manuscript*, p. 47. 49. when there are two Books writ on this Matter by *Cranmer* himself, and when all the Disputes in *Queen Mary's* Time, besides those that were both in *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*, in *King Edward's* Time, shew so clearly, that this was his Doctrine, is a Strain becoming his Sincerity, that gives this, among many other Essays, of the Trust that is due to him.

But it seems he thought that *Dr. Tillotson*, *Dr. Stillingfleet*, and *Dr. Burnet*, besides some others whom he does not name, had not Reputation enough in the World, and therefore he intended to raise it, by using them ill; which is all the Effect that his Malice can have. He had set on one of his poor under Workmen, some Years ago, to decry the *Manuscript* which *Dr. Stillingfleet* had in his keeping for above twenty Years, and which *Dr. Burnet* had in his Hands, for many Months, and which they shewed to as many as desired to see it, but that had turned so much to his Shame that first vented the Calumny, that it

seems he summoned *Sa. Oxon* to appear his Second in the Slander; and he whose Brow is of so peculiar a Composition, will needs bring it here, tho' ever so impertinently. But I forgive the Hatred that he bears both to that *Manuscript* and to those *Doctors*, since nothing could be less to the Satisfaction of those for whom he published his Book, than to see the mature and regular Methods in which the Reformation was advanced: For the *Bishops* and *Divines* were appointed, to examine all Points with much Care, and to bring every Man his Opinion in Writing, all which were compared very faithfully, and upon these the Decisions were made.

There are many other Papers yet extant, which by comparing the Hands, shew these to be Originals; and they were in the *Salisbury* Family probably ever since they were at first brought together. Their Ancestor the Lord *Burghly*, who was *Secretary of State* in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, gathered them up; and as appears in a Letter under his own Hand yet extant, he had six or seven Volumes of them, of which *Dr. Stillingfleet* had only two, but *Dr. Burnet* saw two more of these Volumes.

The *History of the Reformation* sells still so well, that I do not believe *Mr. Chiswell*, the Printer of it, has made any Present to this Reasoner, to raise its Price; for to attack it with so much Malice, and yet not to offer one Reason to lessen its Credit, is as effectual a Recommendation, as this Author can give it.

He pretends, that *Dr. Burnet's* Design was, to make *Cranmer* appear a mere *Sacramentarian* as to *Doctrine*, as if he had made him appear an *Erastian*, as to *Discipline*; and he thinks the vain Man was flattered into all the Pains he took, that he might give Reputation to the Errors of his Patrons, and that those two grand Forgeries are the grand Singularities of his History: and the main Things that gave it popular Vogue and Reputation with his Party. So that were these two blind Stories, and the Reasons depending upon them retrenched, it would be like the shaving of *Sampson's* Hair, and destroy all the Strength peculiar to the History. But to all this Stuff I shall only say, 1. That the Charge of *Forgery* falls back on the Reasoner, since as to *Cranmer's* Opinion of the *Sacrament*, his own Books, and his Dispute at *Oxford* are such plain Evidences, that none but *Bays* could have questioned it: and for his being an *Erastian*, *Dr. Burnet* had clearly proved that he had changed his Opinion in that Point, so that tho' he shewed that he had been indeed once engaged in those Opinions, yet he proved that he had forsaken them: Let the Reader judge to whom the Charge of *Forgery* belongs. 2. *Dr. Burnet* has indeed some Temptations to *Vanity* now, since he is ill used by *Bays*; and put in such Company: But I dare say, if he goes to give him his Character he will never mention so slight a one as *Vanity*, in which how excessive so ever he may be, yet it is the smallest of all his Faults. 3. These two Particulars here mentioned, bear so inconsiderable a Share in that History, and have been so little minded, that I dare say of an hundred that are pleased with that Work, there is not one that will assign these as their Motives.

He censures *Dr. Burnet* for saying, *he had often heard it said that the Articles of our Church were framed by Cranmer and Ridley; as if it were the meanest Trade of an Historian to stoop to Hearsays*, p. 55. But the best of all the *Roman Historians* (*Sallust. in bello Catil.*) does it, and in this *Dr. Burnet* maintains the

the Character of a sincere Historian to say nothing that was not well grounded : And since it has been often said by many Writers that these two Bishops prepared our *Articles*, he finding no particular Evidence of that, delivers it with its own Doubtfulness. It is very like *Sa. Oxon* would have been more positive upon half the Grounds, that Dr. *Burnet* had, but the other chose to write exactly ; yet he adds, that it is probable that they penned them : And if either the Dignity of their *Sees*, or of their Persons be considered, the Thing will appear reasonable enough. But I do not wonder to see any thing that looks like a Modesty of Stile offend our Author. He is next so kind to Dr. *Burnet* as to offer him some Counsel, (p. 50.) *that he would be well advised to employ his Pen in writing Lampoons upon the present Princes of Christendom ; especially his own which he delights in most ; because it is the worst Thing that himself can do, than collecting the Records of former Times ; for the First will require Time and Postage, to pursue his Malice ; but the Second is easily traced in the Chimney-corner.*

One would think that this Period was writ by Mr. *Louth*, it is so obscure and ill expressed, that nothing is plain, but the Malice of it : But he, of all Men, should be the furthest from reproaching any for writing *Lampoons*, who has now given so rude a one, on the late *King* and the *Lords* and *Commons* ; if bold Railing without either Wit or Decency, deserves that Name. I will only say this further, that if one had the ill Nature to write a *Lampoon* on the Government, one of the severest Articles in it, would be. That it seems Writers are hard to be found, when such a Baboon is made use of. It is *Lampoon* enough upon the Age, that he is a Bishop ; but it is downright *Reproach* that he is made the Champion of a Cause, which if it is bad of itself, must suffer extremely by being in such Hands.

And thus I think enough is said in Answer to his impertinent Digression upon *Transubstantiation*, let him renounce the *Article* of our *Church*, and all that he possesses in Consequence of his having signed it, and then we will agree all the Rest with him upon the Square ; but as long as he owns that, he is bound likewise to own the first Branch of the Test, which is the *Renouncing Transubstantiation*. In this Discourse he makes his old Hatred to *Calvin* and the *Calvinists* return so often, that it appears very conspicuously. I believe it is stronger now than ever, and that for a particular Reason : When the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange* were married, he was perhaps the only Man in *England* that expressed his Uneasiness at that happy Conjunction, in so clownish a Manner, that when their *Highnesses* passed thro' *Canterbury*, he would not go with the rest of that Body, to which he was so long a Blemish, to pay his Duty to them, and when he was asked the Reason, he said, *He could have no Regard to a Calvinist Prince*. Now this *Calvinist Prince* has declared his Mind so openly and fully against the *Repeal of the Test*, that no doubt this has encreased *Bays's* Distemper, and heightened his Choler against the whole Party.

The second Branch of the Test is the Declaration made of the *Idolatry committed in the Roman Church* : Upon which he tells us, pag. 71, 72. That *Idolatry is a stabbing and cut-throat Word, and that it is an Inviting and Warranting the Rabble whenever Opportunity favours to destroy the Roman Catholicks* ; and here *Bays* will outdo himself, since this was a Master-piece of Service, therefore he makes the Taxing the Church of *Rome* with *Idolatry, a Piece of Humanity*

that outdoes the Savages of the Canibals themselves; and damns at once both Body and Soul. He charges Dr. Stillingfleet as the great Founder of this, and all other Anti-catholick and Anticristian and uncharitable Principles amongst us, and that the Test is the Swearing to the Truth of his unlearned and fanatick Notion of Idolatry, pag. 130, 135. And the Result of all is, That Idolatry made the Plot, and then the Plot made Idolatry, and that the same Persons made both. He has also troubled the Reader with a second Impertinence to shew his second-hand Reading again upon the Notion of Idolatry. But all this falls off with a very short Answer, if he is of the Church of England, and believes that the Homilies contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, all this Clamour against Idolatry, turns against himself, for he will find the Church of Rome charged with this, almost an Age before Dr. Stillingfleet was born; and tho' perhaps none has ever defended the Charge, with so much Learning as he has done, yet no Malice less impudent than his is, could make him the Author of the Accusation. It will be another Strain of our Author's Modesty, if he will pretend that our Church is not bound to own the Doctrine that is contained in her Homilies, he must by this make our Church as treacherous to her Members, as *Sa. Oxon* is to her, or to deliver this Doctrine to the People, if we believe it not ourselves, is to be as impudent as he himself can pretend to be. A Church may believe a Doctrine which she does not think necessary to propose to all her Members; but she were indeed a Society fit for such Pastors as he is, if she could propose to the People a Doctrine, chiefly one of so great Consequence as this is, without she believed it herself. So then he must either renounce our Church and her Articles, or he must answer all his own Plea for clearing that Church of this Imputation; which is so slight, that it will be no hard Matter even for such a trifling Writer as himself is, to do it; as for what he says of stabbing and cut-throat Words, he may charge us with such Words, if he will, but we know who we may charge with the Deeds. I would gladly see the List of all that have been murdered by these Words, to try if they can be put in the Ballance, either with the Massacre of Ireland, or that of Paris; upon which I must take Notice of his slight Way of mentioning Coligny, and Faction, and telling us in plain Words, pag. 45. "That they were Rebels," this is perhaps another Instance of his Kindness to the Calvinist Prince, that is descended from that Great Man.

If Idolatry made our Plot, it was not the first that it made, but his Malignity is still like himself, his charging Dr. Stillingfleet, who he says is the Author of the Imputation of Idolatry, as if he had suborned the Evidence in our Plot. I should congratulate to the Dr. the Honour that is done him by the Malice of one who must needs be the Object of the Hatred of all good Men, if I did not look upon him as so contemptible a Person, that his Love and his Hatred are equally insignificant. If he thinks our Church worse than Canibals, I wish he would be at the Pains to go and make a Trial, and see whether these Salvages will use him as we have done. I dare say, they would not eat him, for they would find so much Gall and Choler in him, that the first Bit would quite disgust them.

SAMUEL Lord Bishop of *Oxon*, his Celebrated Reasons for Abrogating the Test, and Notion of *Idolatry*, answered by *Samuel*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*.

It's better to Indulge Men's Vices and Debaucheries, than their Consciences. Sam. Park. Ecclesi. Pol. Pag. 54

TH E R E is nothing hereby intended to impugn the *Abrogation of the TEST*: May his Majesty's Sacred Will and Pleasure be fulfill'd; and may the Rights of the *English Peerage* remain inviolable. But there seems to have been an absolute Necessity, for the *Author* of the *Reasons for Abrogating the TEST*, to have repeal'd his most bitter *Invectives* against the *Non-conformists*, and his tempestuous *Indignation* against *Dissenters* in general; so diametrically opposite to the serene and pious Desires and Resolutions of his Majesty, to make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him as well by Inclination, as Duty; and to have shew'd his Compliance to his Majesty in all his most laudable and generous Designs, before he had singled out that particular Point of the *TEST*, merely to hook in a Plea for *Transubstantiation*, and his own new-modell'd Notions of *Idolatry*. But let others, whom it may concern, dispute those *Controversies*: The present Question is, Whether his Lordship of *Oxon*, have retracted his Discourses of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, or at least, those Passages in them, which run so apparently counter to his Majesty's *Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*? Otherwise he may seem to have calculated his *Writings* for the various *Meridians of State*; and his *Arguments* will not bear that Weight, which (tho' the same, yet,) coming from another Person, they would have done.

NOW, there cannot be a more certain Touch-stone of Truth of the Bishop's, or Arch-deacon's (which you please, for they are both the same Person's) *Ecclesiastical Policy*, than the Declaration itself: Only, out of his Christian Charity, the Arch-deacon has peopled the Kingdom with such a dreadful Canaille (all but those of the Church of *England*) that Astonishment itself might wonder well, were his unconscionable Epithets to be allow'd, that so gracious, so indulgent, so soft and calm a Declaration, should come forth in Kindness to such a Rabble: For those whom his Majesty calls his good Subjects, the Arch-deacon continually stigmatizes with the foul Epithets of Jugglers, Dissemblers, Wicked, Rebellious, Hypocrites, Sons of Strife and Singularity, and most notorious Hereticks. (a) And, upon this Supposition, as the Foundation of his Pile, that the Generality of the People of *England* are such, (for he excepts none but Those of the Church of *England*) he rears the Fabrick of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*; wherein he had only this Misfortune, to be of a quite contrary Opinion to his Prince; and that his *Draconicks* were not repeal'd, before the Declaration came forth.

The

(a) *Ecclesiast. Polit. pag. 241, 242, 273, 319, 187.*

518 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

The Declaration expresses his Majesty's "Earnest Desire to establish his Government on such a Foundation, as to make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him as well by Inclination, as Duty; which he thinks can be done by no means so effectually, as by granting them the free Exercise of their Religion."

But the Arch Deacon's Politicks are of another Strain: For, in his Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 12. he says; "That the Aim of his Discourse is, by representing the palpable Inconsistency of *Phanatick* Tempers and Principles, with the Welfare and Security of Government, to awaken Authority to beware of its worst, and most dangerous Enemies, and force them to Modesty and Obedience by Severity of Laws."

Pag. 52. of the same Preface: "If Princes (says he) would but consider, how liable Mankind are to abuse themselves with serious and conscientious Villainies, they would quickly see it to be absolutely necessary to the Peace and Happiness of their Kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe Government over Mens Consciences, than over their Vices and Immoralities."

Pag. 54. of the same, he boasts his having proved, "That Indulgence and Toleration is the most absolute Sort of Anarchy; and that Princes may with less Hazard give Liberty to Mens Vices and Debaucheries, than to their Consciences."

But the Declaration is quite of another Temper: "We humbly thank Almighty God, it is, and hath of a long Time been, our constant Sense and Opinion, which upon divers Occasions we have declared, that Conscience ought not to be constrain'd, nor People forced in Matters of mere Religion."

But this will not be admitted by the Arch Deacon: "For, (says he, *Ecclesiast. Pol.* pag. 321.) when Mens Consciences are so squeamish, that they will rise against the Customs and Injunctions of the Church, she must scourge them into Order, and chastize them for their troublesome Peevishness."

Pag. 324. (*Ecclesiast. Polit.*) He pretends to have prov'd the "Unavoidable Danger of Toleration, and keeping religious Differences, that Religion must be governed by the same Rules, as all other Transactions of human Life; and that nothing can do it but severe Laws; nor they neither, unless severely executed."

Ecclesiast. Polit. Pag. 311. "If Princes (says he) will suffer themselves to be checked in their Laws Spiritual by every Systematical Theologue, they may as well bare to see themselves affronted in their Laws Civil by every Village Attorney."

Pag. 284. "But to indulge Ideots in their Folly because they threaten Authority to be peevish and scrupulous, and to infest the Government with a sullen and cross-grain'd Godliness, (an Artifice not much unlike the Tricks of froward Children) is to suffer Ignorance to ride in Triumph; and therefore such humourfome Saints must be lash'd out of their Sullenness, into Compliance, and better Manners. This (as the Arch Deacon calls it: Preface to *Brambal's Vindication*) was one of his Rhapsodies of hasty and huddled

“ dled Thoughts. Most divine Words, and most seraphick Charity ! but the
 “ Arch Deacon will have Tendernefs of Conscience to be Pride, Vanity, and
 “ Insolence, though all the seven Champions should contradict him.

Pag. 273. “ He that pretends Conscience to vouch his Humour, and his Info-
 “ lence is a Villian, and an Hypocrite ; and so far from deserving Pity, espec-
 “ ally from Authority, that no Offenders can more need or provoke their Seve-
 “ rity.” This may be true : (e) But where the supreme Government, which
 must of Necessity be absolute, uncontroulable, and unlimited, as well in Mat-
 ters of Religion, &c. more sagaciouly discerns beyond the Arch Deacon’s,
 that same Conscience to be neither Humour nor Insolence, nor will comprehend
 it under that Notion ; there it is to be hoped, the Man is not a Villain, nor an
 Hypocrite, and so not liable to the Fury of Correction.

Pag. 271. “ And therefore, if Princes will be resolute, they may easily make
 “ the most stubborn Consciences bend to their Commands ; But, if they will
 “ not, they must submit themselves, and their Power, to all the Follies and
 “ Passions of their Subjects.” *Probatum est. S. P.*

Pag. 270. “ Governors must look to the Publick, and let tender Conscience
 “ look to themselves. Laws must be of an unyielding, and unflexible Tem-
 “ per, and not soft and easy Things. Princes must not be diffident in their
 Maxims of Policy ; but, as they must set up some to themselves ; so they must
 act roundly up to them.” *Dii te donent Tonfore.*—*Quare*, Why this Coun-
 sel was not taken, since the Counsel was given so long before the Declaration
 came forth ? *Answ.* Because it was ever contrary to his Majesty’s Inclina-
 tion.

Pag. 269. “ ’Tis all one to the Concernments of Government, whether Ten-
 “ dernefs of Conscience be serious or counterfeit : for whether so or so, ’tis
 “ directly contrary to the Ends and Interest of Government.” Better unsaid,
 than not believed.

Pag. 263. “ And what can be more destructive to all Manner of Govern-
 “ ment, than to make all the Rules of Order and Discipline less sacred than
 “ the Whimsies of every Phanatick Zealot ?” Pray be patient, Sir, there is no
 such Thing done.

Ibid. “ When to pick Quarrels with the Laws, and make Scruple of obeying
 “ them, shall be made the specifick Character of the Godly : When giddy
 “ and humourous Zeal shall not only excuse, but hallow Disobedience ; when
 “ every one that has Fancy enough to fancy himself a Child of God, shall have
 “ License to despise Authority.” Who would have been at the Trouble of
 all this Rhetorick, had he known what would have followed ?

Pag. 252. “ In brief, the only Cause of all our Troubles and Disturbances, is,
 “ the inflexible Perverseness of about an hundred proud, ignorant and seditious
 “ Preachers ; against whom, if the Severity of the Laws were particularly le-
 “ vell’d, how easy would it be to reduce the People to a peaceable Temper ?”
 There were just three more than his Number, and that spoil’d the Project.

Page.

(e) *Ecclesiast. Pol.* p. 27, 28, 36, &c.

(f) *Declar.* p. 2.

Pag. 187. "What can be more apparently vain, than to talk of Accommodations, or to hope for any Possibility of Quiet or Settlement, till Authority shall see it necessary to scourge them into better Manners, and wiser Opinions?"

Pag. 219. "'Tis easy and possible for well-meaning People, through Ignorance or Inadvertency, to be betray'd into such unhappy Errors as may tend to the publick Disturbance; which, though it be not so much their Crime as Infelicity; yet is there no Remedy, but it must expose them to the Correction of the publick Rods and Axes." Surely, *Rhadamanthus's* own Chaplain could not have preached more severe Divinity?

Pag. 271. "In brief, There is nothing so ungovernable as a tender Conscience, or so reftiff and inflexible as Folly or Wickedness, when hardened with Religion: And therefore, instead of being comply'd with, they must be restrained with a more peremptory and unyielding Rigour, than naked and unsanctified Villany."

Pag. 223. "Nay, so easy it is for Men to deserve to be punished for their Consciences, that there is no Nation in the World, (were Government rightly understood, and duly managed) wherein Mistakes and Abuses in Religion, would not supply the Gallies with vastly greater Numbers than Villainy." 'Tis a Comfort, curst Cows have now short Horns.

However, to this the tender Declaration makes a Reply, declaring one of the Reasons of His Majesty's Indulgence to be; because he finds that Force in Matter of meer Religion, tends to the depopulating of Countries.

On the other Side, the *Arch-deacon*, in Opposition to the King's Reason, is for depopulating the Land, and peopling the Gallies; and arraigns that Government for Want of Understanding and due Management, that does not observe his Method of Cruelty. He is for *Pillories, Whipping-posts, Rods, Axes, Scourges, &c.* as if no Government pleased him, but that described by *Virgil* in Hell.

*Hinc exaudiri gemitus, & sæva sonare
Verbera; tum stridor Ferri, tractæque catenæ.*

————— *Accincta flagella
Tisiphone quatit insultus, torvosque sinistra
Intentans Angues vocat Agmina sæva sororum.*

This, in the *Arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity*; and to shew that no other Government will content him but this, pag. 18. "I leave it, (says he) to Governors themselves to judge, whether it does not concern them with as much Vigilance and Severity, either to prevent the Rise, or suppress the Growth, (of Phanaticks he means, that find themselves grieved by the Penal Laws) as to punish any the foulest Crimes of Immorality? And if they would seriously consider into what Exorbitancies, peevish and untoward Principles about Religion improve themselves, they could not but perceive it to be as much their Concernment to punish them with the severest Inflictions, as any whatsoever Principles and Rebellions in the State."——Well! The Business is considered, and his *Ecclesiastical Polity* is found to be deficient.

Nay, he goes farther, and arraigns all Kings and Princes for their Folly, under the Title of Governors : For, says he, in the following, pag. 19. " This certainly has ever been one of the fatal Miscarriages of all Governors, in that they have not been aware of this fierce and implacable Enemy, (meaning the Phanaticks, who care no more for *Whips* and *Scourges*, than the *Devil* does for *Holy-Water*) but have gone about to govern unruly Consciences, but more easy and remiss Laws than those that are only able to suppress scandalous and confess'd Villanies, and have thought them sufficiently restrained, by threatening Punishments without inflicting them ; and indeed, in most Kingdoms, so little have Princes understood their own Interests in Matters of Religion, &c." Harken, O ye Princes of *Europe*, and go to School again to the Author of the *Discourses of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

But, here is another bold Touch. " Prohibition disobligees Dissenters, and that is no Evil ; Impunity allows them Toleration, but that is a greater ; and where Governors permit what their Laws permit, (this is not the present Case) there the Commonwealth must at one feel all the Evils both of Restraint and Liberty. So that, as they would expect Peace and Settlement, they must be sure, at first, to bind on their Ecclesiastical Laws with the straightest Knot, and afterwards keep them in Force and Countenance by the Severity of the Law. Their Restraint must be proportioned to their Unruliness of the Conscience ; and they must be managed with so much the greater Strictness than all the other Principles of Disturbance, by how much they are the more dangerous." *Gratias Domine*, now Princes understand what they have to do.

Yet a little more of the *Arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity*. Beloved, in his Preface to Bishop *Brambal's Vindication*, (for it is not paged) you shall find it thus written. " They (meaning the Phanaticks, or Complainers against the Penal Statutes) have been so long accustomed to undutiful Demeanor, that it is feared they are grown too head-strong and incorrigible, to be aw'd into a more modest Behaviour by Threatnings of Severity. Therefore it will be thought necessary to bridle their ungoverned Tongues and Spirits with *Pillories* and *Whipping-posts*."

And at the Bottom of the same Page : " To this Peevishness of their Humours, I might add the Restlessness of their Minds that is always displeased with the settled Frame of Things, (*Innuendo*, the settled Penal Laws) and that no Alterations can satisfy. If you condescend to their Demands, you only encourage them to make new Remonstrances : Appease all their old Complaints, and they are immediately picking new Faults to be redressed. They that at first only request Indulgence, will, when strong enough demand it." In short, Give the *Nonconformists* an Inch, and they'll take an Ell.

" But, (in the same Preface) should it ever so happen hereafter, that any King of *England* should be prevailed with to deliver up the Church," (that is to say, to dispence with the Penal Laws and *Test* ; for the *Test*, notwithstanding the Reasons against it, must be included in this long Parenthesis, because the Church framed it) " he had as good at the same Time resign up his Crown." And thus you see the Danger of the present Government, through the *Non-conformity* to the *Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity*.

There is another Reason why His Majesty was graciously pleased to think, Force in Matter of meer Religion, directly contrary to the Interest of Government ; and that is, *Spoiling of Trade.*

Trade! cries the *Arch-Deacon*: Trade! No. Let Grass grow about the *Custom-House*, rather than abate one Tittle of my *Ecclesiastical Polity*: For, (in his Preface to his *Ecclesiast. Pol.* pag. 49.) "'Tis notorious, (says he) that " there is not any Sort of People so inclinable to Seditious Practices, as the " Trading Part of a Nation ; and their Pride and Arrogance naturally increases " with the Improvement of their Stock. And if we reflect upon our late miserable Distractions, 'tis easy to observe how the Quarrel was hatched in Trade, " Mens Shops, and cherished by the Zeal of Prentices." (By the Way, this is plausible Nonsense all over) But he goes on, pag. 50. "'Tis a very odd, and " preposterous Piece of Policy to design the enriching this Sort of People, while " their Heads are distempered with Religious Lunacies." And, pag. 51. " He is a very silly Man, and understands nothing of the Follies, Passions, and " Inclinations of Human Nature, who sees not there is no Creature so ungovernable as a Wealthy Phanatick." And therefore, (pag. 48.) " I confess, I " cannot but smile, when I observe how some that would be thought wonderful grave and solemn Statesmen, labour with mighty Projects of setting up " this and that Manufacture in their several respective Towns and Corporations ; " and how eagerly they pursue these petty Attempts, beyond the great Affair of a " more publick Concernment, (meaning the dreadful and terrible Execution of " the Penal Laws) and how wisely they neglect the Settlement of a whole Nation, for the Benefit of a *Village* or *Burrough*?" Very pleasant *Ecclesiastical Polity*! No Man must eat or drink, or maintain his Family: The grand Relation of Human Necessities depending one upon another, must stand still, to oblige the *Arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity*. Here's a *Quietus est* for above the third Part of the Nation. None but those that can swallow a *Surplice*, and adore the *Parochial Levite*, must weave Camblets at *Norwich*, make Bays at *Colchester*, Spurs at *Rippon*, Nails at *Birmingham*, or Saddles at *Burford*. For why? " There is not any Sort of People so seditious as the Trading Part of the Nation." So that supposing the Greater Part of the Trading Part of the Nation be, as the *Arch-deacon* calls them *Phanatics* and *Non-conformists*, (that is, Men conscientiously scrupling the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*) they must either be (g) scourged into better Manners with Eriars and Thorns, or else the Nation must be laid waste and desolate. For to tell you true, as good have no People, as those that will not pay Tithes ; 'tis no Matter for the King's Duties, nor how the Nation may be otherwise weakned and exposed.

There is yet behind one more Reason urged in the Declaration, and that is this ; " That Force in Matter of meer Religion, never obtained the End for " which it was imployed ; wherein His Majesty declares himself the more confirmed, by the Reflections he made upon the four last Reigns."

Now, here's the utter Subversion of the *Arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity* ; all meer Labour in vain ; Abundance of ranting, raving, reviling Expressions, in-
somuch, that the *Arch-Angel* was more civil to the *Devil*, than the *Arch-Deacon*
to.

to the *Dissenters*; and yet all to no Purpose. He has been at a great deal of pains in setting up Pillories and Whipping-posts in all Parts and Corners of the Kingdom; and now he may even go, and pull them down again. What are now become of all his Politick Let-but's? In his Preface to Bishop *Bramhall's* Vindication; "Let but the Government think it seasonable at any time
"to reprieve them (meaning the *Dissenters*) from the Severity of the Laws,
"and they immediately start up into that Confidence, as to imagine themselves
"the only Darlings of State. Let but the Publick Rods be removed from their
"Backs, and they are presently full of Expectations to have them put into their
"own Hands. If they are not always scourg'd and chastis'd, they will grow
"Sawcy, and must by all means become Cronies to Kings and Princes.

Many other Passages might have been collected out of his several bitter (if they may not be said to be scurrilous) Invectives against the *Dissenters*; but here are sufficient to make it apparently manifest, that the Author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was as great a *Dissenter* from the mild and tender Maxims of his Majesty's Government, and his constant Sense and Opinion, of a long time professed and declared upon several Occasions in Matters of Religion, as the *Dissenters* were dissatisfied with the rigid Severity of the Church of *England*; or, at least, with the Principles of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

Which makes it seem questionable, whether a Person, who has brandish'd his Pen with that Virulency, against the *Dissenters* in general, and his Majesty's Royal Opinion, and the mature Results of his most serious Deliberations, may be a proper Champion against the Test? For most certainly, there has been much more said already, and much more to the Purpose, than he has produced.

(b) On the other side, he has most dogmatically avouched, "That if ever the
"boisterous and unreasonable Opposition (as he calls it) of the *Nonconformists*
"to the Church of *England*, be re-erected it must be upon its Ruins: And
"that if ever the *Roman Catholics* get any Ground, or Advantage of the
"Church of *England*, they will be bound to make their Acknowledgments to
"the *Puritans*, and the Strength of their Assistance. Whence he draws his
"Conclusion, "That it would be a pleasant Spectacle, (that is to say, A ridicu-
"lous Over-sight in Government) to see either the Classical or Congregational
"Discipline established by Authority."

Moreover, in the 721st Page of the *Vindication of his Eccles. Pol.* he appeals to all Men, whether Liberty of Conscience be any better, than a License for Anarchy and Confusion? Pag. 238. he says, "That to grant Subjects a
"lawless and uncontroul'd Liberty of Conscience, in all Matters and Pretences
"of Religion, is to dissolve one half of the Government into perfect Anarchy,
"and yield up the Constitution of all Publick Affairs, to the Humour of every
"wild Enthusiast." And Pag. 553. you find it thus written, "So that, seeing
"an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (of Pillories and Whipping-Posts, Thorns
"and Bryars) is absolutely necessary to prevent all Confusions, arising from
"unrestrain'd Liberty, it is better that Mankind should be sometimes ex-
"posed to the Miseries of Tyranny and Persecution, than always groan under
"the intolerable Disorders of Anarchy, or Reluctancy to Penal Statutes."

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If

If then the Church of *England* be establish'd upon such a firm Foundation, that nothing can endanger it, but Indulgence to the *Dissenters*, 'tis to be admir'd, that a Man, so knowing in Ecclesiastical Policy, and so great a Friend to the Church of *England*, would open such a Gap as to plead for the Abrogation of the Test, which the Church-men of *England* fram'd and set-up, as the only Bulwark to prevent her Dissolution. So that, to use his own Words, "'Tis very hardly credible, That a Person, who has lately appear'd so vigorously in her Cause, should, notwithstanding all his seeming Zeal and Earnestness, be really in good Earnest, in his Pretences, against the Test." For what signifies the abrogating the Test, if there be no Way to shake the otherwise immovable Church of *England*, but by making two Bridges of *Dissenters*, one between *Callais* and *Dover*, the other between *Diepe* and *Rye*, for *Popery* to return into *England*: For, when he comes to that Part of his Preface to Bishop *Bramhall's* Vindication, where he considers what Likelihood, or how much Danger there is of the Return of *Popery* into this Nation: For my own Part, says he, "I know none, but the *Nonconformist's* boisterous and unreasonable Opposition to the Church of *England*." If he thinks, that the Abrogation of the Test may be a Means to unite the *Papists*, and the *Dissenters*, which he seems to intimate, by saying; "That the Faction of *Dissenters* may be made use of, as Instruments (Journey-men Tools) to dissolve and unravel the establish'd Frame of Things, and destroy the Church of *England*; and so make an unobstructed Passage for the Return of *Popery* in Glory and Triumph;" then he has left his Cause in the Lurch, and relinquish'd all his Ecclesiastical Polity at once.

As for the *Papists* he deals with them after such a rate, that no Man living knows where to have him. In his Preface to Bishop *Bramhall's* Vindication, he seems neither to love nor fear them: For that, as long as the Church of *England* stands in Power and Reputation, it will easily beat back and baffle all the Attempts of *Rome*, and its Adherents; their plausible Reasons being evidently no more, than little Tricks and Sophisms, and seem intended by themselves, rather to abuse the Simple, than satisfy the Wise. Their Innovations are so undeniable, and the Design of the Church of *England's* Reformation, so apparently *Apostolical*, that those People must needs argue at a strange wild Rate, that will be demonstrating against Experience, and ocular Inspection. So then, the Reformation made by the Church of *England*, in the Points of Transubstantiation, Worship of Images, Adoration of the Host, and Invocation of Saints, being *Apostolical*; What must be thought of his Reasons against the Test? Nay, there is nothing could preserve the *Papists* from being hiss'd out of the Pit, but that they are extremely confident, and most Readers sufficiently ignorant: So that the Church of *England* may safely desire all their Opposition. She does not stand upon such Trembling Foundations, as to be thrust down with Bull-rush Spears, and Oral Traditions, with Labyrinths, and Castles in the Air.

But then his Heart misgives him again, and he begins to fear the Return of *Popery* into the Nation, should the *Nonconformists* join with the *Papists*: And therefore, at the End of his Preface, he begs the hearty Prayers of his Friend, for the Peace and Prosperity of the Church of *England*; for when that is gone,
(fare-

(farewell Frost) 'twill be hard to find out another, with which any, that are either honest or wise, will be over forward to join in Communion.

Notwithstanding all this, upon better Considerations, as it were in Compassion of the despis'd Weakness of the Church of *Rome*, and her Adherents, he undertakes to furnish them with better Arguments of his own, than any they have themselves, to vindicate *Transubstantiation*, and clear them from *Idolatry*: For which he strains an Argument deduced from the *Cherubims*, that cover'd the *Ark*. And yet, in his Defence of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*. Pag. 285, 286. he condemns both *Turk* and *Pope* together in a Breath; the one for giving Divine Worship to a lewd Impostor; the other, to a senseless Piece of Matter. And thus, what, by Vertue of apparent, apostolical Reformation, he call'd (Before) a senseless Piece of Matter, he has (Now) cover'd with the *Cherubim's* Golden Wings, and render'd adorable by Scripture-Warrant: But, *Bene scribit, qui bene intelligitur*; What he has Written, he has Written.

*A Plain Account of the Persecution, now laid to the Charge
of the Church of ENGLAND..*

I. **T**HE Desire of *Liberty* to serve God in that Way and Manner, which Men judge to be most acceptable to him, is so natural and reasonable, that they cannot but be extremely provoked against those who would force them to serve him in any other. But the Conceit withal, which most Men have that their Way of serving God, is the only acceptable Way; naturally inclines them, when they have Power, to use all means to constrain all others to serve him in that Way only. So that *Liberty* is not more desired by all, at one time, than it is denied by the very same Persons at another. Put them into different Conditions, and they are not of the same Mind, but have different Inclinations, in one State, from what they have in another; as will be apparent by a short View of what hath passed in these Churches and Kingdoms, within our Memory.

II. Before the late Civil Wars, there were very grievous Complaints made of the *Bishops*; that they pressed the Ceremonies so strictly, as to inflict heavy Censures upon those called *Puritans*, who could not in *Conscience* conform to them. Now no sooner had those very Persons who thus complain'd, got their Liberty to do as they pleased, but they took it quite away from the other, and sequestered all those who would not enter into their *Holy League and Covenant*; for the reforming all Things, according to the Model which they propounded. Nay they were not willing to bear with *five* Dissenting Brethren amongst themselves; who could not conform to the *Presbyterial* Government. And when these Dissenting Brethren, commonly known by the Name of *Independents*, had got a Party, strong enough, which carried all before them; they would not allow the Use of the *Common Prayer* in any Parish, no not the *King* himself in his own Chappel: Nor grant to one of the old Clergy, so much Liberty as to teach a School, &c. Which Things I do not mention (God knows) to reproach those
who

who were guilty of them, but only to put them in mind of their own Failings; that they may be humbled for them; and not insult over the Church of *England*, nor severely upbraid them with that, which, when Time was, they acted with a higher Hand themselves. If I should report all that the *Presbyterians* did here and in *Scotland*, and all that the *Independents* did here and in *New-England*; it would not be thought that I exceed the Truth, when I say they have been more guilty of this Fault, than those whom they now charge with it. Which doth not excuse the Church of *England*, it must be confessed; but doth in some measure, mitigate her Fault. For the conformable Clergy having met with such very hard Usage in that dismal Time, wherein many of them were oppressed above Measure: No wonder if the Smart of it, then fresh in their Minds, something embittered their Spirits, when God was pleased, by a wonderful Revolution, to put them into Power again.

III. Then a stricter *Act of Uniformity* was made, and several Laws pursuant to it, for the enforcing that Uniformity, by severe Penalties. But let it be remembered that none were by those Laws constrained to come to Church, but had *Liberty* left them to serve God at home, (and some Company with them) in their own Way. And let it be farther remembered, that the Reason why they were denied their Liberty of meeting in greater Assemblies was; because such Assemblies were represented as *greatly endangering the publick Peace and Safety*: As the Words are in the very first *Act* of this Nature against *Quakers*, in the Year 1662. Let any one read the *Oxford Act*, (as it is commonly called) made in the Year 1662, and that at *Westminster* in the Year 1670. and he will find them intended against *Seditious Conventicles*; that is, they who made them were persuaded by the *Jesuit Interest* at first to look upon such Meetings as *Nurseries of Sedition*, where bad *Principles* were infused into Mens Minds, destructive to *Civil Government*. If it had not been for this, it doth not appear that the Contrivers of these Laws were inclined to such *Severities* as were thereby enacted; but the *Nonconformists* might have enjoyed a larger Liberty in *Religion*. It was not *Religion* alone which was considered, and pretended, but the *publick Peace and Settlement*: With respect to which they were tied up so straitly in the Exercise of their *Religion*. Which, to deal clearly, I do not believe would have taught *Rebellion*; but this was constantly insinuated by the *Court Agents*, and it is no *Wonder* that the *Parliament*, who remembered how the Ministers of that Persuasion (though indeed from the then Appearance of *Popery*) had been the principal Encouragers of that *Defensive War* against the *King*, were easily made to believe that they still retained the same *Principles*, and would propagate them, if they were suffered, among the People. Certain it is also, that the *Court* made it their Care to have those Acts passed; though at the same Time they hindered their Execution, that they might keep up both Parties, in the Height of their Animosities, and especially that they might make the Church of *England*, be both, hated and despised by the *Dissenters*.

IV. Thus Things continued for some Time, till wise Men began to see into the Secret; and think of a *Reconciliation*. But it was also hindered by the *Court*, who never thought of giving *Liberty* by a *Law*, but only by the *Prerogative*, which could as easily take it away. There was a Time, for Instance, when a *Comprehension*, &c. was projected by several Great Men both in *Church and State*; for the taking as many as was possible into Union with us, and provid-
ed

ed Ease for the Rest. Which so nettled the late King, that meeting with the then Archbishop of Canterbury, he said to him, (as I perfectly remember) *What, My Lord, you are for a Comprehension?* To which he made such a Reply as signified, he heard some were about it: *No*, said the King, *I will keep the Church of England pure and unmixed*; that is, never suffer a Reconciliation with the *Dissenters*. And when the *Lords and Commons* also had, not many Years ago, passed a Bill for the Repealing of the most Heavy of all the *Penal Laws* against *Dissenters*, viz. The Statute of 35 Eliz. 1. (which, by the Parliament is made, against the *wicked and dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries, and disloyal Persons*) His late Majesty so dealt with the Clerk of the Parliament, that it was shuffled away and could not be found, when it was to have been presented to him, among other Bills, for his Royal Consent to it. A notable Token of the Abhorrence the Court then had of all *Penal Laws*, and of their great Kindness to *Dissenters*.

V. Who may remember, if they please, that as once there was a Time, when the Court turned out, or chid, those *Justices*, who were forward in the Execution of the Laws against *Nonconformists*, because they were in so low a Condition, that the Court was afraid the Church of *England* might indeed be established in its Uniformity: So when the *Nonconformists* were, by some Liberty, grown stronger, and set themselves against the Court Interest, in the Election of *Sheriffs*, and such like Things; then all those *Justices* were turned out who hung back, and would not execute the Laws against them; and *Justices* pickt out for the Purpose, who would do it severely. Nay, the Clergy were called upon, and had Orders sent them, to return the Names of all *Nonconformists* in their several Parishes, that they might be proceeded against in the *Courts Ecclesiastical*. And here I cannot forget the Order made by the *Middlesex Justices* at the Sessions at *Hickes-Hall*, Jan. 13, 1681, where they urge the Execution of the Act of 22. Car. 2. against *Conventicles*, because *in all probability they will destroy both Church and State*. This was the Reason which moved them to call upon *Constables* and all other *Officers* to do their Duty in this Matter: Nay, to call upon the *B. of London* himself, *that he would use his utmost Endeavours, within his Jurisdiction, that all such Persons may be Excommunicate*. This was a bold Stroke, proceeding from an unusual Degree of Zeal; which plainly enough signifies that the *Bishops* were not so forward as the *Justices*, in the prosecuting of *Dissenters*. Who may do well to remember that the *House of Commons*, a little before this, had been so kind to them, that those *Justices* would not have dared to have been so severe as they were at *Hickes-Hall*, if they had not been set on by Directors from *Whitehall*. For in their Order they press the Execution of the Statute, 1 Eliz. and 3 Jac. 1. for levying *Twelve-pence a Sunday* upon all those that do not come to Church: Whereas the *House of Commons*, Nov. 6, 1680, had Resolved, *Nemine contradicente, that it is in the Opinion of this House, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, and King James, against Popish Rescufants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters*.

VI. Who should not forget how backward the Clergy of *London* especially were to comply with this Design, of reviving the Execution of the Laws against them; what Courses they took to save them from this Danger! And what Hatred they incurred for being so kind to them! Which in truth was Kindness to themselves;

themselves ; for now they saw plainly enough that nothing was intended but the Destruction of us both, by setting us, in our Turns, one against the other. Many indeed were possessed with the old Opinion, that the Dissenters aimed at the Overthrow of the Government both in Church and State ; which made them the more readily join with those who were employed to suppress them, by turning the Edge of the Laws upon them. But both these were most industriously promoted by the Court ; who laboured might and main to have this believed, that they who were called *Whigs*, intended the Ruin of the Church and the Monarchy too : And therefore none had the Court Favour, but they alone who were for the ruining of *them*. All others were frown'd upon, and branded with the Name of *Trimmers*, who they adventured at last, to say they were worse than *Whigs* ; merely because they, seeing the Design, desired those ugly Names of *Whig* and *Tory* might be laid aside ; and perswaded all to *Moderation*, *Love*, *Unity*, and *Peace*. If any Man had these dangerous Words in his Mouth, he had a Mark set upon him, and was look't upon as an Enemy, as soon as he discovered any Desires of Reconciliation. *No Peace with Dissenters* was then as much in some Mens Mouths, as *no Peace with Rome*, had been in others. They were all voted to Destruction, and it was an unpardonable Crime so much as to mention an Accommodation.

Such Things as these ought not to be forgotten.

VII. But if they list not to call them to mind, (tho' they be of fresh Memory) yet let them at least consider what they have had at their Tongues End, ever since they knew any thing, That *the Church of Rome is a persecuting Church, and the Mother of Persecution*. Will they then be deluded by the present *Sham of Liberty of Conscience* ; which they of that Church pretend to give it : It is not in their *Power*, no more than in their *Spirit* ; they never *will* nor *can* give Liberty of Conscience, but with a Design to take all Liberty from us. That Church must be obeyed, and there is no middle Choice among them, between *turn or burn, conform or be undone*. What Liberty *do* they give in any Country, where their *Power* is established : What Liberty *can* they give, who have determined that all Hereticks ought to be rooted out : Look into *France* (with which we have had the strictest Alliance and Friendship a long Time) and behold, how at this Moment they compel those to go to *Mass*, who they know abhor it as an abominable Idolatry. Such a violent *Spirit* now acts them, that they stick not to profane their own most *Holy Mysteries* ; that they may have the Face of an *Universal Conformity*, without the least *Liberty*. For the *new Converts*, as they are called, poor Wretches, are known to be mere *outward Compliers*, in their Hearts abominating that which they are forced externally to worship. They declare as much by escaping from this Tyranny over their Consciences, and bewailing their sinful Compliance, whensoever they have an Opportunity. And they that cannot escape, frequently protest they have been constrained to adore that, which they believe ought not be adored. And when they come to die, refuse to receive the *Romish Sacrament* ; and thereupon are dragg'd, when dead, along the Streets, and thrown, like dead Dogs upon the Dung-hills. Unto what a Height of Rage are the Spirits of the *Romish Clergy* inflamed, that it perfectly blinds their Eyes, and will not let them see how they expose the most sacred Things in all their *Religion* (the *Holy Sacrament*, which they believe to be

Jesus Christ himself) to be received by those who they know have no Reverence at all for it, but utterly abhor it; for they force them, by all manner of Violence, to adore the *Host* against their Will, and to eat what they have adored, tho' they have the greatest Reason to believe, that those poor Creatures do not adore it. That is, the Church of *Rome* will have her Mysteries adored by all, tho' it be by *Hypocrites*. None shall be excused, but whether they believe or not believe, they shall be compelled to *do* as that Church doth. Nothing shall hinder it, for the Hatred and Fury wherewith they are now transported, is so exceeding great, that it makes them (as I have said) offer Violence even to their own Religion, rather than suffer any Body not to conform to it.

VIII. And assure yourselves they are very desirous to extend this Violence beyond the Bounds of *France*. They would fain see *England* also, in the same Condition. The Bishop of *Valence* and *Die*, hath told us as much, in the Speech which he made to the *French King*, in the Name of the Clergy of *France*, to congratulate his glorious Atchivements, in rooting out the Heresy of *Calvin*, in which he hath a most memorable Passage, for which we are beholden to him, because it informs us, that they are not satisfied with what their King hath done there; but would have him think there is a further Glory reserved for him, of lending his Help to make us such good Catholicks, as he hath made in *France*. This is the blessed Work they would be at; and if any among us be still so blind as not to see it, we must look upon it as the just Judgment of God upon them for some other Sins which they have committed. They are delivered up to a reprobate Mind, which cannot discern the most evident Things. They declare to all the World that they have been above fifty Years, crying out against they know not what, for they know not what *Popery* is (of which they have seemed to be horribly afraid) if they believe that they of that Religion either can or will give any *Liberty*, when they have *Power* to establish their *Tyranny*. It is no better: St. *John* himself hath described that Church under the Name of *Babylon*, that cruel City; and of a *Beast*, which like a *Bear*, tramples all under its Feet; and of another *Beast*, which causes as many as will not worship the Image of the *Beast*, to be killed; and that no Man may buy or sell save such as have had his Mark; i. e. are of his Religion, *Rev. xiii. 14, 15, 16*. This Character they will make good to be the very End of their Reign, as they have fulfilled it from the Beginning. They cannot alter their Nature, no more than the *Ethiopian* change his Skin, or the *Leopard* his Spots. It ever was, since the Rise of the *Beast*, and it ever will be till its Fall, a bloody Church, which can bear no Contradiction to her Doctrine and Orders, but will endeavour to root out all those that oppose her, from the Face of the Earth. Witness the barbarous *Crusado's* against the poor *Albigenses* in *France*; in one of which alone *Bellarmino* himself saith, and not without Triumph, there were killed no less than an hundred thousand. Witness the horrible *Butcheries* committed in *France*, in *England*, and in the *Low-Countries* in the Age before us; and in *Poland*, the *Vallies* of *Piedmont*, and in *Ireland* in this Age; upon those who had no other Fault but this, that they made the *Holy Scriptures*, and not the *Roman Church*, the Rule of their Faith.

IX. But if you be ignorant of what hath been done, and is doing abroad, yet I hope you observe what they do here at Home. What do you think of

the Declaration which was very lately imposed to be read in all our Churches? Which when several Bishops and their Clergy, most humbly represented, they could not in Conscience publish to the People in Time of divine Service; this would not excuse them; their Petition was received with Indignation, and look'd upon as a Libel; the Bishops were prosecuted for it; and Enquiry is now ordered to be made after those who did not read it (as well as those that did) that they may be punished by the high Commissioners. Call you this Liberty of Conscience? Or do you imagine you shall never have any thing imposed upon you, to be read in your Congregations, which you cannot comply withall? Consider, I beseech you, what will become of you when that Time shall come? What's the Meaning of this, that ever they are look'd upon as Offenders, for following their Conscience, whose Services have been acknowledged to be so great, that they should never be forgotten? It ought to teach Dissenters what they are to expect hereafter, when they have served them so far, (by taking off the Tests and the Penal Laws) as to enable them with Safety to remember all their former pretended Transgressions. Let them assure themselves the Services of the Church of *England* are not now more certainly forgotten, than the Sins of Dissenters will hereafter, when they have got Power to punish them, be most certainly remembred. Be not drawn in then by deceitful Words, to help forward your own Destruction. If you will not be assistant to it, they cannot do it alone; and it will be very strange if you be perswaded to lend them your Help, when the Deceit is so apparent. For what are all the present Pleas for Liberty, but so many infamous Libels upon the *Roman* Church, which denies all Men this Liberty? While they declaim so loudly against Persecution, they most notoriously reproach *Pepery*; which subsists by nothing but Deceit and Cruelty. And who can think that they would suffer their Church to be so exposed and reviled, as it is by such Discourses, but with a Design to cheat heedless People into its Obedience? For this End they can hear it proved, nay prove it themselves to be an Anti-christian Church; when they prove it is against Christianity, nay against the Law of Nature and common Reason, to trouble any body for his Opinion in Religion.

X. Once more then I beseech you, be not deceived by good Words, if you love your Liberty, and your Life. Call to mind how our poor Brethren in *France* were very lately deluded by the repeated Protestations which their King made, he would observe the Edict of *Nantz* (which was the Foundation of their Liberty) even then, when he was about to overthrow it; and by many Assurances which were given them by those who came to torment them, that the King intended to reform the Church of *France*, as soon as he had united his Subjects. What he had done already against the Court of *Rome*, they told them was an Instance of it; and they should shortly see other Matters. Such ensnaring Words they heard there daily from the Mouths of their armed Persecutors, who were ready to fall upon them, or had begun to oppress them: And therefore they would be arrant Fools here, if they did not give good Words, when they have no Power to hurt us. But we shall be far greater Fools if we believe they will keep their Word, when they have got that Power. They have no other Way but this, to wheedle us out of our Laws and Liberties. Do but surrender the one, I mean our Laws; and they will soon
take

take away the other, our beloved Liberties. But be not tempted to make such a dangerous Experiment; but let the Laws stand as they are, because they are against them (as appears by their earnest Endeavours to repeal them) and be not used as Tools to take them away, because they have been grievous to you. They never can be so again. For can they who now court you have the Face to turn them again upon you, after they have made all this Noise for Liberty? And the Church of *England*, you may be assured, will not any more trouble you; but when a Protestant Prince shall come, will join in the healing of all our Breaches; by removing all things out of the Way, which have long hindered that blessed Work. They cannot meet together in a Body to give you this Assurance (how should they without the King's Authority so to do?) but every particular Person that I have discoursed withal, which are not a few (and you yourselves would do well to ask them, when you meet them) profess that they see an absolute Necessity of making an End of these Differences that have almost undone us; and will no longer contend to bring all Men to one Uniformity; but promote an uniform Liberty. Do not imagine I intend to give mere Words: I mean honestly; such a regular Liberty, as will be the Beauty and Honour, not the Blot and Discredit of our Religion. To such a Temper the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with several other Bishops of his Province, and their Clergy, have openly declared they are willing to come. And the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England* have never been known to act deceitfully. Our Religion will not at any Time allow them to equivocate; nor to give good Words without a Meaning. Much less at such a Time as this, when our Religion is in great Danger; and we have nothing to trust unto, but God's Protection of sincere Persons. Let Integrity and Uprightness preserve us, is their constant Prayer. They can hope for no Help from Heaven, if they should prevaricate with Men. God they know would desert them, if they should go about to delude their Brethren. And they are not so void of Sense, as to adventure to incur his most high Displeasure, when have nothing to rely upon but his Favour.

In short, trust to those who own you for their Brethren, as you do them: for tho' they have been angry Brethren, yet there is Hope of Reconciliation between such near Relations. But put no Confidence in those, who not only utterly disown any such Relation to you, but have ever treated you with an implacable Hatred, as their most mortal Enemies; unto whom it is impossible they should be reconciled.

Prov. xii. 19, 20. *The Lips of Truth shall be established for ever: but a lying Tongue is but for a Moment.*

Lying Lips are an Abomination to the Lord: but they that deal truly are his Delight.

AN APOLOGY for the Church of *England*, with Relation to the Spirit of Persecution: For which She is accused. By Bishop *Burnet*.

1. **O**NE should think, that the Behaviour of the *English* Clergy for some Years past, and the present Circumstances in which they are, should set them beyond Slander, and by Consequence above Apologies; yet since the Malice of her Enemies work against her with so much Spite, and since there is no Insinuation that carries so much Malice in it, and that seems to have such Colours of Truth on it, as this of their having set on a severe Persecution against the Dissenters, of still being soured with that Leven, and of carrying the same implacable Hatred to them, which the present Reputation that they have gained, may put them in a further Capacity of executing, if another Revolution of Affairs should give them Authority to set about it; it seems necessary to examine it, and that the rather, because some aggravate this so far, as if nothing were now to be so much dreaded as the Church of *England's* getting out of her present Distress.

2. If these Imputations were charged on us only by the Church of *Rome*, we should not much wonder at it; for though it argues a good Degree of Confidence, for any of that Communion to declaim against the Severities that have been put in Practice among us, since their little Finger must be heavier than ever our Loins were, and to whose Scorpions our Rods ought not to be compared; yet after all, we are so much accustomed to their Methods, that nothing from them can surprise us: To hear *Papists* declare against Persecution, and *Jesuits* cry up Liberty of Conscience, are, we confess, unusual Things: Yet there are some Degrees of Shame, over which when People are once passed, all Things become so familiar to them, that they can no more be put out of Countenance. But it seems very strange to us, that some, who if they are to be believed, are strict to the severest Forms and Subdivisions of the reformed Religion, and that who some Years ago were jealous of the smallest Steps that the Court made, when the Danger was more remote; and who cried out Popery and Persecution, when the Design was so mask'd that some well-meaning Men could not miss being deceived by the Promises that were made, and the Disguises that were put on; that, I say, those very Persons who were formerly so distrustful, should now, when the Mask is laid off, and the Design is avowed, of a sudden grow to be so believing, as to throw off all Distrust, and to be so gulled as to betray all, and expose us to the Rage of those who must needs give some good Words till they have gone the Round, and tried how effectually they can divide and deceive us, that so they may destroy us the more easily; this is indeed somewhat extraordinary. They are not so ignorant as not to know that Popery cannot change its Nature, and that Cruelty and Breach of Faith to Hereticks, are as necessary Parts of that Religion, as Transubstantiation and the

Pope's

Pope's Supremacy are. If *Papists* were not Fools, they must give good Words and fair Promises, till by these they have so far deluded the poor credulous Hereticks, that they may put themselves in a Posture to execute the Decrees of their Church against them: And though we accuse that Religion as guilty both of Cruelty and Treachery; yet we do not think them Fools: So till their Party is stronger than God be thanked it is at present, they can take no other Method than that they take: The Church of *England* was the Word among them some Years ago, Liberty of Conscience is the Word at present; and we have all possible Reason to assure us, that the Promises for maintaining the one, will be as religiously kept as we see those are which are lately made with so great Profusion of Protestations, and Shews of Friendship for the supporting of the other.

3. It were great Injustice to charge all the Dissenters with the Impertinences that have appeared in many Addresses of late, or to take our Measures of them, for the impudent Strains of an *Alsop* or a *Care*, or for the more important and now more visible Steps that some among them, of a higher Form, are every Day making; and yet after all this, it cannot be denied but the several Bodies of the Dissenters, have behaved themselves of late, like Men that understood too well the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of the *English* Government, to sacrifice the Whole, and themselves in Conclusion to their private Resentments. I hope the same Justice will be allowed me in stating the Matter relating to the so much decried Persecution set on by the Church of *England*, and that I may be suffered to distinguish the Heats of some angry and deluded Men from the Doctrine of the Church, and the Practices that have been authorized in it; that so I may shew that there is no Reason to infer from past Errors, that we are incurable; or that new Opportunities inviting us again into the same Severities, are like to prevail over us to commit the same Follies over again. I will first state what is past, with the Sincerity that becomes one that would not lie for God, that is, not afraid nor ashamed to confess Faults, that will neither aggravate nor extenuate them beyond what is just, and that yet will avoid the saying any Thing that may give any Cause of Offence to any Party in the Nation.

4. I am sorry that I must confess, that all the Parties among us, have shewed, that as their Turn came to be uppermost, they have forgot the same Principles of Moderation and Liberty, which they all claimed when they were oppressed. If it should shew too much ill Nature to examine what the Presbytery did in *Scotland* when the Covenant was in Dominion, or what the Independants have done in *New-England*; why may not I claim the same Privilege with Relation to the Church of *England*, if Severities have been committed by her while she bore Rule? Yet it were as easy as it would be invidious to shew, that both *Presbyterians* and *Independants* have carried the Principle of Rigour in the Point of Conscience much higher, and have acted more implacably upon it than ever the Church of *England* had done, even in its angriest Fits; so that none of them can much reproach another for their Excesses in those Matters. And as of all the Religions in the World, the Church of *Rome* is the most persecuting, and the most bound by her Principles to be unalterably cruel; so the Church of *England* is the least persecuting in her Principles, and the least obliged to repeat any Errors to which the Intrigues of Court, or the Passions incident to all Parties may have engaged her, of any National Church in *Europe*. It cannot be said to

be any Part of our Doctrine, when we came out of one of the blackest Persecutions that is in History, I mean Q. *Mary's*, we shewed how little we retained of the Cruelty of that Church, which had provoked us so severely; when not only no Enquiries were made into the illegal Acts of Fury that were committed in that persecuting Reign, but even the Persecutors themselves lived among us at Ease and in Peace; and no penal Law was made, except against the publick Exercise of that Religion, till a great many Rebellions and Treasons extorted them from us for our own Preservation. This is an Instance of the Clemency of our Church, that perhaps cannot be matched in History: And why should it not be supposed, that if God should again put us in the State in which we were of late, that we should imitate so noble a Pattern, than return to those Mistakes of which we are now ashamed?

5. It is to be considered, that upon the late King's Restoration, the Remembrance of the former War, the ill Usage that our Clergy met with in their Sequestrations, the angry Resentments of the Cavalier Party, who were ruined by the War, the Interest of the Court to have all those Principles condemned that had occasioned it, the Heat that all Parties that have been ill used are apt to fall into upon a Revolution; but above all, the Practices of those who have still blown the Coals, and set us one against another, that so they might not only have a divided Force to deal with, but might by Turns make the Divisions among us serve their Ends: All these, I say, concurred to make us lose the happy Opportunity that was offered in the Year 1660. to have healed all our Divisions, and to have triumphed over all the Dissenters; not by ruining them, but by overcoming them with a Spirit of Love and Gentleness, which is the only Victory that a generous Christian Temper can desire. In short, unhappy Councils were followed, and several Laws were made. But after all, it was the Court-party that carried it for rougher Methods: Some considerable Accidents, not necessary to be here mentioned, as they stopped the Mouths of some that had formed a wiser Project, so they gave a fatal Advantage to angry and crafty Men, that to our Misfortune, had too great a Stroke in the Conduct of our Affairs at that Time. The Spirit of Severity was heightened by the Practices of the Papists, who engaged the late King in *December* 1662. to give a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Those who knew the Secret of his Religion, as they saw that it aimed at the Introduction to *Popery*, so they thought there was no Way so effectual for the keeping out of *Popery*, as the maintaining the Uniformity, and the suppressing all Designs for a Toleration. But while those who managed this, used a due Reserve in not discovering the secret Motive that led them to it, and others fled unto Severity, as the Principle in Vogue: And thus all the Slacknings of the Rigour of the Laws during the first *Dutch* War, that were set on upon the Pretence of quieting the Nation, and of encouraging Trade, were resisted by the Instruments of an honest Minister of State, who knew as well then, as we do now, what lay at Bottom, when Liberty of Conscience was pretended.

6. Upon that Minister's Disgrace, some that saw but the Half of the Secret, perceiving in the Court a great Inclination to Toleration, and being willing to take Measures quite different from those of the former Ministry, they entred into a Treaty for a Comprehension of some Dissenters, and the Tolerating of others,
and

some Bishops and Clergy-men, that were inferior to none of the Age in which they lived, for true Worth and a right Judgment of Things, engaged so far, and with so much Success into this Project, that the Matter seemed done, all Things being concerted among some of the most considerable Men of the different Parties. But the Dislike of that Ministry, and the Jealousy of the ill Designs of the Court, gave so strong a Prejudice against this, that the Proposition could not be so much hearkned unto by the House of Commons; and then it appeared how much the whole Popish Party was alarmed at the Project. It is well known with how much Detestation they speak of it to this Day: Though we are now so fully satisfied of their Intentions to destroy us, that the Zeal which they pretend for us in opposing that Design, can no more pass upon us.

7. At last, in the Year 1672. the Design for Popery discovering itself, the End that the Court had in favouring a Toleration, became more visible: And when the Parliament met, that condemned the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; the Members of the House of Commons, that either were Dissenters, or that favoured them, behaving themselves so worthily in concurring with the Church of *England* for stifling that Toleration, choosing rather to lose the Benefit of it, than to open a Breach at which Popery came in; that many of the Members that were for the Church of *England*, promised to procure them a Bill of Ease for Protestant Dissenters. But the Session was not long enough for bringing that to Perfection; and all the Sessions of that Parliament after that, were spent in such a continual Struggle between the Court and Country Party, that there was never Room given for calm and wise Consultations. Yet though the Party of the Church of *England* did not perform what had been promised by some leading Men to the Dissenters, there was little or nothing done against them after that, till the Year, 1681. So that for about nine Years together, they had their Meetings almost as publickly and as regularly as the Church of *England* had their Churches, and in all that Time, whatsoever particular Hardships any of them might have met with in some Corners of *England*, it cannot be denied, but they had the free Exercise of their Religion, at least in most Parts.

8. In the Year 1678. Things began to change their Face; it is known, that upon the breaking out of the *Popish Plot*, the Clergy did universally express a great Desire for coming to some Temper in the Points of Conformity: All Sorts and Ranks of the Clergy seemed to be so well disposed towards it, that if it had met with a suitable Entertainment, Matters might probably have been in a greater Measure composed. But the Jealousies that those who managed the civil Concerns of the Nation in the House of Commons, took off all that was done at Court, or proposed by it, occasioned a fatal Breach in our publick Councils; in which Division the Principles and Interests, and their Disposition to believe well of the Court, were determined to be of the King's Side. They thought it was a Sin to mistrust the late King's Word, who assured them of his Steadiness to the Protestant Religion so often, that they firmly depended on it: And his present Majesty gave them so many Assurances of his maintaining still the Church of *England*, that they believed him likewise: And so thought that the Exclusion of him from the Crown, was a Degree of Rigour to which they in Conscience could

not

not consent. Upon which they were generally cried out on, as the *Betrayers* of the *Nation*, and of the *Protestant Religion*: Those who demanded the *Exclusion* and some other Securities, to which the *Bishops* would not consent in *Parliament*, looked on them as the chief Hindrance that was in their Way; and the *License* of the *Press* at that Time was such, that many *Libels* and some severe Discourses were published against them. Nor can it be denied, that many *Church-men*, who understood not the Principles of Human Society, and the Rules of our *Government*, so well as other Points of *Divinity*, writ several Treatises concerning the Measures of *Submission*, that were then as much censured, as their Performances since against *Popery* have been deservedly admired. All this gave such a Jealousy of them to the *Nation*, that it must be confessed, that the Spirit which was then in *Fermentation*, went very high against the *Church of England*, as a Confederate, at least to *Popery* and *Tyranny*. Nor were several of the *Nonconformists* wanting to inflame this Dislike; all secret Propositions were so coldly entertained, that they were scarce hearkned unto. The Propositions which an Eminent *Divine* made even in his *Books* writ against *Separation*, shewed, that while we maintained the *War* in the way of Dispute, yet we were still willing to *Treat*; for that *Great Man* made not those Advances towards them without consulting with his *Superiors*. Yet we were then fatally given up to a *Spirit of Dissension*: And tho' the *Parliament* in 1680, entered upon a Project for healing our *Differences*, in which great Steps were made to the removing all the Occasions of our *Contests*; the *Leaders of the Dissenters*, to the Amazement of all Persons, made no Account of this, and even seemed uneasy at it, of which the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Sir *Thomas Clarges*, that set on that *Bill* with much Zeal, can give a more particular Account. All these Things concurred to make those of the *Church of England* conclude, a little too rashly, that their Ruin was resolved on; and then it was no *Wonder* if the *Spirit* of a Party, the Remembrance of the *last War*, the present Prospect of *Danger*, and above all, the great Favour that was shewn them at *Court*, threw them *fatally* into some angry and *violent Counsels*; Self-preservation is very natural; and it is plain, that many of them took that to be the *Case*, so that truly speaking, it was not so much at first a *Spirit of Persecution*, as a Desire of disabling those who they believed intended to ruin them from effecting their *Designs*, that set them on to all those *unhappy* Things that followed. They were animated to all they did by the *continued Earnestness* of the *King* and *Duke*, and of their *Ministers*. That Reproach of *Justice*, and of the Profession of the *Law*, who is now so *high*, was singled out for no other End, but to be their *Common Hangman* over *England*; of whom the late *King* gave this true Character, *That he hath neither Wit, Law, nor Common Sense; but that he had the Impudence of ten Carted Whores in him*. Another *Buffoon*, was hired to plague the *Nation* with three or four Papers a Week, which to the Reproach of the Age in which we live, had but too great and too general an Effect, for poisoning the Spirits of the *Clergy*. But those who knew how all this was managed, saw that it was not only set on, but still kept up by the *Court*. If any of the *Clergy* had but preached a Word for *Moderation*, he had a *Chiding* sent him presently from the *Court*, that he was from that Day marked out as a *disaffected Person*: And when the *City of London* did very worthily refuse to give *Informations* against their *Parishioners* that had not

not always conformed, the Design having been form'd upon that to bring them into the *Spiritual Courts*, and *excommunicate* them, and make them lose their Right of *Voting*, and so the *Charter of London* might have been delivered up when so many *Citizens* were by such Means shut out of the *Common-Council*; we remember well how severely they were censured for this, by some that are now dead, and others that are yet alive. I will not go farther into this Matter, I will not deny but many of the *Dissenters* were put to great Hardships, in many Parts of *England*. I cannot deny it, and I am sure I will never justify it; but this I will positively say, having observed it all narrowly, that he must have the Brow of a *Jesuit*, that can cast this wholly on the *Church of England*, and free the *Court* from it. The Beginning and the Progress of it came from the *Court*, and from the *Popish Party*; and tho' perhaps every one does not know all the Secrets of this Matter, that others may have found out, yet no Man was so ignorant as not to see what was the chief Spring of all those irregular Motions that some of us made at that Time: So upon the whole Matter, all that can be made out of this, is, that the Passions and Infirmities of some of the *Church of England*, being unhappily stirred up by the *Dissenters*, they were fatally conducted by the *Popish Party*, to be the Instruments of doing a great deal of Mischief.

IX. It is not to be doubted, but though some weaker Men of the *Clergy* may perhaps still retain their little peevish Animosities against the *Dissenters*, yet the wiser and more serious Heads of that great and *worthy Body*, see now their Error: They see who drove them on in it. And as they have appeared against *Popery*, was as great a Strength of Learning and of firm Steadiness, as perhaps can be met with in all Church-History; so it cannot be doubted, but their Reflections on the Dangers into which our Divisions have thrown us, have given them truer Notions with Relation to a rigorous Conformity: And that the just Detestation which they have expressed of the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* had led them to consider and abhor one of the worst Things in it. I mean, their Severity towards Hereticks, and the ill Use that they see the *Court* has made of their Zeal for supporting the Crown, to justify the Subversion of our Government that is now set on from some of their large and unwary Expressions, will certainly make them hereafter more cautious in meddling with Politicks: The Bishops have under their Hands both disowned that wide Extent of the Prerogative, to the over-turning of the Law, and declare their Disposition to come to a Temper in Matters of Conformity; and there seems to be no Doubt left of the Sincerity of their Intentions in that Matter. Their Piety and Virtue, and the Prospect that they now have of suffering themselves, put us beyond all Doubt as to their Sincerity, and if ever God in his Providence brings us again into a settled State, out of the Storm into which our Passions and Folly, as well as the Treachery of Others has brought us, it cannot be imagined, that the Bishops will go off from those moderate Resolutions, which they have now declared, and they continuing firm to them, the weak and indiscreet Passions of any of the inferior *Clergy*, must needs vanish, when they are under the Conduct of wise and worthy Leaders. And I will boldly say this, that if the Church of *England*, after she has got out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the Peevishness of some sore Men, she will be abandoned both of God and Man, and will set both Heaven and Earth against her. The Nation sees too visibly, how

dear the Dispute about Conformity has cost us, to stand any more upon such Punctilio's: and those in whom our Deliverance is wrapt up, understand this Matter too well, and judge too right of it, to imagine that even they will be Priest-riden in this Point. So that all Considerations concur to make us conclude, that there is no Danger of our splitting a second Time upon the same Rock: And indeed, if any Argument were wanting to compleat the Certainty of this Point, the wise and generous Behaviour of the main Body of the *Dissenters*, in this present Juncture, has given them so just a Title to our Friendship, that we must resolve to set all the World against us, if we can ever forget it; and if we do not make them all the Returns of Ease and Favour, when it is in our Power to do it.

X. It is to be hoped, that when this is laid together, it will have that Effect on all sober and true Protestants, as to make them forget the little angry Heats that have been among us, and even to forget the Injuries that have been done us: All that we do now one against another, is to shorten the Work of our Enemies, by destroying one another, which must in Conclusion turn to all our Ruin. It is a *Madman's Revenge* to destroy our *Friends* that we may do a Pleasure to our *Enemies*, upon their giving us some good Words; and if the *Dissenters* can trust to *Papists*, after the Usage that the *Church of England* has met with at their Hands, all the Comfort that they promise themselves, when *Papery* begins to act its *Natural Part amongst us*, and to set *Smithfield* again in a Fire, is that which befel some *Quakers* at *Rome*, who were first put into the *Inquisition*, but were afterwards removed to *Bedlam*; so that those false Brethren among the *Dissenters*, who deceive them at present, are certainly no Changlings, but know well what they are doing; yet those who can be cheated by them, may well claim the Privilege of a *Bedlam*, when their Folly has left them no other Retreat.

XI. I will not digress too far from my present Purpose; nor enter into a Discussion of the Dispensing Power, which was so effectually overthrown the other Day at the *King's-Bench-Bar*, that I am sure all the Authority of the *Bench* itself is no more able to support it: Yet some late Papers in favour of it, give me Occasion to add a little relating to that Point. It is true, the Assertor of dispensing Power, who has lately appeared with Allowance, pretends that it can only be applied to the Test for publick Employments; for he owns, that the Test for both Houses of Parliament is left entire, as not within the Compass of this Extent of the Prerogative; but another Writer, whom by his Sense we must conclude an *Irishman*, by his Brow a Jesuit, and by the bare Designation in the Title Page, of *James Stewart's* Letter, a *Quaker*, goes a Strain higher, and thinks the King is so absolutely the Sovereign as to the legislative Part of our Government, that he may dissolve even the Parliament Test: So humbly has he leapt from being a Secretary to a Rebellion, to be an Advocate for Tyranny. He fancies, that because no Parliament can bind another, therefore they cannot limit the Preliminaries to a subsequent Parliament. But upon what is it then, that Counties have but two Knights and Burroughs as many? that Men below such a Value have no Vote, that Sheriffs only receive Writs and return Elections; besides many more necessary Requisites to the making a legal Parliament? In short, if Laws do not regulate the Election and Constitution

stitution of a Parliament, all these Things may be overthrown, and the King may cast the whole Government in a new Mould, as well as dissolve the Obligation that is on the Members of Parliament for taking the Test.

It is true, that as soon as the Parliament is legally met and constituted, it is tied by no Laws, so far as not to repeal them; but the Preliminaries to a Parliament are still sacred, as long as the Law stands that settled them; for the Members are still in the Quality of ordinary Subjects, and not entred upon their Share in the legislative Power, till they are constituted in Parliament legally chosen and lawfully assembled, that is, having observed all the Requisites of the Law. But I leave that impudent Letter to return to the most rational Apology that has been yet writ for the dispensing Power. It yields that the King cannot abrogate Laws, and pretends only that he can dispense with them; and the Distinction it puts between Abrogation and Dispensation, is, that the one is a total Repeal of the Law, and that the other is only a slackning of its obligatory Force with Relation to a particular Man, or to any Body of Men; so that according to him, a simple Abrogation or a total Repeal, is beyond the Compass of the Prerogative, I desire then that this Doctrine may be applied to the following Words of the Declaration; from which the Reader may infer, whether these do import a simple Abrogation, or not, and by Consequence, if the Declaration is not illegal, *We do hereby further declare, That it is our Royal Will and Pleasure, that the Oaths commonly call'd the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and also the several Tests and Declarations—shall not at any Time hereafter, required to be taken, declared or subscribed by any Person or Persons whatsoever, who is or shall be employed in any Office or Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, under us or in our Government.* This is plain *English*, and needs no Commentary. This Paper offers likewise an Expedient for securing Liberty of Conscience, by which it will be set beyond even the dispensing Power; and that is, that by Act of Parliament all Persecution may be declared to be a Thing evil in its self, and then the Prerogative cannot reach it. But unless this Author fancies, that a Parliament is that which those of the Church of *Rome* believe a General Council to be, I mean infallible, I do not see that such an Act would signify any Thing at all. An Act of Parliament cannot change the Nature of Things which are sudden, and will not alter, because a hard Word is clapt on them in an Act of Parliament; nor can that make that which is not evil of itself, become evil of itself: For can any Act of Parliament make the Clipping of Money, or the not burying in Woollen evil of itself? Such an Act were indeed null of itself, and would sink with its own Weight, even without the Burdens of the Prerogative to press it down: and yet upon such a sandy Foundation would these Men have us build all our Hopes and our Securities. Another Topick like this, is, that we ought to trust to the Truth of our Religion, and the Providence and Protection of God, and not to lean so much to Laws and Tests. All this were very pertinent, if God had not already given us humane Assurances against the Rage of our Enemies, which we are now desired to abandon, that so we may fall an easy and cheap Sacrifice to those who wait for the favourable Moment to destroy us: by the same Reason they may perswade us to take off all our Doors, or at least all our Locks and Bolts, and to sleep in this exposed Condition, trusting to God's Protection: The Similie may appear a little too high, tho' it is really

short of the Matter; for we had better trust ourselves to all the Thieves and Robbers of the Town, who would be perhaps contented with a Part of our Goods than to those Designs which are equally against both Soul and Body, and all that is dear to us.

XII. I will only add another Reflection upon the renewing of the Declaration, this Year, which has occasioned the present Storm upon the Clergy. It is repeated to us that so we may see that the King continues firm to the Promises he made last Year. Yet when Men of Honour have once given their Word, they take it ill if any do not trust to that, but must needs have it repeated to them: In the ordinary Commerce of the World, the repeating of Promises over and over again, is rather a Ground of Suspicion than of Confidence, and if we judge of the Accomplishment of all the other Parts of the Declaration, from that one, which relates to the Maintaining of the Church of *England*, as by *Law established*, the Proceedings against the Fellows of *Magdalen College*, gives us no Reason to conclude, that this will be like *the Laws of the Medes and Persians, which alter not*; all the Talk of the new *Magna Charta* cannot lay us asleep, when we see so little Regard had to the old one. As for the Secutity which is offered us in this repeating of the King's Promises, we must crave Leave to remember, that the King of *France*, even after he had resolved to break the Edict of *Nantz*, yet repeated in above an hundred Edicts, that were real and visible Violations of that Edict, a Clause confirmatory of the Edict of *Nantz*, declaring that he would never violate it: and in that we may see what an Account is to be had of all Promises made to *Hereticks*, in Matters of Religion, by any Prince of the *Roman Communion*, but more particularly by a Prince who has put the Conduct of his Conscience in the Hands of a *Jesuit*.

A Letter wrote by *Mijn Heer Fagel*, Pensioner of *Holland*, to Mr. *James Stewart*, Advocate; giving an Account of the Prince and Princess of *Orange's* Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Test, and the Penal Laws.

S I R,

I AM extreme sorry, that my ill Health hath so long hindred me from answering those Letters, in which you so earnestly desired to know of me, what their Highnesses Thoughts are, concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly of that concerning the Test: I beg you to assure yourself, that I will deal very plainly with you in this Matter, and without Reserve; since you say that your Letters were writ by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. I must then, first of all, assure you very positively, that their Highnesses have often declared, as they did it more particularly to the Marquis of *Albeville*, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States, that it is their Opinion, *that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the Publick and Established Religion*: And therefore, they can consent, that the *Papists* in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, be suffered to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allowed them by the States in these Provinces;
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in which it cannot be denied that they enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. And as for the Dissenters, their Highnesses do not only consent, but do heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty, for the full Exercise of their Religion, without any Trouble or Hindrance ; so that none may be able to give them the least Disturbance upon that Account.

And their Highnesses are very ready, in case his Majesty shall think fit to desire it, to declare their Willingness to concur in the settling, and confirming this Liberty, and as far as it lies in them, they will protect and defend it, and according to the Language of Treaties, they will confirm it with their Guaranty, of which you made mention in yours.

And if his Majesty shall think fit farther to desire their Concurrence in the Repealing of the Penal Laws, they are ready to give it ; *provided always that those Laws remain still in their full Vigour, by which the Roman Catholics are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military ;* as likewise all those other Laws, which confirm the Protestant Religion, and which secure it against all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholics*.

But their Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal of the Test, or of those other Penal Laws last mentioned, that tend to the Security of the Protestant Religion ; since the *Roman Catholics* receive no other Prejudice from these, than the being excluded from Parliaments, or from publick Employments. And that by them the *Protestant Religion* is covered from all the Designs of the *Roman Catholics* against it, or against the publick Safety ; and neither the Test nor these other Laws can be said to carry in them any Severity against the *Roman Catholics* upon account of their Consciences : They are only Provisions qualifying Men to be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of bearing Office ; by which they must declare before God and Man, that they are for the *Protestant Religion*. So that indeed, all this amounts to no more than a securing the *Protestant Religion* from any Prejudices that it may receive from the *Roman Catholics*.

Their Highnesses have thought and do still think, that more than this ought not to be ask'd, or expected from them : since by this means, the *Roman Catholics* and their Posterity will be for ever secured from all Trouble in their Persons or Estates, or in the Exercise of their Religion ; and that the *Roman Catholics* ought to be satisfied with this, and not to disquiet the Kingdom because they cannot be admitted to sit in Parliament, or to be in Employments ; or because those Laws, in which the Security of the *Protestant Religion* does chiefly consist, are not repealed, by which they may be put in a Condition to overturn it.

Their Highnesses do also believe, that the Dissenters will be fully satisfied when they shall be for ever covered from all Danger of being disturbed, or punished for the free Exercise of their Religion, upon any sort of Pretence whatsoever.

Their Highnesses having declared themselves so positively in these Matters, it seems very plain to me, that they are far from being any Hindrance to the freeing the Dissenters from the Severity of the penal Laws ; since they are ready to use their utmost Endeavours for the Establishing of it ; nor do they at all
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press the denying to the *Roman Catholicks* the Exercise of their Religion, provided it be managed modestly, and without Pomp or Ostentation. As for my own Part, I ever was and still am very much against all those, who would persecute any Christian because he differs from the publick and established Religion: And I hope by the Grace of God to continue still in the same Mind; for since that Light, with which Religion illuminates our Mind, is according to my Sense of Things, purely an Effect of the Mercy of God to us, we ought then, as I think, to render to God all possible Thanks for his Goodness to us: and to have Pity for those who are still shut up in Error, even as God has pitied us, and to put up most earnest Prayers to God, for bringing those into the Way of Truth, who stray from it, and to use all gentle and friendly Methods for reducing them to it.

But I confess, I could never comprehend how any that profess themselves Christians, and that may enjoy their Religion freely and without any Disturbance, can judge it lawful for them to go about to disturb the Quiet of any Kingdom or State, or to overturn Constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to Employments, and that those Laws in which the Security and Quiet of the established Religion consists, should be shaken.

It is plain, that the reformed Religion is by the Grace of God, and by the Laws of the Land, enacted by both King and Parliament, the publick and establish'd Religion both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and that it is provided by those Laws, that none can be admitted either to a Place in Parliament, or to any publick Employment except those that do openly declare, that they are of the *Protestant Religion*, and not the *Roman Catholicks*; and it is also provided by their Laws, that the *Protestant Religion* shall be in all Time coming, secured from the Designs of the *Roman Catholicks* against it; in all which I do not see, thrt these Laws contain any Severity, either against the Persons or Estates of those who cannot take those Tests, that are contrary to the *Roman Catholick Religion*; all the Inconveniencies that can redound to them from thence, is, that their Persons, their Estates, and even the Exercise of their Religion being assured to them, only they can have no Share in the Government, nor in Offices of Trust, as long as their Consciences do not allow them to take these Tests: and they are not suffered to do any thing that is to the Prejudice of the Reformed Religion.

Since, as I have already told you, their Highnesses are ready to concur with his Majesty for the Repeal of those Penal Laws, by which Men are made liable to Fines or other Punishments.

So I see there remains no Difficulty concerning the repealing the Penal Laws, but only this, that some would have the *Roman Catholicks* render'd capable of all publick Trusts and Employments, and that by Consequence, all those should be repealed that have secured the *Protestant Religion* against the Designs of the *Roman Catholicks*, where others at the same Time are not less earnest to have those Laws maintained in their full and due Vigour: and think, that the chief Security of the established Religion consists in the preserving of them sacred and unshaken.

It is certain, that there is no Kingdom, Common-wealth, or any constituted Body or Assembly whatsoever, in which there are not Laws made for the Safe-

ty thereof ; and that provide against all Attempts whatsoever, that disturb their Peace, and that prescribe the Conditions and Qualities that they judge necessary for all that shall bear Employments in that Kingdom, State or Corporation : And no Man can pretend, that there is any Injury done him, that he is not admitted to Employments when he doth not satisfy the Conditions and Qualities required.

Nor can it be denied, that there is a great Difference to be observed in the Conduct of those of the *Reformed Religion*, and of the *Roman Catholics* towards one another : The *Roman Catholics* not being satisfied to exclude the Reformed from all Places of Profit or of Trust, they do absolutely suppress the whole Exercise of that Religion, and severely persecute all that profess it ; and this they do in all those Places where it is safe and without Danger, to carry on that Rigour. And I am sorry that we have at this present so many deplorable Instances of this Severity before our Eyes, that is at the same Time put in Practice in so many different Places.

I would therefore gladly see one single good Reason to move a Protestant that fears God, and that is concerned for his Religion, to consent to the repealing of those Laws that have been enacted by the Authority of King and Parliament, which have no other Tendency but the Security of the reformed Religion, and to the restraining of the *Roman Catholics* from a Capacity of overturning it ; these Laws inflict neither Fines nor Punishments, and do only exclude the *Roman Catholics* from a Share in the Government, who by being in Employments must needs study to increase their Party, and to gain to it more Credit and Power, which by what we see every Day, we must conclude, will be extremely dangerous to the reformed Religion, and must turn to its great Prejudice : since in all Places, those that are in publick Employments, do naturally favour that Religion of which they are, either more or less. And who would go about to persuade me, or any Man else, to endeavour to move their Highnesses, whom God hath honoured so far as to make them the Protectors of his Church, to approve of, or to consent to Things so hurtful, both to the reformed Religion and to the publick Safety. Nor can I, Sir, with your good Leave, in any way grant what you apprehend, that no Prejudice will thereby redound to the reformed Religion.

I know it is commonly said, that the Number of the *Roman Catholics* in *England* and *Scotland* is very inconsiderable ; and that they are possessed only of a very small Number of the Places of Trust : tho' even as to this, the Case is quite different in *Ireland* ; yet this you must of Necessity grant me, that if their Numbers are small, then it is not reasonable that the publick Peace should be disturbed on the account of so few Persons, especially when so great a Favour may be offered to them ; such as the free Exercise of their Religion would be : and if their Numbers are greater, then there is so much the more Reason to be afraid of them ; I do indeed believe that the *Roman Catholics*, as Things at present stand, will not be very desirous to be in publick Offices and Employments, nor that they will make any Attempts upon the reformed Religion, both because this is contrary to Law, and because of the great Inconveniencies that this may bring at some other Time both on their Persons, and their Estates ; yet if the Restraints of the Law were once taken off, you would
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see them brought into the Government, and the chief Offices and Places of Trust would be put in their Hands; nor will it be easy to his Majesty to resist them in this, how steadfast soever he may be; for they will certainly press him hard in it, and they will represent this to the King, as a Matter in which his Conscience will be concerned; and when they are possessed of the publick Offices, what will be left for the *Protestants* to do, who will find no more the Support of the Law, and can expect little Encouragement from such Magistrates? and on the other Hand, the Advantages that the *Roman Catholics* would find in being thus let loose from all Restraints, are so plain, that it were a Loss of Time to go about the proving it. I neither can nor will doubt of the Sincerity of his Majesty's Intentions, and that he has no other Design before him in this Matter, but that all his Subjects may enjoy in all things the same Rights and Freedoms.

But plain Reason, as well as the Experience of all Ages, the present as well as the past, shews, that it will be impossible for *Roman Catholics* and *Protestants*, when they are mixed together in Places of Trust and publick Employments, to live together peaceably, or to maintain a good Correspondence together. They will be certainly always jealous of one another; for the Principles and Maxims of both Religions are so opposite to one another, that in my Opinion, I do not see how it will be in the Power of any Prince or King whatsoever, to keep down those Suspicions and Animosities, which will be apt to arise upon all Occasions.

As for that which you apprehend, that the Dissenters shall not be delivered from the penal Laws, that are made against them, unless at the same Time the Test be likewise repealed, this will be indeed a great Unhappiness to them, but the *Roman Catholics* are only to blame for it, who will rather be content that they and their Posterity should lie still under the Weight of the penal Laws, and exposed to the Hatred of the whole Nation, than be still restrained from a Capacity of attempting any Thing against the Peace and the Security of the *Protestant Religion*, and be deprived of that small Advantage (if it is at all to be reckoned one) of having a Share in the Government and publick Employments; since in all Places of the World, this has been always the Privilege of the Religion that is established by Law; and indeed these Attempts of the *Roman Catholics* ought to be so much the more suspected and guarded against by *Protestants*, in that they see that *Roman Catholics*, even when liable to the Severity of penal Laws, do yet endeavour to persuade His Majesty, to make the *Protestants*, whether they will or not, dissolve that Security which they have for their Religion: And to clear a Way for bringing in the *Roman Catholics* to the Government, and to publick Employments: In which Case there would remain no Relief for them but what were to be expected from a *Roman Catholic* Government.

Such then will be very unjust to their Highnesses, who shall blame them for any Inconveniency that may arise from thence; since they have declared themselves so freely on this Subject, and that so much to the Advantage even of the *Roman Catholics*. And since the Settlement of Matters sticks at this single Point, that their Highnesses cannot be brought to consent to things that are so contrary to Laws already in Being, and that are so dangerous and hurtful to the *Protestant Religion*

Religion, as the admitting of *Roman Catholicks* to a Share in the Government, and to Places of Trust, and the Repealing of those Laws, than can have no other Effect but the Securing of the *Protestant Religion* from all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks* against it would be.

You write, *That the Roman Catholicks in these Provinces are not shut out from Employments and Places of Trust*; but in this you are much mistaken. For our Laws are exprefs, excluding them by Name from all Share in the Government, and from all Employments either of the Policy or Justice of our Country. It is true, I do not know of any exprefs Law, that shuts them out of Military Employments; that had indeed been hard, since in the first Formation of our State, they joined with us in defending our publick Liberty, and did use eminent Service during the Wars; therefore they were not shut out from those Military Employments; for the publick Safety was no Way endangered by this, both because their Numbers which served in our Troops were not great, and because the *States* could easily prevent any Inconveniencies that might arise out of that; which could not have been done so easily, if the *Roman Catholicks* had been admitted to a Share in the Government, and in the Policy or Justice of our State.

I am very certain of this, of which I could give very good Proofs, that there is nothing which their Highnesses desire so much, as that His Majesty may reign happily, and in an intire Confidence with his Subjects; and that his Subjects being persuaded of His Majesty's fatherly Affection to them, may be ready to make him all the Returns of Duty that are in their Power: But their Highnesses are convinced in their Consciences, that both the *Protestant Religion*, and the Safety of the Nation, would be exposed to the most certain Dangers, if either the Test, or those other penal Laws, of which I have made frequent Mention, should be repealed; "Therefore they cannot consent to this, nor
" concur with his Majesty's Will; for they believe, they should have much to
" answer for to God, if the Consideration of any present Advantages should
" carry them to consent and concur in Things which they believe would be not
" only dangerous, but mischievous to the *Protestant Religion*."

Their Highnesses have ever paid a most profound Duty to His Majesty which they will always continue to do; for they consider themselves bound to it, both by the Laws of God and of Nature: But since the Matter that is now in Hand, relates not to the making of new Laws, but to the total Repealing of those already made both by King and Parliament; they do not see how it can be expected of them, that they should consent to such a Repeal, to which they have so just an Aversion, as being a Thing that is contrary to the Laws and Customs of all Christian States, whether Protestants or Papists, who receive none to a Share in the Government, or to publick Employments, but those who profess the Publick and Established Religion, and that take Care to secure it against all Attempts whatsoever.

I do not think it necessary to demonstrate to you how much their Highnesses are devoted to His Majesty, of which they gave such real Evidences as are beyond all verbal ones; and they are resolved still to continue in the same Duty and Affection; or rather to encrease it, if that is possible.

Nov. 4. 1687.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

Amsterdam: Printed in the Year 1688.

A Word to a Wavering Levite : Or, an Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Reasons concerning the taking of the Oaths, with Reflections thereupon. By a London Apprentice of the Church of England.

Would any Man bring two pitiful Cases upon the Stage at once, his Case of Resistance, and his Case of Allegiance, the first being to authorise Tyranny in Exercise, and the other to exercise Tyranny in Title, which we call Usurpation, and having declared against Tyranny in Exercise in the mean Time; and having likewise stood out against Tyranny in Title for some Years, take the silly Method at last to reconcile all together?

Johnson's Notes on the Past. Letters. Pag. 55.

Anno 1690.

To the Reader.

WHat Construtions have been put upon Dr. S—k's late Book concerning the Oaths, I need not multiply Words to acquaint you: But my Opinion is, that he has been more over-seen, or more seen-over within these few Years, than in all his Life before: I have only reflected upon the Preface of his Book, not thinking it worth my Labour to answer the Book it self, which would swell too big. I presuppose he will be displeased at what I have done, but it is all a Case to me, for I design no Ill in it, only to let him see that the World takes Notice of his Actions, and that my Bookseller may be set at Work as well as he.

IN the first Page of his Preface he begins with these Words.

Doctor. I need not acquaint the World with the Occasion of Publishing this Book, which indeed is extorted from me by the rude Clamours and unchristian Censures of some, and the earnest Importunities of others.

Paraphrased. I am asham'd to let the World see my Folly in Print, but am compell'd to it, so many busy Tongues having buz'd it about the Town, to the utter Ruin of my Reputation: My W—fe and some near Friends have importuned me to publish my Reasons, for Non and Conforming to the Oaths.

Doct. 2. My taking the Oaths of Allegiance to King Willian and Queen Mary, after so long a Refusal, has occasioned a great deal of Talk, and a great many uncharitable Gueffes about it, Faction and blind Zeal always wanting either the Wit, or the good Will to guefs right.

Paraph. My complying with the Oaths by my W—fe's Instigation, contrary to my Conscience, in hopes of a Mitre, has given good Matter for the Judicious

to

to reflect upon my Proceedings; guessing exactly at the Reasons, Loyalty and Religion always wanting either the Modesty or Ingenuity to be led Blind-fold.

Answ. Good Doctor, be not so angry at so small a Matter as a Report of uncharitable Gueffers, as you are pleased to call them; indeed it is no Matter of Admiration, for what Man of Sense can be silent, and not reflect upon such strange Proceedings as these of yours? First, you will not take the Oaths, till after mature Deliberation, or some other Reason, you have at all, and swear Right or Wrong: If the Oaths were lawful, why did not you take them before, there being Time enough to consider of so weighty an Affair, and so learned a Man as Dr. S——, one would think, needed not a School-master nor a Counsellor in this Matter; and if the Oaths were not lawful, why did you take them now? Was your Conscience more tender then, or was the Perswasions of a W—fe, now the greater Perswasive, to one or the other? May not People with good Reason say, you act against the Dictates of your own Conscience, having formerly preached against what you now act, and act now for Interest-sake, against what you with so much Zeal formerly preached?

Doct. 3. *One would have thought it most probable Conjecture, that a Man who had forfeited all his Preferments by refusing the Oath, and had for ever lost them, had not the Government been more mild and gentle in delaying the Execution of the Law, acted very honestly and sincerely in it; and if so, that there is also good Reason to believe, that if the same Person takes the Oaths, he acts honestly in that too; for what Reason is there to suspect, that he who would not swear against the present Perswasion of his Conscience, to keep his Preferments, should swear against his Conscience to get them again?*

Paraph. I had fully perswaded myself, that the World would think, because I had like to have lost my Place for not taking the Oaths half a Year ago, I was a real and honest Man: That being presupposed, they might with good Reason likewise entertain that honest Credibility of me now I have taken the Oath, which I declare at first my Conscience would not suffer me to do; for who could think I would do any thing against my Conscience?

Answ. Under Correction, Doctor, give me leave to propose two Things, which I offer to your serious Consideration.

First, If you had a Servant in your House, to whom you had revealed a Secret concerning your Life, and he had faithfully sworn to conceal it from all Persons living; now suppose you was gone over to F——, and had left your Son in Possession of your Goods, and this aforesaid Servant with your Son; if after you were gone, your Son should go to this Servant, and tell him, if he would not reveal this Secret which he had sworn to keep, he would turn him out of his Service; and so threatens him from Time to Time, (tho' suffers him still to enjoy the Benefits of his Place) but he holds out against his Master's Threats and Promises, knowing in his Conscience if he did it he was perjur'd; yet at length by the Importunity of some Friends he reveals it, and took another contrary to the former, (being first promised Preferment) to your Son; who at your Return acquaints you with the whole Matter: Now how could such a Servant look you in the Face? or with what Indignation would you look upon him? Would you not turn him out of your Service? out of your Doors? Banish him from your

Sight? and brand him with the odious Epithet of *Perjurer*? Nay, your Son would not trust him any farther than he could see him; because he that will act against his Conscience once, why may he not do it always when Occasion offers.

Secondly, Suppose this Servant, to excuse himself, should alledge, that he expected you would never return; he waited long for your coming, and delay'd the Time in hopes of it; his Conscience was too tender to reveal the Secret at first, but the Threats of his Master, and Importunity of Friends, he judg'd a Matter of Moment enough to excuse his Infidelity to you, and his taking a new Oath in Opposition to the former. So that he revealed your Secret with as safe Conscience as before he concealed it. Now, Doctor, if there be any such thing as Conscience in Man, speak, or at least think sincerely, if this Servant was to be trusted? If he was not to be rejected of all Men? And if his Conscience was not seared? Could you ever love that Man, or trust him again? Sure no. Just even so, or not much different from it, is the Case of Dr. S——k, who takes it for a Maxim, that he who will not swear against the present Perswasion of his Conscience to keep his Preferments, will not swear against his Conscience to get them again: Now where the Sense of this is no Man can tell; for you must either have a Pair of Consciences, or else swear against the Light of one single one. For first you would not take the Oath because it was against your Conscience; and then you would take it, because you were satisfied in your Conscience that you might lawfully do it. What a strange Conscience is here! Indeed, Doctor, I think in my Opinion that your Conscience is stretch'd within this Twelve Month, or else you then seem'd more nice than you need to have done.

Doct. 4. *I do not know that I have given the World any just Occasion to mark me out for a dishonest Man or a Fool; I may be mistaken, and so may any Body else, tho' never so Wise and Honest; but this I am sure of, that I never acted with more Sincerity in any Affair of my whole Life, than I have done in this Matter, from the Beginning to the End; and whether I have Reason for what I do, I refer to the Trial of this Discourse.*

Paraph. I never before this gave the World any just Occasion of Scandal; I may be wilfully mistaken, and so may any Body else, if Self-interested; but this I am certain of, I never acted with more Subtilty in any Affair in my whole Life, from the first Hour of my Birth, to the Date hereof, and whether I had Reason for what I did, let the Self-interested judge.

Ans. Indeed Doctor the World must own, that you never gave such a manifest Proof of your Weakness as now, and I am truly sorry for this; had you taken the Oath at first without Scruple of Conscience as you did now, you had acted well and like a good Subject; but how can their Majesties confide in a Man with a Pair of Consciences, one to take the Oath, and the other to let it alone? Really, Doctor, you was (as I may so say) very much overseen, will not the World say Interest was the main Ground of your taking the Oath? By which you give Matter for your Enemies to triumph, your Profession you lay open to Reproach and Scandal; and give a very bad Example to all Men.

Doct. 5. *The Truth is, tho' I refused to take the Oaths, I never engaged in any Faction against it: I never made it my Business to dissuade Men from it; when my Opinion was asked, I declared my own Thought, but I never sought out Men to make Profelytes.*

Paraph.

Paraph. Tho' I declared, and every Body knew, that I would not take the Oaths, I never publicly preached against it, nor raised a Tumult to hinder it; tho' my Conscience was then too tender to take it; but I, when my Sentiments were asked, would declare my Thoughts, which were, that I could not in Conscience, nor would take it.

Answ. Now, Doctor, you say you never engaged in any Faction against it, nor made it your Business to dissuade Men from it, yet gave your Opinion, but sought not to make Profelytes. If you gave your Opinion, your Opinion was then, that it could not with a safe Conscience be taken; and if this was your Opinion, as you cannot deny but it was, then Men asked your Opinion to no purpose, and did not regard what your Opinion was (which is altogether and really improbable) or else you must of Necessity make Profelytes, and bring Men over to your Opinion, which you here deny; for if you was unwilling to make Profelytes, why did you declare your Opinion affirmatively, and not dubiously, which you did not, I presume, being in your Opinion positively right, tho' now it appears by your own Words you were positively wrong. And certainly any Man that was dubious, receiving your positive Opinion, must of Necessity be a Profelyte, (contrary to your Word) for who would call in Question what came from the Mouth (and Heart too) of Dr. S——k?

Doct. 6. *While I thought it an ill Thing, I was secretly concerned that some of my intimate Friends had taken the Oaths.*

Answ. This Paragraph, Doctor, begins with these Words: Here you are concern'd that they took the Oaths, and then by and by you believe them to be honest Men, and that they acted honestly too. This is a strange Paradox, that Dr. S——k should be concerned at Mens Actions, when at the same Time he was satisfied they acted honestly, this looks not at all like a Ministerial Zeal, neither do I believe there is any Man of your Function, but what will be apt to cast a Smile when they read these Words of yours, and construe them (in a Sense contrary to what you would have the World believe.) Pray, Doctor, do but see how your Words agree; first concerned at your Friends that had taken the Oaths, tho' at the same Time you thought they acted honestly and with a good Conscience too; yet tho' you were satisfied in this Point, your Conscience was so tender as not to permit you to do as they had done, tho' you thought they acted honestly. Then you tell us you complied with the Government so far as you could with a good Conscience, *O Monstrum! Horrendum!*

Doct. 7. In the next Place you tell us, *You lived peaceably, and prayed for their Majesties, according to the Apostles Direction, who gave Directions to pray for all in Authority, which they visibly were.*

Answ. As for your living peaceably, it was no more than what you ought to have done, neither durst you do otherwise. And if you thought it lawful to pray for their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, why not as lawful to take the Oaths at that Time as now? May not People with Reason guess that you looked (not to say that you hoped) for a Catastrophe of Affairs in *England*, and now you see no Hopes of keeping your Place unless you take the Oaths, and *Ireland* being reduced to their Majesties, and the late K. *J.* fled, you see no Prospect of his returning; your Conscience of a sudden alters the Property, and you

You that could not before swear, can now do it with a safe Conscience: Oh Interest! Interest! how many Servants hast thou!

Doct. 8. *I did not refuse the Oaths out of any Fondness to King James, his Government, nor Zeal for his Return; which the present Prospect of Affairs gives no Man who loves the Church of England, and the Liberty of his Country, any Reason to wish, nor yet out of any Aversion to the Government of King William and Queen Mary: But against my own Inclinations and Interest, out of pure Principles of Conscience, to comply with the Obligations of my former Oaths; and that Duty which Subjects owe to their Prince, which I then apprehended irreconcilable with the new Oath.*

Paraphrased—I did not then swear because many of King's Friends had Hopes of his Return, and I was a little inclining that way too, and if he had come and I took the new Oaths, where had I been then? But their Majesties King William and Queen Mary being so merciful as not to have me suspended, till such Time as I saw it improbable, or rather impossible for my old Mr's. Return; though till that Time I thought the old Oaths and the new ones irreconcilable, yet now they agree very well, and I resolve *nemine contradicente* to take them, let the World censure as they please, Honesty is not always the best Policy, for some times Policy is the best Honesty.

Answ. Why all this Stickling and Scruple of Conscience, *Doctor*? Did so many learned, judicious and unbiassed Men, take the Oaths before you? and think you that they who understood what they did, and bore as good a Conscience as you, would for Interest sake act against their Consciences? And if you was not satisfied in the Legality of the Oaths, they could have given you ample Satisfaction in that Point; who, I presume, did what they did, not without Deliberation, and had as good Reason for taking the Oaths then, as you had now.

Doct. 9. *I find the general Cry and Expectation is, that I should give my Reasons, tho' why I should be more obliged to give my Reasons for Swearing than I was for not Swearing, I cannot tell.*

Paraph. Some Men have of late, and do still, impatiently expect to see my Reasons for not taking the Oaths, made publick, tho' I can give no more Reason for the taking of them now, than for the refusing of them formerly; and why should I expose my Failings to the Censures of reasonable Men, who I fear will detect me?

Answ. Now, *Doctor*, the Reason why you should give your Reasons, more for your Swearing than for your not Swearing, is plain; (tho' indeed you ought for the sake of your Reputation to have done both) for the World did suppose, and were partly satisfied, why you did not take the Oaths; but after having so long stood Proof against the Reasons and Persuasions of other Men, and yet at last to take them, and give no Reason for it, will give the World Reason to judge partially of you; and therefore for the sake of your own Reputation, and (which is another main Point, and ought to be considered, if nothing else) others, who have not yet taken the Oath, seeing Dr. S——k had found Reasons for what he did, would by your Example take the Oaths likewise. If this is not Reason enough let the World judge. Though a little farther you say, if Reasons were never so plentiful with you, yet you could hardly think it worth your while to

write

write a Book to gratify a meer Curiosity, but if my Reasons to the contrary do not out-balance yours, let me know in Print, for Reason is, or at least ought to be, our North Point by which we must steer our Course, but I fear your Reason was over-swayed by an unreasonable W—fe.

Doct. 10. *We live in an Age of great Prophaneness and Infidelity, which is ready to take all Occasions to reproach Religion, and expose it as a Cheat and Imposture, and to neglect no Opportunity to blacken the Clergy, as Men of no Faith nor Religion themselves, though they make a great Noise about it to serve their own Interest.*

Ans. It may be, Doctor, there may be some (as the World is never without them) who are Men of such Principles as you describe them to be; but if there were none, such Proceedings as these of yours, are enough to create some: Tho' God forbid all should be condemn'd for one, for I am verily persuaded there are not more pious, sincere, religious honest Men upon the Face of the Earth than our Clergy of England in general (but here is Matter enough for Censure) and as for Particulars let the World judge.

Doct. 11. *It is Time to give Check to such unchristian Censures, if we have any Regard to our common Christianity: And since some little Writers among them, (who are too head-strong to be governed by wiser Men) ingross the Church and Religion to themselves, and represent all who have taken the Oaths, especially the Clergy, as Apostates, at least from the Church of England, if not from the Christian Faith.*

Ans. This indeed is a Business of dangerous Consequence, and ought to be speedily remedied; but is it either better or worse than what you in effect formerly set forth, in your grand and dearly beloved Doctrine of *Non-resistance*? First preach up *Non-resistance*, then refuse the Oaths, when tendered to you; till after half a Year's Consideration, your W—fe's Persuasion, and Fear of being suspended, you take them, and then you give no good Reason why you did not take them, nor why you did take them neither; can you imagine that Peoples Tongues will be silent at such irregular unheard of Proceedings as these? had you took them at first all had been well.

Doct. 12. *It is necessary to convince all sober Christians, that Men may swear Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary without Perjury, and without renouncing any Principles of the Church of England; may, that the Doctrine of the Church of England requires us so to do: And I hope, if this appear, their Zeal for the Church of England, if no other Consideration can prevail with them, will oblige them also to do it.*

Ans. Ay, Doctor, now you say something to the Matter, this is positively true; and now you verify the Proverb. *A Man may live and learn,—* &c. for you have extremely improv'd yourself within a few Months, who then thought and declared the Oaths illegal, and now declare it may be done without Perjury, (which I own) and farther, That the Doctrine of the Church of England commands us so to do, which I own likewise: But how comes this vast Difference, Doctor, in your Judgment, pray consider, if here is not sufficient Matter to set Tongues and Pens too on Work: Who can be silent to see so Reverend and Learned a Divine as Dr. S——k so much overseen? But to proceed to your next Paragraph.

Doct. 13. *But it seems it will not serve my Turn to offer such Reasons as will justify my Compliance now, unless I can give a good Reason why I did not take the*

Oaths

Oaths before, that is, I must give such Reasons as will equally prove, that no Man ought to have taken the Oaths before; and that they ought to take them now.

Paraph. The World would extort a sincere Confession from me, how I expected a sudden Change of the Times, therefore delay'd the Time till I see my old M——r beaten; Then how my W——fe persuaded me to recant; but let them judge as they please, I am resolved if I can to defend myself: For thus much I say I had Reason for not taking them then, and I had Reason for taking them now: But what my other Reasons were I will not divulge, this may very well be the Construction of your Words, no Man of Sense I think will deny.

Doct. 14. These are very hard Task-Masters, and no doubt have very kind Designs in it——What if I was not so well satisfied about this Matter before as I am now, is any Man forbidden to grow wiser? and upon a thorough Examination of Things, to alter his Mind when he sees good Reason for it?

Paraph. What if I had not such a Prospect of Preferment before, as I have now; is any Man forbidden to wear a Mitre, or after having made a firm Promise or Vow, if he sees it will be for his Interest, why should he not break it? Half a Year's Consideration, large Promises, and a W——fe's Persuasions, are strong Inticements for a Man to break his Promise or Oaths either.

Doct. 15. So that without producing the Reasons of my Dissatisfaction before, or being obliged to answer them, having never made them publick, I think it very fair to give a satisfactory Reason now, for my taking of this Oath, hoping that what hath satisfied me may have the same Effect upon some others, that will have the Patience impartially to consider it.

Answ. Now, Doctor, you follow the Example of Holy Writ, when you are converted, *Strengthen your Brethren*; but it will be a very hard Thing, and almost impossible to persuade those Men (whom you have formerly persuaded to the contrary) to be of your Opinion, for a Man that will say and unsay, who can believe? *Can the Briar bring forth Figs? Or can Honey come forth of a Lions Jaws?* It is an undoubted Maxim, he that is once false for his Interest will always be so if his Interest requires it.

The next Place, Doctor, you acquaint the Reader, that you had drawn up your Thoughts long since, and shewed to some of your Friends, if so, it had been a very discreet Part in you, in my Opinion, to have published them to satisfy the World; but you stuck (or rather something stuck in your Stomach) and had stuck there till this Day, had you not been relieved by Bishop Overal's Convocation Book, (or a Prospect of losing your Place, if you do not swear, or getting a better if you did, together with the Persuasions of your W——fe) blessed Book! to bring a Man from Darkness to the *Right Way*.

Doct. 16. Then you tell the Reader you have made him your Confessor.

Answ. I declare, I believe, if I was your Confessor, and you to be turned out of your Place if you did not confess your real Cogitations to me, as to this Matter, I should have another Manner of Confession from you. And to close up all, you say you have renounced no Principle excepting in the Case of Resistance, which you retract, and which is indeed the only material Thing next to the Oaths, that the World lays to your Charge. You say, that in a hereditary Monarchy, where the right Heir is living usurped Powers are not of God, proved by

by the Example of *Joash*. And now you reject the Doctrine, and own it a Mistake. Whoever had told me three Years ago, that Dr. S——k would have done as he hath done, I would not have credited his Words, but *there is no Belief in Man*.

Thus I have done with the *Preface* of your Book; and leave the Book itself to be answered by him that will take the Pains, for I assure you I will not go about so tedious a Work, though I believe some Body or other will. And what I have here wrote, I assure you, Dr. S——k, I have not done out of any Malice to your Person, but to your Proceedings, not for your taking the Oaths, but for taking them no sooner. For I heartily wish, all *Englishmen* (who ought to be) were really true and loyal Subjects to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, as I declare I my self I am: And what I have wrote here is nothing but Truth, as you are satisfied in your Conscience it is; and if you have any Thing to alledge to the contrary, let the World know it. Now, *Doctor*, you may suppose I do not do this for Lucre sake, I shall not have a hundred Pounds for this Paper, as you had for your late Book, but meeting with a Hawker who sold yours, I bought it, and could not be satisfied till I let you know how I approved of it, which I have done in as little Paper as possible I could, and is the Work of two or three vacant Hours of a *London* Apprentice.

The true Character of a Church-man, shewing the false Pretences to that Name.

It is commonly observ'd, and we have too often felt, what the Power and Mischief of *Party Names* is. Were it no more, than that they serve to form and distinguish Parties, that makes them as mischievous to Government, as divided Parties. Nothing is so apt to deceive us into very false Opinions of Men, as when such Names are either ignorantly or designedly applied to wrong Persons; which not only disturbs human Conversation, and many Times deprives us of the most useful and desirable Friendships, but imposes upon the Government too, in the Advancement of unfit Persons to the publick Trusts, and excluding such as are best qualified to serve God, their King, and their Country, both in Church and State. This is visible in all publick Elections: Names give Characters, and form a Party; and Choices are made according as Names are given, at all Adventures.

I shall not take Notice now of such Names as signify arbitrarily, and which the different Parties give each other as Terms of Reproach; but there is one very good Name, which is very much abus'd, and does the greater Mischief, when misapply'd, by being so very good; I mean the Church-man, or Church of *England* Man, which some appropriate to themselves, who have little Right to it, and deny it those who best answer, and most honour that Name. And that the World may not be impos'd on by such Persons, I shall briefly represent the true Character of a Church-man, that we may the better judge to whom this Name belongs, and who they are that unjustly usurp it.

I. Now in the first Place, I take it for granted, that a Church-man ought to be a Christian: for it is the Christian Church we speak of, and therefore such

Men we must believe in God, and in *Jesus Christ*. Atheists and Infidels belong to no Church, but the *Synagogue of Satan*; and yet it is too evident, that many who would be thought great Church of *England* Men, are no great Believers: Men who are sufficiently known, in their private Conversation, and sometimes too publickly, to ridicule all Religion and the holy Scriptures, and little less than blaspheme God and our Saviour Christ, God deliver us from such Churchmen, and the Church from the Scandal of such Pretenders.

II. A Church of *England* Man is one, who lives in Communion with the Church of *England*, that is, who communicates in Religious Offices, in the Prayers and Sacraments of the Church. Some think it Title enough to the Name of Church-man, that they communicate with no Dissenters, as if to dissent from all Religion, were the Character of a Church-man. Certainly a Man of any Religion is nearer the Church of *England*, than he that hath none; for they agree in worshipping God, tho' they differ in Modes of Worship. And there is too great a Party of these Churchmen, who seldom see the Inside of a Church, and as seldom show any Signs of Devotion, when they are there. Their Neighbours must know them; and I hope, for the Honour of Religion, will never call them Churchmen.

III. A Church-man is one, who has a Right to Church Communion, who lives so regular a Life, that he is qualified to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments. This, no notorious wicked Livers are, whatever their Profession be; such as common Drunkards, and Swearers, Adulterers, Fornicators, &c. who by the Discipline of the primitive Church would not have been admitted so much as to the Communion of Prayers. Ecclesiastical Authority indeed is under such Restraints, that Church-censures cannot be always duly executed; but tho' such Men are not actually shut out of the Church, they have hardly any good Claim to it; and what kind of Churchmen are those, who have so far unqualify'd themselves even to enter the Church; and who would as much avoid the Name, as they do the Place; and both for the same Reason, *viz.* The Relation they bear to God's Religion, if they did not want a Cloak for their Impieties and Immoralities, and hope that a pretended Zeal for the Church, would atone for their real Enmity to Religion. But whatever Protection or Advantage the Name of the Church may, by the Unweariness or Design of others, gain these Men, I am sure, it receives nothing from them but Scandal and Reproach. Never let a sacred Name be thus prostituted, to countenance Wickedness, or to take off any Part of the Shame and Infamy that belongs to it.

IV. A Church of *England* Man is one, who is true to the Interest both of Church and State, as by Law establish'd. I say, both Church and State; for it has always been, and I hope always will be, the Glory of the Church of *England*, that all her true Sons are very loyal Subjects. This has been, and is at this Day, made an Accusation of the Church of *England*, that this Point of Obedience and Subjection has been press'd too far; even so far, if we believe some, as to set up Arbitrary Power and the Will of the Prince, above Law. But this is a Misrepresentation of the true Doctrine of Obedience taught in our Church; which was oppos'd to Faction and Sedition, not to a legal Government. For Obedience is a Duty owing to settled Governments, administered by legal Methods; though there may be, as in all Governments, in the imperfect

fect State of this World, there ever have and will be, several Faults and Mifcarriages in the Administration; but does not extend, nor was ever so intended, to the Subversion of Laws, and our civil and religious Rights, at the Will of the Prince. But the Church of *England* is a profess'd Enemy to all the Arts of Sedition and Faction and embroiling Governments; and would not be a true Christian Church, if it were not; and therefore Men must not pass for Churchmen, who are seditious and factious and uneasy to Government, without regard to the Person or Authority of the Prince, any longer than they are courted or bribed; and without allowing a common Respect, either in their Conversation or Writings, to such of their spiritual Fathers as happen not, upon all Accounts, to fall in with their Humour and Fancy. The Church of *England* teaches her Sons, when they observe any Defects in their Governors Ecclesiastical or Civil, to conceal, lament, and excuse them, and all out of a dutiful Regard to the Character they bear. But to expose Failings where they are, or to make them where they are not, God be thanked, was never any Part of the Spirit of our Church. It always instill'd more loyal and religious Lessons: But our Superiors in Church and State have the less Reason to be surpriz'd at this Treatment; because a boundless Liberty of Railing, both in publick and private, against all who were not perfectly of their own Mind, has been all along the great Characteristick of that sort of Churchmen, and, in many Instances, all the Title they could pretend to the Name.

V. A Church of *England* Man is one, who takes the Measures of his Behaviour as a Son of the Church, from the Rule that our Church herself has laid down for his Direction, in her *Liturgy* and *Rubrick*, her *Articles*, *Homilies* and *Canons*. This, as grounded in Scripture our great Rule, is the Path that our Constitution has mark'd out; and as they who walk in it, (that is, who worship God, and obey their Superiors in such a Manner as these prescribe) are truly Churchmen; so the rest who deviate from the Rule on either Side, have no Title to the Name. They that will not come up to it, are Dissenters on the one Side; and if any go beyond it, they are Dissenters on the other, *i. e.* both of them dissent, and differ in their Principles and Practices, from the establish'd Rules of the Church. Of the latter Sort are they who value themselves at this Day upon the Name of High Churchmen; and as for others, who keep strictly to the Rules of Church Communion and Worship, and think it a Breach of that Rule to go higher than the Church itself has directed, all these they despise, as Men of a lower Church, who yet are really the true and only Churchmen; while the other exalted Pretences are no less a Deviation from the true Church, than Superstition is from the true Religion.

VI. A Church-man is one, who governs himself by Principle, and not by the uncertain Turns of Humour or Interest. He will not be zealous for Monarchy and Episcopacy at one Time, and at another fall in with Measures for diminishing the just Prerogative, and depressing his Ecclesiastical Superiors. Nor will he turn Advocate for the popular Election of Bishops, when he finds his Aims not so likely to succeed at Court: A Scheme that has been mentioned with Approbation by a certain Party in this Reign, who in another would have called it a Republican Device to lessen the Royal Prerogative, and a Fanatical Contrivance to maintain perpetual Factions and Parties among the Clergy of every

every Diocese. In short, a Church-man is uniform under all Governments and is not to be drawn by private Animosities and Resentments, from pursuing Methods that really are, and himself has all along declared to be, the Supports of our Constitution and the Foundations of Peace and Order in Church and State.

But yet such Men, who have neither the Faith nor Worship, nor Morals, nor Loyalty, nor Steadiness, which the Church of *England* teaches her Children, would be thought very good Churchmen, because they profess a great Zeal to preserve the present Constitution of the Church, as by Law establish'd: And I must own this a very good Reason, (especially, could we have any Security of them;) to prefer them before the profess'd Enemies of our Constitution. For it is very happy (and we ought to thank God for it,) when they do any thing this Way; but not to own them Churchmen, for Reasons I shall soon give. For, I beseech you, what Security can we have of those Men, who have no Reverence for God, nor for their Prince? How should they have any Value for the Church, who have no Value for Religion? We ought to be thankful to God, when he so wisely orders Things by his Providence, as to make it the Interest of bad Men to favour and protect his Church; but we have no Reason to depend upon Men, of no Principles, and no Religion. While their Interest and the Church is on a Side, we may expect them our Friends; but Interest will not lye. If the Church and Interest part, farewell the Church.

But to pass over this. A Church-man must signify one, who is for preserving the Essential Constitution of the Church. Now the Constitution of the Church of *England* is the same, that has been the Constitution of the *Catholick* Church, ever since the apostolick Age, or as long as we have any authentick Records of the Church; that is, the Government of the Church is in Bishops with Presbyters and Deacons under them. Ours is a National Church, and divided into two Provinces; each Province hath a Metropolitan, with a superior Jurisdiction over all the Bishops and Clergy of his Province; which some think an Apostolical, but it is certain, is a very ancient Constitution of the *Catholick* Church.

Now whatever Pretences may be made, I cannot think nor call these Churchmen, who endeavour to overthrow this ancient Constitution of the *Catholick* Church, to which the Church of *England* is so exactly conform'd; as we know has by some been lately attempted. For to deny the Metropolitan any sort of Authority of convening and presiding in Synods, (which necessarily carries with it the Authority of Continuations or Prorogations,) any otherwise than as the King's Minister (which is a Civil, not an Ecclesiastical and Metropolitan Authority,) and to make a Synod of Presbyters an independent House and co-ordinate Power with their Bishops, when they themselves do and must own, that there never was a distinct Synod of Presbyters, much less a co-ordinate House of mere Presbyters, in any other Episcopal Church in the World, and can never shew, when the Church of *England* broke off from the *Catholick* Church, and renounced the Metropolitan and Episcopal Authority; this is to oppose the essential Constitution of an Episcopal Church, as the Church of *England* is. While some, who call themselves great Churchmen, are declaiming against the Usurpations of the Civil Power upon the Church, they have
taken

taken great Pains, to expound the *Act of Submission*, and the King's Supremacy, to such a Sense, as neither our Princes, nor Lawyers ever thought on; to make all Church Authority a perfect Creature of the State, that Presbyters may challenge a co-ordinate Power with their Bishops.

But this is too long a Dispute to enter upon at present, and may deserve a particular Consideration; for it seems a mere Jest, for Men to pretend a mighty Zeal for the Rights and Liberties of the Church, and upbraid their Superiors with betraying the Rights of the Church; while they themselves are overthrowing the ancient Constitution of the *Catholick Church*, and of the Church of *England* with it: And how fit such Men are to lead them, I hope all honest Episcopal Clergy-men will consider.

And now, all I have to add is, a Caution against being imposed on by the Name Church-man. If any have a Mind, for other Reasons, to chuse Atheistical Men, or profligate Sinners, and seditious, factious, violent Spirits, to represent them; let them not do it under the Character of Churchmen: For this is a mighty Scandal upon the Church of *England*, to own those for Churchmen, who are known to have no Religion: This hath, and does to this Day, give great Scandal to Dissenters, that many Atheistical, lewd, profligate People, who manifestly have no Religion, pretend to be of the Church of *England*. This cannot be avoided indeed, unless the Discipline of the Church could be effectually reviv'd. For Men of no Religion, if they must profess any, will pretend to the legally establish'd Church and Religion; but if we cannot always sling them out of the Church, yet I think we ought not to own them; for that would be to fix a very ill Character upon our Church, and our Religion, ourselves.

And besides this, had we to deal with any Prince of less Prudence, and Temper, and Insight into Men, than his present gracious Majesty, whom God long preserve; what an Opinion would this give him of the Church of *England*, when he should find many (inconsiderately own'd to be Patrons of it) to have no Religion, no Morals; and to be troublesome, and factious, and great Disturbers of his Government, and of all that he designs well for the Publick Good.

A New Test of the Church of *England's* Loyalty: or,
Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd.

Anno 1700.

IN all the unhappy Contentions among Parties and Factions in this brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of *England*, as they wou'd have themselves call'd, have laid it down as the distinguishing Mark of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and has been deriv'd from her very Constitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Principles of unshaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undisputed Obedience to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of those hellish Principles, *That it*

can

can be lawful on any Account whatsoever to resist the establish'd Power of their Kings.

'Twould be endless to quote the Reverend Dr. B——ge, who from the Text in the *Resist not the Powers, &c. for whatsoever Powers are, be ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God;* tells us, 'That if the King should by his Royal Command execute the greatest Violence upon either our Person or Estate, our Duty was to submit by Prayers and Tears first to God Almighty, to return the Wrath of his Vicegerent from his Servant, and by humble Entreaty to beg his Majesty's Grace and Pardon; but *to lift up the Hand against the Lord's Anointed, or resist the Evil of Punishment he thought fit to inflict*, this were a Crime unpardonable either before God or Man, and a Crime, (says the Reverend Dr.) which we bless God the very Principles of our Ever Loyal Mother, the Church of England, abhors and detests.

'Let Incendiaries, Phanaticks, and Bloody Peace-breaking Whigs (says another Learned Divine) nourish the Viporous Principles of Treason and Rebellion, and let them meet the due Reward of their Factious Doings in the Resentments of a Righteous, but Provok'd, Nation: But God be praised, our Mother the Church of England has always brought up her Sons in an unspotted Loyalty and Obedience; none have been found lifting up their Hands against their Sovereign, or possessing the Rights of the Anointed of God, &c.

'The very Being and Life, the Original and Principles of the Church of England, (says another 30th of January Sermon) is Loyalty and Fidelity to God as the Immediate Supream, and to the King as the lively Image of Divine Authority, whose Power is immediately deriv'd from, holds of, and is accountable to none but to God himself.'

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is desir'd to accept of these as sufficient Proofs of what I lay down upon this Condition; nevertheless, that besides the general Appeal which I might make to the Memory of most Men, I oblige myself upon Demand to produce Ten Thousand fair Quotations out of the Writings of our late Modern Authors since the Restoration; wherein the Doctrines of Non-resistance of Princes, Passive Obedience, and the Divine Authority of the Kingly Power, is own'd and declar'd to be an Essential Part of the Profession and Practice of the Church of England; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be sufficient, I think I cannot be censured, if I take it for granted.

Now, as this too much divided Nation has always been compos'd of two contending Parties, those Parties, have been distinguish'd as in like Cases, by Names of Contempt; and tho' they have often chang'd them on either side, as Cavalier and Round-head, Royalists and Rebels, Malignants and Phanaticks, Tories and Whigs, yet the Division has always been barely the Church and the Dissenter, and there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of England Party have boasted of their own Loyalty, so they have branded the Dissenter with Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writings and Sermons, and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers believe it, that the very Doctrine of the Dissenter is made up of Principles in their own Nature, tending to Confusion

Confusion and Rebellion; they wont be content that we should own there may be Men among all Parties of bad Designs, and who wou'd on all Occasions embroil their Native Country, but it must be woven with the very Articles of Faith, and that 'tis the Religion of a *Dissenter* to disturb Government, kill Kings and oppose Laws.

'The Phanatical Enemies of our King and Church (says the Learned Dr. *P—n*) drink in Rebellion as Water; 'tis the very Substance of their Schismatical Doctrine to over-whelm and destroy; and Commonwealths and Confusions are the Doctrines they preach.'

He that lays out one Groat with a *Dissenter* (says the worthy Sir *Roger* in one of his famous *Observators*) contributes just so much as the Profits of that Groat amounts to in Trade towards the Subversion of the Monarchy, and erecting a Commonwealth; for the very Nature and Tendency of their Profession is destructive of Kingly Power, and the Government of the Nation.

This has been the Opinion of the Church of *England*, both of themselves on one Hand, and of the *Dissenters* on the other Hand. I shou'd be glad if I cou'd only say, *It has been*, for we find 'tis still too much their Opinion.

Let no Man say, that the Author of these Sheets is either widening or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no Occasion of such unnatural Divisions; and that neither the extraordinary Opinion of themselves, nor the Contempt of their Neighbours, as to the Matter of Loyalty, is a becoming Principle; no, nor a rational one neither: For that as to Loyalty, Passive Obedience, Non-resistance, &c. there is really no great Difference between one Side or other. I go as far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there can be no better Way to end the Strife on both Sides, than to prove that neither Side has any just Cause to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides seems very useful at this Time, in order to reconcile Parties, and settle the Universal Character of the Nation.

The Government of *England* is a limited Monarchy, composed of Kings, Lords and Commons. Each have their several, their separate, and their conjunctive Powers; which acting in Concert, makes the Harmony of the Constitution. I shall not invade the Province of those learned Gentlemen, who have undertaken to set forth the Branches of the Constitution in all their Powers, Limitations and Prerogatives: 'Tis enough to say the Constitution is known, the Government is confin'd by Laws, the Crown limited by Statutes, and the People's Right confirm'd by the Concession of Ages.

To this Government, all Distinction of Names set apart, I am of the Opinion all Parties have in their Turns been equally Loyal: I was going to say, equally Disloyal: And if I were to use the Language of late Times, it wou'd be a very proper Way of speaking.

Affirming without demonstrating is an absurd Way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the several Acts and Deeds of both Parties when the Kingly Prerogative has shock'd or clash'd with the People.

In order to this, 'tis needful to examine the Date of the Difference, and so to enter a little into History.

Our first Reformation from *Papery* was in the Days of King *Edward* the VI.

I call it the first, because 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Government embrac'd the Protestant Religion; this Protestant Religion was establish'd by *that Zealous King*, and by his Parliament, back'd with the Force of Laws, and confirm'd by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of, and here it began to be call'd the Church of *England*.

Some enquiring Christians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reformation to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was such, that there was no doubt he wou'd have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had encreased; but the Return of Popery under Queen *Mary* put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen *Elizabeth* restor'd it again; but as she was a Zealous Protestant Queen, yet she was not for subjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. Not that she believ'd it perfect; but she was a Politick Princess, surrounded with Enemies that were not to be dally'd with, and she was loth to suppose such Defects in the Reformation as were alledg'd, because 'twas to lessen the Reputation of it, and consequently her Interest in the World.

Those who insisted upon the further Reformation were then call'd *Puritans*, because they set up for a greater Purity of Worship, and they separated themselves from the establish'd Church, because, as they said, their Consciences inform'd them they cou'd serve God more agreeable to his Will.

I shall not meddle with the Arguments made use of on both Sides, either to defend or expose this Principle; 'tis sufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of the *Dissenters*: We are now to examine a little further back. Before this Reformation there was no such Thing as Church of *England*; it was then the Church of *Rome* that was the establish'd National Church.

The Protestants under the Titles of *Lollards*, *Wickliffians*, *Hussites*, &c. what did they do? Did they, as our Modern People say every Body shou'd, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the present Church of *England* Party were the Dissenters, the Schismatics and Phanatics, in the Days of King *Henry VIII.* who were persecuted for not coming to Church; many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contemners of Authority; as in the Case of that famous Proto-Martyr of Christ's Church, *John Lambert*, and others.

In the next Ages these come to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it *righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man*, they treat those whose Consciences oblige them to dissent from them, with the same Contempt which themselves had received from the *Roman* Government.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience to their Superiors.

The Dissenters have the first Occasion after this to show their Submission under extraordinary Pressures. Queen *Elizabeth* discountenanced them continually; and as good a Queen as she was, put some of them to Death. King

James I.

James I. hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made thousands of them fly into *Holland* and *Germany*, and at last to *New-England*.

During the long Reign of these two Princes we find no Charge of Treason or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Displeasure of their Princes with Patience and Passive Obedience; *if I may be allow'd that ridiculous Phrase*; being persecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal Prosecutions, and things contrary to their Right, as *Englishmen*, but never took up Arms against their Prince.

Under the Reign of King *Charles* I. the Case altered, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right, and an Invasion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the *Puritans* or Dissenters, call them what we please, fell in unanimously with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the first Difference between the King and the *English* Parliament did not respect Religion, but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the House *Puritans*, but true Church Protestants, and *English* Men; who stood upon the Rights of the People, as *English* Men; and none were more zealous in the first Disputes than the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and such as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the *Puritan* Party stuck close to their Cause, they also came over to them when things came to a Rupture, and so the War begun on the score of Right, Invasion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, private Leagues, and male Administration; a Game we have seen play'd over again by the very same Church of *England* that have exclaim'd so much against it; so damn'd it, and so damn'd themselves, by Oaths, Declarations, Tests, and God knows what, against it.

'Tis allowed here the *Puritan* broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he subdued his Sovereign, and brought him to the Block, to the Astonishment of the whole World.

I won't dispute here which or which Party did or did not do it, but to give the Enemy all just Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largest Sense that the Dissenters, or *Phanatics*, or Whigs, call them as you please, did embue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed, put to Death that blessed Martyr, King *Charles* the I. whom a learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, before the Parliament, compares both in the Manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and the *Jews*, and boldly runs on in the Blasphemous Parallel, to shew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King *Charles* exceed those of *Jesus* Christ.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adversary can desire; for I have yielded for Peace-sake to several Things which I could fairly disprove.

Nor shall I return to a Repetition of the ill Usage the Dissenters have received from the contrary Party on this Account for above 30 Years; the constant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from those Gentlemen, who on all Occasions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken care to extol their own unshaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at last an Occasion presents to touch them in the same most sensible Part, *their Right and Property*; and *alas!* their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the *Faithful, passively Obe-*

dient, *unshaken Loyal Church*, returned to the Original Nature of their Neighbours, and did the same Thing exactly which the Whigs, *the factious Rebellious Whigs*, had done before.

'No, that's false, (says a Disciple of Dr. *Sherlock's*) we did not kill our King, we did not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor hurt the Lord's Anointed.'

No, that's true, but the Lord's Anointed may thank himself for that; for my Part I think the Difference only lies here; the Whigs in 41. to 48. took up Arms against their King; and having conquer'd him, and taken him Prisoner, cut off his Head, *because they had him*: The Church of *England* took Arms against their King in 88. and did not cut off his Head, *because they had him not*. King *Charles* lost his Life, *because he did not run away*; and his Son, King *James*, saved his Life, *because he did run away*.

'Tis such a Jest, such a Banter, to say, we did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: *Bless us, kill our King, we wou'd not have hurt a Hair of his Head!* Why, every Bullet shot at the Battle of the *Boyne* was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas because you could not hit him.

If a Highway-man fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken and brought upon his Trial, our learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, harangues him in this Manner: *And besides all this, Sir, you are plainly guilty of Murder; for you not only assaulted this honest Man in order to take away his Money, but you endeavour'd to murder him; for you shot at him, in order to kill him; and the Intention of Murder is equally criminal in the Eyes of God with the Act itself.*

Now who did we shoot at the *Boyne*? 'Tis true, King *James* generally stood out of the Way; but who did we shoot at? What! was our Orders to fight against both small and great, and not against the King of *Israel*? Had your Bullets Commission to shew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lord's Anointed? If he had charg'd in the first Squadrons of his Horse, had you not kill'd him if you could? I think this needs no further Proof.

Nay, if Arguments may be allow'd to have equal Weight on both Sides, the Whigs have been the honefter of the two; for they never profess'd any such blind, absolute and undisputed Obedience to Princes as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, that Government was originally contrived by the Consent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties governed, that the People have an original native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their Persons and Possessions, *unless forfeited to the Laws*, that they cannot be divested of this Right but by their own Consent, and that all Invasion of this Right is destructive of the Constitution, and dissolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declar'd, that they understand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, *supposing they govern them according to the Laws of the Land*; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is inverted, and the Constitution ceases of Course.

Buchanan

A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS. 563

Buchanan in Scotland, and Algernoon Sidney in England, have set their Names, and the latter his Blood, to this Doctrine, and the Author of the True-born Englishman is worth quoting in the Case.

*The Government's ungirt when Justice dies,
And Constitutions are Non-entities :
The Nation's all a Mob, there's no such Thing
As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King :
A great promiscuous Crowd the Hydra lies,
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties :
A Chaos free to chuse for their own Share,
What Case of Government they please to wear.
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conscience to submit ;
But then that King must by his Oath assent
To Postulata's of the Government.
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
And Power retreats to its Original.*

True-born Englishman, p. 74.

This has been the avow'd Doctrine of the Dissenters, and is indeed the true Sense of the Constitution itself ; pursuant to this Doctrine they thought they had a Right to oppose Violence with Force ; believing that when Kings break Coronation Oaths, the solemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are sworn to rule, they cease to be the Lord's Anointed any longer, the Sanction of their Office is vanish'd, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now 'tis no Wonder to find People of these Principles vigorously withstanding their Governors, when they tread upon the tender sore Places of the Constitution ; 'tis nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declared to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of England Men, whose Loyalty has been the Subject of a thousand learned Authors, and numberless Sermons, whose Character and Mark of Distinction has been chosen more for her steady Adherence and Fidelity to her Prince than to God Almighty ; whose Obedience to her Monarch has been declar'd to be inviolate and immoveable ; and who pretends to be famous thro' the whole World for her Faithfulness to Kings ; for her, as soon as ever the King did but as it were, seem to aim at crushing her Authority, as soon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap up her golden Candlesticks for Disobedience ; for her to winch and kick, fly to foreign Princes for Protection, and rise in Arms against her Prince, O Pelin ! O Brady ! O Sberlock ! O Hominem ! O Mores !

Where's the worthy Dr. B——ge's Loyalty now ? His Immovable Loyalty, that after all his Absolute Submission is so far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that he cou'd not lose a small Benefice for it ?

Where is the Famous Dr. S——k? Who having stood out long in his old antiquated Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and confirm'd the Faith of his Suffering Brethren, by strong and wonderful Arguments, at last, at the powerful Instigation of a Wife, and a good Salary, *has sold all his Loyalty for a Mess of Pottage*, solving his Honesty with the wretched Distinction of a Power *De Facto*, and a Power *De Jure*, as if the Church of *England's* Credit cou'd be sav'd by such an important Shift, or as if he cou'd make Amends to the Prebendary for his helping him to sacrifice his Brethren to father his Conversion upon reading honest Dr. Overall, whose Doctrine, 'tis well known, the Doctor knew before? but that he was loth Dr. South shou'd have the Honour of bringing him over to such old Phanatick Principles?

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of *England*; now let's examine their Conscience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and *Forty-One-Men*, or else prove them all perjur'd, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magistrates and Officers of the Household, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of *England*, otherwise they cou'd not be employ'd; the Sacramental Test has done the *Dissenters* this Kindness, that 'tis plain all the managing Hands in the Kingdom were Disciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumstance, the Oath of Allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praised) of their own making, bound them to that same absolute blind Obedience which they profess, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Successors.

If this Oath be consider'd literally, I am content to be silenc'd, when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it; the Declaration follow'd it, wherein they detest and abhor that devilish Doctrine, that 'tis lawful *on any Pretence whatsoever*, (*Mark the Emphasis*) to take up Arms against the King; this (*equal to an Oath*) is declared in the Presence of God; and the Particulars being material to our Purpose, are as follows:

I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful on any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against those that are commissioned by him.

So help me God.

Notwithstanding this, you have taken up Arms against, deposed, and as far as you were able, put to Death your lawful King, the very King you swore Allegiance to.

Now pray Gentlemen give Commission to some worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration if you can; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of these Conclusions from the Premises, and you shall chuse for yourselves.

First. That this Doctrine of Absolute, Passive and Non-resistant Obedience, is an Absurdity of itself, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduc'd by State Engines into the Church of *England*, to abuse her, and betray her Members into unforeseen Mischiefs and Inconveniences.

Or,

Or, *Secondly*, That the Members of the Church of *England* are all Apostate from the very Fundamental Doctrine of their Church, Perjur'd in the very Sight of God and Man, notorious Hypocrites, and Deceivers; who having sworn Obedience without Reserve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murtherers of the Lord's Anointed, and their Lawful Sovereign; and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have depos'd and traiterously dethron'd their rightful King, God Almighty's Vicegerent, accountable to no Earthly Power, Supream under God, absolute, and from divine Institution, undoubted Sole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, *Lastly*, That they only are the true Church of *England*, who according to their avow'd Profession, having firmly adher'd to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blacken'd their Consciences, nor gone from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor sullied their Reputation, with the horrid Crimes of Treason and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Disputant, I am willing the Respondent shall chuse which of these three Consequences he will stand by in Behalf of the Church of *England's* Loyalty; but if they wou'd take the Advice of a *Friend to the Honest Part of them*, I wou'd recommend the first Conclusion to be fittest for them for the following Reasons.

1. Because since Humane Infallibility is (*and with good Reason*) disown'd by the Church of *England*, both for herself and every Body else, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, when she has found herself mistaken, and impos'd upon, to acknowledge her Error; *a wise Man will always own, rather than defend a Mistake.*

2. Because 'tis my Opinion that their Way is hedg'd up against other Pretences, Evasions, or Reservation, and therefore 'tis with me the only Thing that Charity can say for them, and must remain so, till I find something else said that is more to the Purpose.

But the Mischief of all is, that if this be honestly acknowledg'd (*as is doubtless most true*) that the Church of *England* was mistaken, and impos'd upon, to espouse a senseless absurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, &c. why then they come over to this Consequence.

That Government and Allegiance are both conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be consider'd in a constructive Sense, with Conditions of Protection, and the like; a Thing which is without Question the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwise Subjects may be put under an absolute Necessity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often swearing what may be impossible for them to perform.

The Town of *Aeth* in *Flanders* hath been about six Times, and the Town of *Rhinebergh* in *Gueldre* about twelve Times, taken and retaken; and as often as new Masters had Possession of the Place, so often the poor Inhabitants have sworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of such an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them so long as they keep Possession of the Place? 'Twou'd be ridiculous to imagine the Imposers of the Oath requir'd any more.

If our zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the Nature of swearing Allegiance, let them answer for it who first made it, then took it, then broke

broke it: But the Nature of the Thing can leave Room for no other Suggestion that I know of.

'Till then some further Argument is produc'd, it must rest here, that the Church of *England* was mistaken, imposed upon, &c. that she finds when the Laws are broken, the Right of the People invaded, the Root of the Government struck at, Church and State undermin'd, and despotick Tyranny at the Door, the native Right of the People is superior, and they may assume a Power to right themselves.

And so we are brought back to Whiggism, and 41; and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can.

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty, and Whiggish Loyalty, Roundhead or Cavalier, Churchman or Dissenter, Whig or Tory? All are alike; they are pleas'd, when legally govern'd; quarrellsome and unruly, if oppress'd, and will defend themselves, if assaulted; tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body else.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might all be Friends together, for they are all alike; the Dissenters have been in their Times as loyal, and the Church of *England* in their Time as Disloyal, as one another. *Vice versa*; the Dissenters have been as disloyal, and the Churchmen as loyal as one another upon the same Occasion; they have been both Sufferers, and have submitted to the Government; ay, to the Oppressions and Persecutions of their Superiors and Sovereigns; and again, upon the like Occasions, they have both of them been Rebels, *if their own Language may so far be us'd*; they have both of them in their Turn, taken Arms against, and depos'd their rightful and lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, *with a Latitude to all that think otherwise to think as they please*, the Church of *England*, and their Neighbours the Dissenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to say to them, nor shall not mingle it with this Discourse.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satire against the Church of *England*, nor is it at all intended to be so; and to stop all Pretences that way, I take the Freedom to say here has been no Crime, the Church of *England* has been in the Right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in espousing, crying up, and pretending to a blind Absolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never so Absolute, Tyrannical or Illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of *England*, nor of any Church or People in the Christian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the Fault lay in those People, who being themselves of the Church of *England*, suffer'd themselves to be deluded by State Ministers, to foster a Tenet upon the Church which her Original Constitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The first Beginning of their pretended Doctrine was found in *Manwaring's* and *Sibthorp's* Libels, in the Days of King *Charles I.* cajoling the King, and then to please him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the Divine Right of Kingly Government; and affirming, that the King was not oblig'd by the Laws in the Administration of the Government.

Upon

Upon this preposterous Foundation they built the Illegitimate Structure of Absolute Undisputed Obedience; for if Kingly Power were once prov'd to be immediately deriv'd from Divine Authority, Absolute Obedience wou'd be a Consequence no Body cou'd dispute, since the same Obedience without Reserve wou'd be due to the delegated Power, as to the Power delegating.

And tho' this is a Point easily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the present Dispute within as small a Compass as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether Government be of Divine Original or not, seems not the Question here; for if it be not so, then, as before, the Church of *England* have been mistaken, and imposed upon; and if it be so, then the Church of *England* has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turn'd Rebels to God, and Apostates from the Faith they have profess'd, have sacrilegiously and traiterously taken up Arms against their Prince, assaulted the Lord's Anointed, *resisted the Powers which are the Ordinance of God*, deposed their Lawful Sovereign, broken their Allegiance, and consequently *are a Parcel of Perjur'd Rebels*; every Jot as bad as the worst Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year Forty One.

What more or less can be said I profess I know not, and am in great Expectation of something new in the Matter; for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with any thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumstances of mutual Compact between King and People, seems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangled Principles; the Nature of Government has made it the necessary Consequence of all Arguments relating to Power; and I cou'd give Instances of all the Nations in the World, that some Time or other, even the Right of Succession to Government, *which must be as sacred as the Power*, has been interrupted and limited by the People, in case of Tyranny and illegal Government; and every Nation, *and this among the rest*, has oftentimes depos'd their Princes for the Preservation of the State, when either Incapacity for Government, Tyrannical Usurpation, or other Male Administration has been the Case.

But this I think also needless here, every one that is versed in History can read the numerous Examples in the *Roman, Grecian and Persian* Histories, even sacred Histories, where Kings were more particularly of divine Right than any where, are full of them; the Histories of *Spain, Portugal, Lombardy*, the Empires of *Germany and Muscovy*, even the Papal Chair, have suffered Convulsions and Revolutions, their deposing and displacing their Sovereigns, when the People's Good which is, and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cause of all Government, came to be in Dispute.

But to return to the Principles of the two Parties we are now discoursing of; the Whigs, as before, have always asserted this to be their Notion of Government and Governors; and the Church of *England*, however some among them have topt an empty Notion upon them, have all along, and now at last once for all, own'd it by their Practice,

*That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.*

True-born Eng. Man, P. 47.

The

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown past in the last Parliament, and the Right of the People therein declared and recogniz'd, I would ask my Opponent whose Act and Deed it was? Will they say it was a Whiggish Act, made by a phanatical House of Commons; I dare say there was not ten Dissenters in the House; let them descend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a black List of Members, who in that Loyal, Honest, *English* Parliament gave their Hands to the last Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us tell Noses, and put a Brand upon the Phanaticks among them.

Will they tell us it was a phanatical Parliament that set the Crown upon the Queen's Head? I hope they will own Her Majesty and their Lordships the Bishops are Part of the Church of *England*; for if the Head and the principal Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us that Sir *E. S.* Sir *B. S.* Sir *J. B.* Mr. *H—y*, Sir *C—r M—ve*, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Commonwealth-men?

How comes it to pass in *England* that no Papist can inherit? Divine Right ought to supercede all Precautions, and the young Prince of *Savoy*, not the House of *Hanover*, ought to reign with a *Non Obstante* to all humane Limitation, if all was from Heaven: Where are our Right-Line-Men now! Why, truly the Reason is plain, the Church of *England*, People of *England*, a Church of *England* Parliament of *England*, have thought fit to declare, that for the Good of the People, to which all Right of Power must give way, because from them all Power itself does derive, and by the Voice of that People (in which Authority sufficient is legally grounded) it is unanimously agreed, that we will not have a Papist to reign over us.

All this is too plain to admit of a Dispute; and now to me it seems preposterous why any Man should keep up the Distinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no Manner of Difference in the Case.

I have talked several Times of bearing, suffering, being persecuted and oppressed, as the Dissenters in their Time have been more than enough, and again in their Turn, the Church of *England* have been persecuted too; for as I noted before, they were once the *Schismatics*, the *Whigs*, and the *Dissenters*. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument, to examine whether of the Two behaved themselves under their Sufferings with the greatest Submission, who show'd most absolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who first, or oftenest rebelled against their lawful Sovereign.

The Protestants under *Henry VIII.* were the first Dissenters; they were kept under, persecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schismatics. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of two Protestant Queens, Wives of King *Henry VIII.* they had more than once formed such Interest at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popish Powers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell* was thought a necessary Policy in King *Henry*, to prevent the Plots of the phanatical Church of *England* Heretics; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that Prince.

King *Edward* the VI. a zealous and pious Prince, made no Scruple for the Propagation of the Protestant Church of *England*, of which he was the glorious Founder, to set aside the lawful and undisputed Succession of his own Sisters to establish

the Crown in the Lady *Jane Grey*, who he knew would carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Instance of the Zeal for Succession in the right Line, in the first Protestant Head that ever the Church of England had.

After this, the Gospellers, *that is, the Church of England Protestants of Suffolk*, having some Sense of the Injury done to the Princess *Mary*, and willing to have the Succession go on in the right Line, provided they could both preserve their Religion and Loyalty too, capitulate with her, and promise to stand by her, provided she would promise to preserve and make no Alteration in their Established Church of *England*.

Here the Church of *England* Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be superior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to submit, or not to submit, as their Liberty was, or was not secure; and accordingly condition'd with her, before they would acknowledge her to be their Queen.

And we see how Heaven punish'd them for venturing on the Word of a Prince when their Religion and Liberty were at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again suppress'd, and Popery erected, Sir *Thomas Wyat*, an honest Church of *England* Protestant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms against their lawful Prince, for breaking his Word in Defence of *their dear Religion, Established by blessed King Edward*, which were the very Words of the Manifesto they published: The *Londoners*, with 800 Men, sent by the Queen against them, thought it no Treachery to desert their Lawful Popish Queen, and go over to their Protestant Church of *England* Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Justification of this Fact; 'tis sufficient that so it was, and that these were Protestants of the Church of *England*, in the first and purest Part of their Principles, and let them justify the Fact if they please.

Queen *Elizabeth* succeeds, and then the Church of *England* shone in its Meridian Glory, and then grew up some, who aiming, *as I said before*, at a further Reformation; and the Church refusing to hearken to it, formed a new Party of Dissenters, and these were called *Puritans*, and since that *Phanaticks*.

Now I challenge the Defender of this Cause to tell me one disloyal Act, one Plot against the Government, one Disturbance of the Civil Peace, among these Dissenters, from the Beginning of this Queen, which was their own Beginning, to the Reigt of King *Charles I.* which was a continued Term of 80 Years, and yet, during this Time, they suffered all Manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Fines, Imprisonings, Banishment, Confiscations, and Corporal Punishments.

So that hitherto the passive Obedience of the Dissenters hath far exceeded that of the Church of *England*. These had but five Years Oppression under Queen *Mary*, and in that five Years they once capitulated with their Sovereign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms against her after she was Queen; and by *that* I must always understand, that if they did not depose and destroy her, it was because they could not; and if they had done it, no doubt they had Cause sufficient to justify them before God and Man. The *Puritans* after this suffered all that their *too cruel Brethren* of the Church of *England* laid upon them during three tedious Reigns, before they so much as made the least Offer

at doing themselves Justice ; and for 80 Years together exercis'd that Passive Obedience which they never prtended too.

At last they took Arms ; and when they did, they did it to Purpose, carried all before them, subdued Monarchy, cut off their King's Head, and *all that*.

After the Restoration Things began to return to their old Channel, and 30 Years more the Dissenters endur'd another *Egyptian* Servitude ; were persecuted, plundered, indicted, imprisoned, plagued with Impositions, stigmatized with a thousand Reproaches ; their Meeting-houses demolish'd, their Estates confiscated, their Persons excommunicated and anathematized, sworn into Plots they never heard of, and into Crimes they never committed, dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets, and Scaffolds, and the like. *All this while passive Obedience, if there were any such Thing*, was found among them more than any where else ; for here were no Rebellions, no Insurrections, nor breaking of the Peace by the Dissenters notwithstanding all these Opinions.

After this comes King *James* the Second to the Crown, and he turned the Scale, and, together with Invasion of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to rife her of her Trophies, *for no Essentials had been touched*, and how long did she bear it ? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years, no, not so many Months.

What did she do ? Truly nothing but what she ought to have done ; defend her Liberty and Religion by Force, against unjust Invasion and Tyranny ; nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and would do again if they could.

The only Error we charge upon the Church of *England*, was setting up Pretences of what they really would not practice ; crying up themselves for Fools, when we knew they were wiser Men ; calling themselves humble Slaves, but when the Trial came, proving Stubborn, Refractory, *Liberty-mongers*, even as bad as the worst Whig or *Phanatick* of them all.

For the future then, if a humble Moderator might be permitted, to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, it should be in these short and friendly Terms.

Pray Gentlemen never be imposed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty and more slavish Principles than you intend to practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Sovereign requires. Our late King, who I am not ashamed to show as a Patern for future Ages, required ; and her present Majesty, *without Affront to her Majesty's Authority it may be said*, requires no further Obedience from the People of *England* than the Laws of *England* require.

To govern according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People, and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Sovereign. The Laws are the Test both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subjects Obedience ; and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires, is abusing your Prince, and abusing yourselves.

Never be ashamed to own with your Brethren the Whigs, that you are willing to submit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the Scotch Motto be set upon your Liberties, and according to your constant

A Collection of TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS. 571

constant Practice, *as well as ours*: Let all Men know you design to make it Good. *Nemo me impune lacessit.*

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of *England*, nor were a hundredth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it; so for the future, 'tis hoped you will not suffer such to mingle themselves among you, or to act in the Name of the Church of *England*, who pretend to a blind absolute Obedience to Princes.

And *Lastly*, Gentlemen, a little more Modesty to your humble Servants your Protestant Brethren, the Dissenters, or Whigs; I mean as to Matter of Loyalty For in Truth, Gentlemen, we do not see any Reason you have to reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that Way as your Neighbours.

The Divinity of our Blessed Saviour proved out of the
Old and New Testament, &c.

March, 1719.

*The Divinity of our Blessed Saviour proved out of the Old Testament,
and the exact Time of his Death.*

BEhold a Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and shall call Isa. 7. 14.
his Name *Emanuel*; and before the Child shall know to refuse 16.
the Evil, and choose the Good, the Land shall be forsaken of
both her Kings.

Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the Govern- Ch. 9. 6.
ment shall be upon his Shoulders; his Name shall be called *Wonder-
ful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, Everlasting Father, the Prince of
Peace*; of the Increase of his Government and Peace there shall be
no End. The Zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform it.

Behold mine Elect in whom my Soul delighteth, he shall bring Ch. 42. 1.
forth Judgment for the Gentiles.

There shall come forth a Rod out of the Stem of *Jesse*, and a Ch. 11. 1,
Branch out of his Root. The Spirit of the Lord shall be upon him: 2, 3, 4.
The Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, of Counsel and Might,
of Knowledge and of the Fear of the Lord. He shall smite the
Earth with the Rod of his Mouth, and with the Breath of his Lips,
shall he slay the Wicked.

And in that Day there shall be a Root of *Jesse*, which shall stand Ver. 10.
for an Ensign of the People; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his
Rest shall be glorious. *Compare with Rom. 15. 10, 11, 12.*

Thou *Bethlehem Ephrata*, out of thee shall come forth to me, he Mich. 5. 2.
who is to rule the Nations, whose Goings forth have been from Ever-
lasting.

572 *A Collection of TRACTS on all SUBJECTS.*

- Mal. 3. 1. The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple.
 Ch. 4. 2. But unto you who fear his Name, shall the Son of Righteousness
 arise with Healing in his Wings.
 Ps. 110. The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my Right-hand till I
 make thine Enemies thy Foot-stool.
 Ps. 45 6, 7. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a Septre of Righteous-
 ness is thy Sceptre; thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniqui-
 ty; therefore God, even thy God, hath appointed thee with the Oyl of
 Gladness.
 Isa. 22. 22. The Key of the House of *David*, will I lay upon his Shoulders;
 so He shall open, and none shall shut, and he shall shut, and none
 shall open.
 Ps. 102. 25. Thou Lord in the Beginning hath laid the Foundations of the
 Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands.
 Ps. 110. 4. The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, thou art a Priest for
 ever after the Order of *Melchisedeck*. Compare it with Heb. 5. 6.

*The Divinity of our Blessed Saviour and Great Redeemer, proved
 out of the New Testament.*

- Luke 1. 30. **F**EAR not *Mary*, for thou hast found Favour with God. Behold
 thou shalt conceive in thy Womb, and bring forth a Son, and
 shall call his Name *Jesus*.
 V. 32, 33. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest. Of
 his Kingdom there shall be no End. The Holy Ghost shall come
 upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall over-shadow thee.
 Therefore that holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be cal-
 led the Son of God.
 Luke 2. 10. The Angels of the Lord came unto them, and the Glory of the
 Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid; and
 the Angels said unto them, Fear not: I bring you good Tidings
 of great Joy, which shall be to all People; for unto us is born this
 Ver. 13. Day in the City of *David* a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And
 suddenly there was with the Angel a Multitude of the heavenly Host,
 praising God, and saying, Glory be to God in the Highest, on Earth,
 Peace, Good-will towards Men.
 Mar. 1. 16. *At his Baptism, the Heavens were opened, and the Spirit like a Dove*
descended upon him, and, there came a Voice from Heaven, saying, Thou
art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.
 Mat. 17. 5. This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear
 ye him! *said at his Transfiguration by a Voice out of the Cloud upon*
the holy Mount.
 John 12. 28. *Jesus said, Father, Glorify thy Name; then came there a Voice*
from Heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and I will glorify it
again. His Birth was attested by Angels. His Baptism, his Trans-
figuration and Passion, favoured with particular and audible Voices
from Heaven, to manifest to the unbelieving World that he was the
 Lu. 21. 33. Son of God, who said *Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my Words*
 Mar. 13. 31. *shall not pass away.* Those

Those who will not be perswaded to believe in our *Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, would do well to consider what he hath left upon Record, *Those who deny me before Men, them will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* Mat. 10. 33. Mar. 8. 38.

At his yielding up the Ghost, the Vail of the Temple was rent, to shew that Gentiles, as well as Jews, had free Access to the Holy of Holies.—Rocks did rent, the Earth quaked, Graves were opened, many Saints arose, went into the Holy City, and appeared visible, which made the Centurion, tho' an Infidel, say, *Truly, this was the Son of God.* Mat. 27. 51. 52.

In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the World, and the World was made by him, and the World knew him not. John 1. 10.

And the *Logos*, or *Word*, was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his Glory, the Glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth; and of his Fulness have we all received Grace. Ver. 14.

The Lamb of God who taketh away the Sins of the World. Ver. 29. 32.

John bare record, and said, I saw the Spirit descending from Heaven like a Dove; and it abode upon him, and I knew him not, but he who sent me to baptize with Water, said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and resting, the same is he, who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.

And I saw, and bare record, that the same is the Son of God. Ver. 34.

God hath in these last Days spoken to us by his Son, by whom also he made the World. Heb. 1. 2, 3.

The Brightness of his Father's Glory, and the express Image of his Person; upholding all things by the Word of his Power, when he had by himself purged our Sins, sat down at the Right-Hand of the Majesty on high.

Jesus saith, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, no Man cometh unto the Father, but by me. John 14. 6.

Believe me, I am in the Father, and my Father in me, or else believe me for the very Works sake. Ver. 11.

The Blind receive their Sight, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleansed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are raised, and the Poor have the Gospel preached to them. Mat. 11. 5.

Blessed is he, who shall not be offended in me. Ver. 6.

All things that the Father hath are mine. John 16.

I came forth from the Father into the World, again I leave the World, and go to the Father. 15, 28.

I and my Father are one. John 10. 36.

The Father is in me, and I in him. 38.

I came forth from God, neither came I of my self, but he sent me. Ch. 8. 42.

Father, glorify me with thine own self, with the Glory which I had with thee before the World. John 17. 5.

374 *A Collection of* TRACTS *on all* SUBJECTS.

Ver. 10. All mine are thine, and thine are mine, and I am glorified in them.

Ver. 3. Thou hast given him Power over all Flesh, that he should give eternal Life, and this is Life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

THERE are Three who bare record in Heaven, the Father the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.

Phil. 2. 6. He thought it no Robbery to be equal with God.

Rom. 5. 9. Being justified by his Blood, we shall be saved from Wrath through him.

Eph. 2. 14, 18. For he is our Peace; For through him we have Access to the Father, who hath translated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son.

Col. 1. 13, 14, 17. By whom we have Redemption through his Blood, the Forgiveness of our Sins, who is the Image of the invisible God; by him were all things created, and for him, he is before all things, and by him do all things consist; for it pleased the Father that in him should all Fulness dwell.

2 Thes. 1. 7, 8. 9. The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, to take Vengeance on them who know not God, and do not obey the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting Destruction from the Glory of the Lord, and the Presence of his Power.

Eph. 1. 20. Whom he raised from the Dead, and set him at his own right-hand far above every Name that is named, not only in this World, but in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his Feet.

Rev. 3. 7. Fear not, I am *Alpha* and *Omega*, and Behold I live for evermore, *Amen*. I am the First and the Last, who was dead and am alive; I have the Key of Death and Hell. I open and no Man shutteth, I shut, and none openeth.

Heb. 13. 8. Jesus Christ the same Yesterday, to Day, and for ever.
He several Times foretold his own Death, and who should betray him, and the Destruction of Jerusalem.

Mar. 10. 33. Behold we go to *Jerusalem*, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed unto the chief Priests and Scribes; and they shall condemn him to Death, and deliver him to the Gentiles; and they shall mock him, and scourge him, spit on him, and kill him, and the third Day he shall rise again.

Mat. 12. 40. As *Jonas* was three Days and three Nights in the Whales Belly, so shall the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth.

John 12. 23. Jesus saith, the Hour is come, when the Son of Man shall be glorified.

Ch. 13. 31. Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him, and God shall also glorify him.

He

He told the utter Destruction of the City and Temple of the Mark 13. Jews. Ver. 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Behold the Hand of him that betrayeth me, is with me on the Table; but woe unto that Man by whom I am betray'd; It had been good for that Man, if he had not been born.

This Man purchased a Field with the Reward of Iniquity, and falling down head-long, burst a sunder, and his Bowels gushed out. Acts 1. 18.

OUR blessed Saviour is called *Jehovah* Eloim, the Lord God of the Holy Prophets, in the Old Testament, which are the incommunicable Properties and Titles of the Great God.

Thou Lord [addressing to *Jehovah*] of old hast laid the Foundations of the Earth. Psalm 102. 25.

And the Lord *Jehovah* said unto me, *Cast it unto the Potter, a goodly Price was I valued at of the Children of Israel.* Zech. 11. 13.

They shall look on me, [*Jehovah*] whom they have pierced. Zech. 12. 10.

Behold the Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the Way of the Lord *Jehovah*. Is. 40. 3.

I will have Mercy on the House of *Israel*, and will save them by the Name of the Lord *Jehovah*. Hos. 1. 7.

And all thy Children shall be taught of the Lord *Jehovah*. Is. 54. 13.

Is there a God, *Jehovah*, besides me, yea, there is no God, I know not any. Chap. 43. 11. I, even I am the Lord, and besides me there is no God. Ch. 44. 8.

Texts proving an Unity of Divine Attributes, in Communion with the Father and the Son, equally applied to both.

Thou, even thou only, knowest the Hearts of all Men. 1 Kings 8. 39.

I, the Lord, search the Heart and try the Reins. Jer. 17. 10.

I am the First and the Last, and besides me there is no God. Isa. 44. 6.

The Wonderful, Counsellor, Almighty God, everlasting Father, and the Prince of Peace. Ch. 9. 6.

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good Tidings to the Meek. Ch. 61. 1.

He hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and Sight to the Blind.

And God said, *Let us make Man in our own Image, after our own likeness.* Gen. 1. 26.

OUR blessed Saviour is called by the Name *Jehovah*. And the Lord God of the holy Prophets. Compare Luke 1. 16, 17. Rev. 22. with the Old Testament or *Jehovah Elobim*.

Thou Lord in the Beginning hast laid the Foundations of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Work of thy Hands. Heb. 1. 10.

Then

- Matth. 17. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the Prophet, *They* took the thirty Pieces of Silver, the Price of him who was valued, and gave them to the Potter's Field, as the Lord had appointed.
- John 19. 37. They shall look on him [*Jesus Christ*] whom they have pierced.
- Matth. 3. 3. The Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, *Prepare ye the Way of the Lord [Christ]*
- Luke 2. 11. Unto you is born in the City of *David*, a Saviour, which is *Christ the Lord*.
- John 6. 45. It is written in the Prophets, *They shall be taught of God*. Every Man that hath heard and learned of the Father, cometh unto me.
- Rom. 8. 1. There is no Condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus.
- Ch. 9. 5. Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for evermore.

Texts proving an Unity of divine Attributes, applied equally to the Father and the Son.

- John 2. 24. He knew all Men, and needed not than any should testify of Man, for he knew what was in Man.
- Rev. 2. 3. I am he who search the Reins and Heart.
- Ch. 1. 8, 17. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, saith the Lord, which is, and was the Almighty Lord.
I am the First, and I am the Last.
- Rom. 10. 12. For the same *Lord* over all, is Rich unto all, who call upon him; *King of Kings* and *Lord of Lords*.
- 1 Tim. 6. 16. Who only hath Immortality dwelling in Light, that no Man can approach to.
- Rev. 22. 6. *Lord God* of the hold Prophets.
Compare it with *Luke 4. 18, 19, 20.* to preach the acceptable Year of the Lord, this Day is this Scripture fulfilled in your Ears.
- John 1. 2. He was in the Beginning with God, all Things were made by him, and without him, was not any Thing made, that was made.

He laid the whole Stress of his Doctrine upon his rising from the Dead, which was accomplished the very Time he foretold.

- John 20. 12. **M**ARY Magdalen came weeping to the Sepulchre, stooped down, and saw two Angels sitting in white, the one at the Head, the other at the Feet where the Body of Jesus had lain.
14. She turned herself, saw Jesus, and knew him, after a while to be her Lord, whom at first she took for the Gardiner. Jesus saith unto her, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father*. He sendeth her to his Disciples, and appeareth to them the first Day of the Week himself, when the Doors were shut for fear of the Jews, stood in the Midst, and said unto them, *Peace be unto you*. Then were the Disciples glad when they saw the Lord; but Thomas not being with them, he appeared again to them when Thomas was there,

there, and shewed him his Side, his Hands and his Feet, who being convinced, cried out, *My Lord, and my God.*

He shewed himself to them at the Sea of *Tiberias.*

Chap. 21.

Jesus met two Disciples going to *Emmaus*, and in a long Discourse convinced them of their Unbelief, was afterwards seen of three hundred Brethren at once, when he had conversed forty Days with his Disciples by many infallible Proofs, and speaking to them of Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and did promise them the Holy Ghost, saying, *Do not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the Promise which you have heard from the Father; Ye shall receive Power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be my Witnesses both in Judea, Jerusalem, and Samaria, and unto the utmost Parts of the World.* Luke 24. Acts 1.

And when he had spoken these Things unto them, whilst they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their Sight.

And whilst they looked stedfastly towards Heaven, as he went up, behold two Men stood by them in white Apparel, which also said, *Why stand ye gazing up into Heaven? This same Jesus who is taken from you into Heaven, shall come in like Manner as you have seen him go into Heaven.*

Obedience due to the present K I N G, notwithstanding our Oaths to the former. Written by a Divine of the Church of *England.*

Anno 1689.

1. **T**HE Oath of Allegiance is the Expression of our natural Duty to the King (as the Coronation Oath is of the Regal; which in Nature is antecedent to it) 'tis especially signified in these Words. (a)
 " I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend against all Attempts, which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity."

2. If the King do manifestly separate his Person from, and engage it against his Crown and Dignity; so that we cannot defend them both: I mean, if his personal Actions, contrary to Law, do directly and openly tend to the Prejudice and Spoiling of his Crown and Dignity, by his voluntary subjecting them to a Foreign Power, contrary to the plain and primary Intention and Letter of the Oath; subverting the legal Constitution, and enervating the very Laws by which his Crown is supported, his Prerogative is measured, and the Dignity of

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(a) *He must be King before we can be bound to him as such.*

the King, as such, hath its very Being, as well as the Safety of his People is maintained ; certainly in such a Case, none can be bound by this, or any other Oath, to defend the King's Person, in Attempts so contrary to the very Reason and End of all Government, with the Neglect of the other Part of our Duty, which is to defend his Crown and Dignity.

The Oath of Supremacy seems to direct us more clearly in this Difficulty ; the Words are, " I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness ; " but how ? it follows, " and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King, or annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm ; that is, thus we are to bear Faith and Allegiance to the King."

4. For if we should be bound to assist and defend his Person, when it is, and as it is engaged against his Crown and Dignity, we seem bound, *toto posse & totis viribus* (so far Defence is expounded) to assist and contribute to the Ruin both of our King and Country, and perhaps to the cutting of our own Throats.

5. If any should imagine, that the Oath will not suffer us to consider the Person and Crown of the King thus divided ; but that it binds us to assist and defend them together : 'tis true, while they are kept together. But if the King himself divide them, and 'tis become impossible for us to assist his Person but we must betray his Crown ; nor defend his Crown without forbearing to assist his Person ; to say, now we are bound to assist and defend both, makes a plain Repugnancy in the Oath, and in our Duty (to do and not to do the same thing) and consequently the Obligation ceaseth.

6. That we are bound by our Allegiance to assist the Person of the King, to the Prejudice of his Crown and People, seems not only to be against the Light of Nature, the primary End of it being the Safety of his Kingdom, and the Safety of the King, but the secondary End of it ; but most agreeable to the Sense of our antient and learned Lawyers, and also, of the plain Acknowledgement and Profession of antient Kings and Parliaments.

King Henry I. five hundred Years ago, told the Pope, whilst I live the *Authorities and Usages of the Kingdom shall never be diminished* : But if I would so debase myself (which God forbid) *Magnates mei & totus Angliæ populus nullo modo paterentur* : The Lords and People of England would by no means suffer it. And Edward I. wrote himself to the same Purpose. Besides, with his Consent, the *Lords and Commons* in Parliament, in their Letter to the Pope, have these Words, *We do not permit, or in the least will permit (sicut nec possumus nec debemus)* though our Sovereign Lord the King do, or in the least will attempt to do any of the Premises (by owning the Pope's Authority, touching his Right to Scotland) so strange a Thing, so unlawful, prejudicial, and otherwise unheard of, though the King himself would. Once more, on Record in the Fourth of Henry III. the *Commons* declare, *Si Dominus Rex & Regni majores hoc vellent (Adomer's Revocation upon the Pope's Order) Communitas tamen ipsius ingressum in Angliam, nulla tenus sustineret.*

Now what's the Meaning of all this ? but that the King's Personal Will, contrary to Law, however expressed (for it must be signified by his Words or Actions).

Actions) if the Performance of it would prejudice his Crown and Dignity, may be resisted. Much less are we bound by our Allegiance to assist or defend him in so doing, in Reason, Law, or the Sense of our antient Kings or Parliaments.

Objection. *But we swear to defend, not only the King, but his Heirs and lawful Successors.*

Answer 1. True, but *Hæres non est viventis*, and the Successor, in Law and common Sense, is the Person that doth actually succeed, or is in Possession. Now if the actual Successor be the lawful Successor, we are bound by our Oaths to defend him; but if he be not the lawful Successor, none else is so, because none else is the Successor, and consequently, so far the Object and Reason of our Oaths ceasing, our Obligation by them ceaseth, and we are bound to none besides the Person in Possession.

2. 'Tis farther remarkable, That though the Word *Lawful* be once in the Oath of *Supremacy*, 'tis only there, where we swear Faith and Allegiance in general; but, as if it were intended, that the Subject should not trouble himself about the Title of the King in Being, where that Allegiance is explain'd with respect to Practice, the Word *Lawful* is left out in that Oath. It follows there in these Words, — *Shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions*, — granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, without the Word *Lawful*. And agreeable hereunto, we find the Word wholly left out in the Oath of Allegiance, both in the same Place, where we swear Allegiance in general, as well as in the other Place of our more particular Duty; and it looks as if this was done *de Industria*, for the same Reason, namely, that such as take the Oaths might not think themselves bound thereby to be solicitous about the Title to the Crown.

3. The Holy Scriptures seem not to involve the Consciences of private Christians about Princes Titles; but expressly require their Subjection to the Powers that are, as a great and necessary Instance of that Humility and peaceable Behaviour which their Religion teacheth them.

4. In the same Holy Books, we are further most plainly admonish'd, that (by what means soever obtained) 'tis (c) *God that putteth down one, and setteth up another*; and upon that Ground too, we are strictly charg'd to submit to the Powers that are, because they are ordain'd of God, and tho' the Apostle use the Word *ἐξουσία*, I think, none can imagine he intended by it, to determine the Lawfulness of *Augustus's* Title, who was admitted by the Senate; but rather, to inforce that Obedience that he presseth the Christians to yield, by this Consideration, That all Authority is from God; and in its true Nature, and by God's (d) Ordinance, intended for our Good.

5. The known Statute of 11 H. 7. 1. is of the same Import, and grounded we find, upon the like Reason and Holy Scripture, it gives us Way to this plain Inference, that the same Duty which we owe to a lawful King, is to be performed to the King in Being; that is, to the King in Possession; and that no other King or future Parliament can in Reason, Law, or good Conscience, upon any Pretence of Usurpation in the Possessor of the Crown, or any Disloyalty in the Subject, charge us with Guilt, for serving or defending the King in Possession.

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(c) Rom. 13.

(d) *Imperatores Rom. fatendum est, non optimo Jure Imperium adeptos.* Sanderfon:

The Subjects therefore, might lawfully fight for him, and consequently take the Military Oath; in Reason (by the Law of Nature) in Law, by the Law of the Land; in all good Conscience, that is, by the Law of God, in the Holy Scriptures.

6. Hereupon, my Lord *Coke's* Words are notable: This Act, saith he, (meaning 25 *Ed. 3.* about Treason) is to be understood of a King in Possession of the Crown and Kingdom; for if there be a King regnant in Possession, altho' he be *Rex de facto* and *non de jure*, yet is he *Seignior le Roy*, within the Purview of this Statute; and the other, that hath Right and is out of Possession, is not within this Act.

Nay, saith he, if Treason be committed against a King *de facto*, and *non de jure*, and after the King *de jure* come to the Crown, he shall punish the Treason done to the King *de facto*; and a Pardon granted by a King *de jure*, that is not also *de facto*, is void, *Inst. 3. l. p. 7.*

Now, if by the Law of the Land, which I think is our only Guide in such Cases, Treason may be committed against a King that is so only by Possession, without Right; and cannot be committed against him that hath Right, and not Possession: Seeing he is not within the Purview of the Statute, sure, we cannot reasonably be thought to be intangled in such a Strait, as to be bound by our Allegiance to commit Treason, which we cannot presume the King in Possession will pardon, and the Law tells us, the King that hath Right only, cannot. Who therefore would question our Liberty to be true and faithful to the King in Possession, so far at least, as not to resist him, or to be Traitors to him, or to give him Assurance thereof by our Oath. The renown'd Casuist Bishop *Sander-son* would not declare (e) the very *Engagement* to be unlawful, taken in that lower Sense, to the pretended Commonwealth without any King or House of Lords.

7. Since we have mentioned that excellent Casuist, whose Loyalty, Judgment, Fidelity, and Authority, is unquestionable, 'tis fit for us to observe what he hath frequently and without the least Hesitancy delivered as his premeditated Thoughts about the present Case.

Having suppos'd a King in Possession only, by Power, if the Query be what is to be done by the Subject that hath sworn Allegiance to the rightful King; he answers, 'tis not only lawful to obey the King in such Possession; but it often happens that not doing so, [*defuisse Officio*] we are wanting to our Duty. Yea, that we owe Subjection to a King in Possession, upon the Grounds of Justice, Equity, Charity, and Gratitude, while we enjoy our Liberties and are protected by him.

Exigit hoc a nobis (Optima æqui boni lex) vetus illa Commutationum formula, Δός τι, καὶ λάβε τι. Et profecto, perversissimæ mentis, sub illius dominationis patrocinio, velle vivere cui parere nolis: Et cujus protectione gaudeas, ejus imperium detractare.

8. His third Argument for the Necessity of Obedience to the present Power, however obtained, is taken from the Charity we owe to the Publick, whether Church or State, of which we are Members, and for the Good of which we are born

born ; in *quantum igitur illius Societatis, cujus ipse Membrum & pars est, Salus & tranquillitas exigit, eatenus Civis unusquisq; imperiis ejus qui de facto——præest, obtemperare tenetur.* Words worthy the most serious Reflection of the present Church of *England.* Read at large his 5th Prælect.

But as to the Argument from *Gratitude*, when we seriously reflect upon our late forlorn and ruinous Condition both in Church and State ; when we call to mind that all our Foundations were put out of Course, and our Pillars even broken by the late King's own ill-guided Hands ; and that the Heroick Prince hath been at so great Expence, and exposed himself to so many Hazards, in his own Country, at Sea, and here in *England*, in Compassion both to our Miseries and Infirmities ; when our Land was weak, and all the Inhabitants thereof in an utter Disability to rescue or save themselves ; and none under Heaven, within the reach of humane Apprehension, besides that one Prince, could possibly effect it ; that glorious Instrument under God, put his Hand to support and strengthen, and bear up our Pillars, to redeem and secure our Religion, Laws, and Liberties ; and when our late King, either for fear of his Person, or rather of the Issue of Affairs in our Re-establishment, had deserted or abdicated his Kingdom, and left us in Confusion to shift for ourselves ; whose Return now cannot be thought of without Horror : And the present King and Queen, being therefore first petitioned, to take the Government, have graciously accepted it, upon Terms answering all Mens Desires or Interests : I say, when all this is well pondered, the Ground and Argument for our quiet and chearful Submission, taken from *Gratitude*, is indeed too big to be contained in a Sheet or two of Paper, or the Mind of Man ; and prodigious, beyond the Credit of Posterity.

Lastly, One would think there was no Place left for any further Scruple. The late Change was urged by extream Necessity, and carried on with a wonderful Providence, and perfected with universal Consent ; it was eminently the Lord's doing, and our own too ; the Government was unhinged by the late King himself. The present King, &c. was put into Possession by ourselves in our Representatives ; who were as freely chosen by us as ever any Parliament was : The Convention had nothing wanting but the previous Formality of the Royal Writs, which could not be then had ; that Punctilio of Order, cannot reasonably be supposed to go into the Being of the representative Body ; the Want of it, cannot well be thought to prejudice our Election, or Consent to what they have done, whom we chose and intrusted with our politick Reason and Interest, and in whose Acts, we ought to acquiesce as our own Doings, in every Thing or Matter of Expediency for the public Good, not evidently contrary to our Duty to God.

In short, The Possession of the Throne, by the Act of the People of *England* is now unquestionable ; we have no Liberty left us, either to dispute the King's Title, or deny him our Duty. Give unto *Cæsar* the Things that are *Cæsar's*, &c.

The State of the Case between *DENMARK* and
SWEDEN.

IN the Year of our Lord, 1654, on the 15th of *September*, a League of Amity and Friendship was concluded, and afterwards on both Sides ratified, between the King and Kingdom of *Denmark* on the one Part, and the Lord Protector and Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.* on the other Part, whereof this is the first Article.

ARTICLE I.

Quod ab hoc die erit firma, integra & sincera Amicitia, Pax & Confœderatio, tam Mari quam Terrâ, & Aquis dulcibus, inter Regem Regnumq; Daniæ & Norvegiæ, & Protectorem & Rempubicam Angliæ, Scotiæ & Hiberniæ, nec non Dominia, Regiones ac Civitates sub utriusque ditione positas, Populumque, Incolas & Subditos alterutrius, cujuscunq; gradus & dignitatis; ita ut neutra pars, Populusve aut subditi alterutrius, neque per alios, directè vel indirectè quicquam agat, vel quantum in se est, agi permittat in damnum aut præjudicium alterius, verùm altera alteram bonis officiis adjuvabit atque alterius rem & commodum pro virili promovebit.
That is to say,

That from this Day shall be a firm, entire and sincere Amity, Peace and Confederacy, as well by Sea as Land, and fresh Waters, between the King and Kingdom of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the Protector and Commonwealth of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, together with the Dominions, Countries and Cities in the Jurisdiction of either; as also between the People, Inhabitants and Subjects of both, of what Degree or Dignity soever; so as neither Part, People, or Subjects of either, neither by themselves, nor others, directly or indirectly may do any Thing, nor as much as in them lies, may suffer to be done, to the Damage or Prejudice of the other; but that the one shall aid the other by all good Offices, and shall advance the Welfare and Profit of the other to his utmost Power.

Three Years after this League thus made, that is to say, in the Year 1657, after the *Danes* had received many great and notorious Wrongs and Injuries from the King and Kingdom of *Sweden*, and being further threatned by them to be worse dealt with, as may be seen more at large in the *Danish* Manifesto, called *Jus feciale Armatæ Daniæ*: They betook themselves to their Arms. But this War being ended through the Mediation of *England* and *France*, and the Peace concluded at *Rosbilit* in *February* last, was sign'd by the Publick Ministers of the Most Christian King, and his late Highness the Lord Protector, who thereby became Sureties for the same, as is more fully set forth in a Relation of the Affairs

fairs between the two Northern Kings, printed in this City about a Month since.

This Peace the King of *Sweden* kept, till he had got into his Hands four or five Provinces, wherein were many Strongholds, and had received other Advantages granted to him by the said Treaty of Peace; but being bound by the same to quit all the Territories of the King of *Denmark*, in which at that Time his Army lay quartered, instead of marching away, he marched back again into the Isle of *Zealand*, besieged the Castle of *Cronenburg* and took it, laid also Siege to *Copenhagen*, which although it succeeded not, yet he threateneth to besiege again; and he should have no better Success than he had before, he endeavour-eth to engage us in his Quarrel, and by the Help of our Navy to make himself Master of the three Northern Kingdoms, as he is already of the *Baltick-Sea*, and the Ports thereof.

In the Beginning of this second Invasion, the King of *Denmark*, made full Account, that the most Christian King of *France*, and his late Highness the Lord Protector, were bound in Honour, to see the Contents of that Treaty of Peace, whereof they were Mediators and Sureties, as well performed on the *Swedish* Side, as he had done on his, and implored their Aid to that Purpose: but finding no Relief from *England*, (whether the Indisposition of his Highness, or something else was the Cause) he sought for Aid from such of his Neighbours, as had Tendernefs enough, not to see a King and all his Royal Progeny unjustly oppressed: amongst those Friends and Neighbours were the States General of the United Provinces, who were bound to defend him by a defensive League, concluded between them and that King in the Year 1649. But before they came to put in Execution what they were oblig'd to do, they endeavoured to satisfy his Highness, concerning the Justice and Necessity thereof, and to demonstrate to him the Inconveniencies, that would arise to the Commonwealth of *England* itself, if the King of *Sweden* should be pleased to co-operate with them, for the composing of those Differences, which were grown to that Height, between the two Northern Kings: and his said Highness being deceased, they continued to use the same Instance with this present Lord Protector, declaring, that they intended nothing, but what might be equally to the Good and Profit of this Nation, as well as of their own, in any Liberty or Privilege of Trade and Navigation, not desiring the least Advantage to their own Subjects more than to us, although their Endeavours to preserve those Liberties had already been expensive to them, both in Blood and Treasure.

From these precedent Considerations, we may propose these following Queries.

I. Whether the Commonwealth of *England*, &c. can in Conscience break their publick Faith and Treaty with *Denmark*, without any Cause given?

II. Whether the said Commonwealth be not bound in Honour, to see the Treaty of Peace between the two Northern Kings, whereof his late Highness was Mediator

Mediator and Surety, performed on both Sides ; obliging him, who hath violated the Treaty, to give due Reparation, for the Damage received by the Party injured ?

III. Whether it be for the Interest of the *English*, in their Trade and Navigation to the *Baltick* Sea, that all the Eastland Commodities, be in the Power of one Prince, who either may withhold them, or raise thereupon any arbitrary Tolls and Customs, though never so excessive ?

IV. Whether it be very safe for this Commonwealth, that one Prince should be the sole Dominator of all the North ; and whether *England* hath not Reason to fear the same Inconveniencies from thence, which it has felt heretofore, when those three Kingdoms had but one King, and he still to contest with those *Vandalick* Cities, which now are in the King of *Sweden*'s Power.

V. Whether the Offers and Desires of the States General, that we would join with them to the composing of those Differences between the two Northern Kings, by Way of Mediation, be not rather to be accepted, than that we should involve ourselves in an unjust and dangerous War, wherein a Victory may prove of worse Consequence to our own Country, than any Overthrow ?

VI. Or whether Conscience, Honour, our Trade and Navigation, and our Fleet, yea the Safety of the State, ought to be set at Stake, to gratify the *French*, our Friends at present ; who doubtless for one of these two Reasons, endeavour to engage us in this over-hasty War, against both our Interests and our Allies ; either that they may thereby advance and enlarge their Conquest upon the *German* Empire, and make themselves Masters of all *Flanders*, this Campaign ; or rather that they may set all Protestant Princes and States at Variance, then make Peace with *Spain*, and so at last extirpate the *Protestant Religion*, having first weakned the Defenders thereof by their own Arms ?

A short Account of the BANK *of* ENGLAND.

Heretofore published by *Michael Godfrey*, Esq; deceased.

CONsidering the Variety of Opinions concerning the Bank, it may be thought *a Service to the Publick* to give the following Account of it; whereby 'twill appear, That the Bank, notwithstanding *all the Cavils*, which the Wit, and Malice of its Opponents have raised, is one of the best Establishments that ever was made for the *Good of the Kingdom*: For how plausible soever their Objections may seem, 'tis manifest they proceed in some from *Aversion to the Government*, in others from *Prejudice, false Insinuations*, or *mistaken Notions*, but in most from *Self-Interest*.

The Bank is a Society consisting of about 1300 Persons, who having subscribed 1200000 *l.* pursuant to an Act of Parliament, are incorporated by the Name of *The Governor and Company of the Bank of England*, and have a Fund of 100000 *l.* per Ann. granted them, *redeemable after eleven Years*, upon *One Year's Notice*; which 1200000 *l.* they have paid into the Exchequer, by such Payments as the Publick Occasions required, and most of it long before the Money could have been demanded.

The Subscriptions to the Bank were made by Virtue of a Commission under the Great Seal of England, grounded upon the said Act of Parliament, of which publick Notice was given, and the Commissioners were appointed to take all such voluntary Subscriptions as should be made on or before the first Day of August last, by any Person or Persons, Natives or Foreigners, Bodies Politick or Corporate, towards the raising the said 1200000 *l.* and there was a Proviso in the said Act, that if 600000 *l.* or more of the said 1200000 *l.* should not be subscribed on or before the first Day of August then next coming, that the Power of making a Corporation should cease, and the Money be paid into the Exchequer by the respective Subscribers and Contributors. And notwithstanding all the Endeavours of its Adversaries, the whole 1200000 *l.* was subscribed in ten Days time, though if the Subscriptions had not amounted to 600000 *l.* the Subscribers would have had but a bad Bargain, and such as no-body would have taken off their Hands for 20 per Cent. Loss of their Principal, and yet they would have received 8 *l.* per Cent. per Annum for their Money; nor would the 1200000 *l.* have been any thing near subscribed, but upon the Prospect of their being incorporated to be the Bank of England.

It's observable, That the Promoters of the Bank have proposed no Advantage thereby to themselves above any of the other Subscribers, all the Profit being only *pro Rata*, according to their Stock; and though it cannot be imagined but that they intended to be largely concerned, yet it is so settled, that those who have but 500 *l.* have one Vote, and those who have never so much can have no more; and the Directors have no Salary fixt, for their Pains and Attendance, but submit themselves wholly to what a General Court will think fit to allow

them; and any nine Members having each 500 *l.* Stock, may call a *General Court*, and turn out *the Governor, Deputy-Governor*, and all or any of *the Directors*, and choose others in their Places. Which are Provisions so wise, and effectual to prevent Fraud in some, to the Prejudice of the rest, that it hardly leaves room for any Doubt of that Nature.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the Advantages which *the Nation* will receive by the Bank, however I will mention *some few*, which alone are sufficient to recommend it, *viz.*

The Bank, besides the raising 1200000 *l.* towards *the Charge of the War*, cheaper than it could otherwise have been done, (and like the other Publick Funds, *tying the People faster to the Government*) will infallibly *lower the Interest of Money*, as well on *Publick as Private Securities*, which all other Funds have advanced, and which hath been raised to an *exorbitant Rate*, as to the Publick, *by those who have made Use of its Necessities*, and are now angry at the Bank, because that will reduce it. And *the lowering of Interest*, besides the Encouragement it will be to *Industry and Improvements*, will by a *natural Consequence* raise the Value of Land, and encrease Trade, *both which depend upon it*; but it cannot be expected that *Land shall rise much* whilst such high Taxes continue upon it, and whilst there are so great Advantages to be made by *lending Money to the Publick*.

The Bank gives Money for *Tallies on Funds*, having a Credit of Loan by Act of Parliament, and which are payable in two Years time, for the growing Interest only, *without any other Allowance*, on which there was used to be paid for the Change, as much or more than the Publick Interest: For even on *the Land Tax*, which is counted the best of all Funds, there has been frequently given on *Tallies* payable in three or four Months time, 1 *l.* 1½, 1¾, and two *per Cent.* premio, *over and above the Publick Interest*, and *Tallies* on some Funds, on which *but 12 or 18 Months past* there was 25 *l.* and 30 *per Cent.* given *over and above the publick Interest*, are now taken by the Bank for nothing, and instead of allowing Money to *change them*, there is now Money given to *procure them*; so that *Tallies* are become better than Money, because there is 7 or 8 *per Cent. per Annum* Benefit whilst they are kept; and they are paid by the Bank *upon Demand*, to all those who desire to have Money for them, which is in *Effect* so much Quick Stock which the Bank has already increased to *the Nation*, besides what it will farther add by its own Credit.

Thus by a regular Course, and without any Violence, the Bank has made *Tallies* current in Payment, which is what has been so long wish'd for, but could not have been effected without the Bank (although there had been a Law to compel it) and this has given *such a Reputation to all Tallies*, even those which are the *most remote*, that they are now currently taken by private Persons at 6, 8, 10, 15, and 20 *l. per Cent. less Allowance* than what was given but some few Months before the Bank was establish'd, *all which Losses on Tallies was paid by the Publick*; for it cannot be supposed, but that those who are to allow 15 or 20 *per Cent.* for Discount of their *Tallies*, *make Provision accordingly* in the Price they are to have for their Commodities.

The

The Bank *will likewise facilitate the future Supplies*, by making the Funds which are to be given, *more useful and ready to answer the Publick Occasions*, and upon easier Terms than what has been done *during the War*: For it's said, they will lend Money *on the Land Tax* at 6 *per Cent. per Annum*, nay some say at 5 *per Cent. per Annum*; which will *save the Nation* a great Sum of Money in Interest, as well as what was usually paid for Gratuities and other Charges to procure Loans, a Method that some of the Opposers of the Bank have been well acquainted with.

But now the Bank is establish'd, and that all who want Money, and have Securities, know where to be supplied, and the Terms, *there cannot be such Advantages made on the Publick or Private Mens Necessities* for the future.

The more Credit the Bank has, and the more Money is lodged in it, the more it will *lessen Interest*, for want of Occasions to improve it; and those who lodge their Money in the Bank, have it as much at their Disposal, as if it were in the Hands of *the Goldsmiths*, or in their own *Cash-chest*; and there is a greater Value than the Money which is deposited in the Bank that circulates by *their Credit*, as much as if it were stirring *in Specie*: And the Bank-Bills serve already for *Returns and Exchange* to and from the remotest Parts of *the Kingdom*, and will in a little time do the like in *foreign Parts*, which will *lessen the exporting of Bullion* for the paying and maintaining our Armies abroad *during this War*; and if the Bulk of the Money of the Nation which has been lodged with the Goldsmiths, had been deposited in the Bank four or five Years past, it had prevented its being so *scandalously clipt*, which one day or other must cost the Nation *a Million and half, or two Millions* to repair.

Those who are concerned in the Bank cannot fail to *lessen the Interest of Money*, for it's their own Interest to do it, else they cannot employ it; and their Fund being settled at 8 *l. per Cent. per Annum*. the lower they bring all other *Interest*, they make the Stock of the Bank the more valuable; and it must be allowed, that it is the *only Fund* that ever was settled in *England* which has *lessened the Interest of Money*. And 'tis very observable, that any Resolution that the Concerned in the Bank have taken to be more serviceable in accommodating the *Publick or private Mens Occasions*, has always given it a *farther Reputation*, and increased its *Value*; and the more they serve *the Interest of the Nation*, so much more they serve their own, they being under this happy Circumstance, *That they cannot do Good to themselves but by doing Good to others*.

The Nation pays for the Million on Annuities 14 *l. per Cent. per Annum* for Ninety-nine Years, and for the Million Lottery 14 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, for sixteen Years, besides about one tenth Part which was expended in Charges, and reckoning Interest upon Interest at 5 *per Cent. per Annum*, as some have computed it, the *Lottery* amounts to above three Millions, and the Annuities amount to above 260 Millions.

The Funds of *Wine, Vinegar and Tobacco, East-India Goods, Joint-Stocks, Paper and Parchment*, and *new Impositions*, are all at 8 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, as well as the Bank; and yet there has been from 20 to 30 *l. per Cent.* Loss on

Tallies upon several of these Funds, besides the *Publick Interest*; the like has been on the remote Parts of the $\frac{3}{4}$ *Excise* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *Customs* before the Bank was establish'd, and thereby the Nation has paid 12, 14, 16, 18 and 20 *per Cent. per Annum, Interest for Money*, which, if it had continued, must have ruined the Kingdom: But now, that they who have made these *Advantages* by the Publick are prevented of the like for the future, they will be more ready to lend Money on *private Securities*, or to purchase Lands, for want of *Occasions* to improve their Money to so much better *Advantage*.

It's a Matter which is *very surprizing and without any Example*, that after the Nation has been six Years engaged in such a chargeable War, and has been at near thirty Millions *Expence*, and such Quantities of Bullion have been exported, besides the Loss of several Millions which the Enemy has taken; that after all this, instead of the *Interest of Money rising*, (as has been usual in all Wars) there should now be such a *Fall of Interest*, which must be acknowledged to be wholly owing to the Bank, and that it could not have been effected without it; for till the Bank exerted itself, the *Interest of Money was rising apace*, and would have continued so, and have come to a strange Exorbitancy ere this, if the Bank had not been establish'd.

The Bank being thus useful to the Publick, extends itself likewise to accommodate all private Mens *Occasions*; for they lend Money on *Mortgages*, and *real Securities* at 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and their very publishing they would do it, has given a Check to the raising the *Interest* on them, from 5 to 6 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, as was attempted: And if the *Titles of Land* were made more secure, Money would be lent thereon at 4 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and in Time of Peace at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*. Foreign Bills of Exchange are discounted at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per Annum*, and Inland Bills and Notes for Debts at 6 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and those who keep their Cash in the Bank, have the one discounted at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and the other at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent. per Annum*, for which most Goldsmiths used to take 9 or 10 *per Cent. per Annum*. And Money is lent on *Pawns of Commodities* which are not perishable, at 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, for which some in their *Necessities* have paid more than double as much, to the Ruin of many great Traders.

Money is likewise lent on the Fund of the Orphans of the City of London, at 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, which will hinder several, who are necessitous, from being forced to sell their *Interest* at Under-rates.

And 'tis said they have agreed to set up a *Lumbard* to lend Money on small Pawns, for the Relief of the Poor, at One Penny per Month for 20 Shillings, for which they now pay Six Pence or Twelve Pence every Week: And 'tis probable, if the Bank was not restrained by Act of Parliament, they might take into Consideration the *Exchanging Seamens Tickets* for Money, for a very small Allowance, for which they have oftentimes paid 7 or 8 Shillings in the Pound.

The Bank will reduce the *Interest of Money* in England to 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* in a few Years, without any Law to enforce it, in like Manner as it is in all other Countries where Banks are establish'd, whereby the Trade of the Nation may be driven

driven upon more *equal Terms* with the rest of *Our Neighbours*, where Money is to be had at so much lower Rates than what we in *England* have hitherto paid: And as *the lessening the Interest of Money will infallibly raise the Value of Land*, it had been worth while for the Nobility and Gentry who are the Proprietors of the Real Estates in *England*, to have given a *Land-tax* for the Bank, of double the Sum which was raised by it, if they could not otherwise have obtained it; for *the falling the Interest of Money to 3 l. per Cent per Annum*, to which Rates the Bank will reduce it, will unavoidably *advance the Price of Land to above 30 Years Purchase*, which will *raise the Value of the Lands of England* at least 100 Millions, and thereby abundantly reimburse *the Nation* all the Charges of *the War*, and will not only enable the Gentry to make better Provision for *their Younger Children*, but those who now owe Money on their *Lands*, to pay off *their Debts*, by the Increase of the Value of *their Estates*.

The *Ease and Security* of the great Receipts and Payments of Money which are made by the Bank, (where Peoples Cash is kept as it is at the *Goldsmiths*) together with the safe depositing of it, *are such Advantages to recommend it*, that *they ought not to be past over* without some Observation; especially considering how much Money has been lost in *England* by the *Goldsmiths* and *Scriveners* Breaking, which in about 30 *Years* past, cannot amount to so little as betwixt *two and three Millions*, all which might have been prevented, had a Bank been sooner establish'd. For none can lose by *the Bank*, they having a Fund of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* and Money, or good Securities besides, for as much as they owe, wherewith to pay all that trust them.

These are *such Services to the Nation* in general, which have been (and will be) done by the Bank, as could not have been done without it; and *such Arguments as these* arising from fact, are better Demonstrations and more Convincing of the Usefulness of it, than meer *speculative Notions* urged by its Opposers, can be to prejudice others against it; and therefore it would be an *unaccountable sort of Policy*, to endeavour to deprive *the Nation* of those vast Advantages, which it now does and will receive by it.

Having given this *short Account* of the Bank, I shall consider *the Objections* that have been made against it, and *who they are* that make them; in which I shall chiefly take notice of those who would cloak *the Opposition they make out of private Interest*, under some other specious Pretences; among which there are some who would be thought the *most zealous for the Government*, who at first pretended to dislike the Bank, only for fear it should disappoint *their Majesties* of the Supplies which were proposed to be raised by it. But since the whole 1,200,000 *l.* has been so readily subscribed, *their Opposition has increased*, and their being now so zealous against it, can only proceed from their fear that they shall not have the like Opportunities as they have had, *to impose on the Publick*, by whose *Necessities* they have made *so great Advantages*; and they now threaten what they will do to destroy the Bank this Session of Parliament; as if what past in the last, were to be undone in this.

There are others, who are for forcing a Currency of *Bills*, or *Tallies*, and think they may pass as well as *Bank-bills*; but they do not consider, That 'tis nothing

thing makes *Bank-bills* current, but only *because that all those who desire it, can go when they will, and fetch their Money for them*; and to force any thing to pass in Payment but Money, would soon end in *Confusion*: For it cannot serve the Nation's Occasions at home, much less our foreign Negotiations with other Countries abroad; seeing that all those who take *Bills of Exchange* on England, are too wise to accept any such sort of Payment; but will be sure to have them made payable in *Sterling-money* in Specie, in like manner as the Bills which are now drawn on Spain, are made payable in *old Money*, as before the *Pragmatica*: which, together with the late Essay of *Copper-money* in Ireland, might be sufficient to shew, that all such Attempts will be ineffectual.

And besides the Confusion it would make, the danger of their being counterfeited, is an Objection that cannot well be answered; and all that it would cost to exchange them for Money, would be certainly paid by the Government: For it would be considered by those who sell their Goods, in the Prices of them; and though but a small Sum were paid for the Loss of exchanging them for Money, by every one through whose Hands they should pass, yet there might be more than the whole Value lost thereby in less than one Year's time: and the very proposing such an Innovation, is of dangerous Consequence, and tends to destroy the publick Credit. For if it should be attempted to make any thing current in Payment but specie Money, no Body would trust the Government on any Loans for the future; and it would put a stop to the discounting Tallies, or Bills of Exchange, lending Money on Pawns or Mortgages, or indeed to the giving any Credit, but upon the undoubted Assurance of receiving the Payment in Specie: For on all other sorts of Payment there will be a Loss to exchange them for Money; and it would discourage our Friends, and encourage our Enemies; by proclaiming to the World, that we are not able to continue the War, and this would put an end to it: For we should be forced to submit to such Terms, as the French King would think fit to grant us.

It's very observable, that all the several Companies of Oppressors are strangely alarm'd, and exclaim at the Bank; and seem to have joined themselves in a Confederacy against it; out of pure Zeal (as they pretend) for the good of the Public; whereas 'tis nothing but their private Interest, that has so nettled them to see their Craft and Trade of Oppression endangered; for Extortion, Usury, and Oppression were never so attacked, as they are like to be by the Bank: and 'tis that which has engaged them, to use all the Arts and Tricks they could invent, to blemish it; and amongst the rest, to make those that owe Money uneasy at it, great Sums have been called in; especially if any have happened to be due from those, whose publick Stations might make their Anger the more significant; pretending, that the Bank has made such a Scarcity of Money, that none is left, to be lent on Land or other Securities; though if it really did what they pretend, they would be far from being angry at it; Scarcity of Money naturally producing a high Interest, and a Difficulty for those that want to be supplied with it; which are the best Arguments that can be used, to extort double the Price for Procuration and Continuation, Crimes that would easily be forgiven by those Men. But the Bank, on the contrary, makes a plenty of Money, and renders

renders it *easy*, for those that want to be supplied with it, *at a moderate Interest*, as well on *publick* as *private Securities*; without paying any thing, either *to procure or continue it*.

There are others, who pretend to be against the Bank, lest it should hereafter join with *the Prince*; to make him *absolute*, and so render Parliaments useless. But tho' that may at first seem *frightful*, yet when it's considered, there will not appear any Cause for such Fear as is pretended; and it's morally impossible to be attempted, the Concerned in the Bank being restrained by Act of Parliament, from advancing any Money to *the Crown*, but upon such Funds only on which there is a Credit of Loan by Parliament, *under the Penalty* of each Person's forfeiting *treble the Value of all the Money lent*; the $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Informer, and the other $\frac{2}{3}$ cannot be pardoned by the King, but are to be disposed of by Parliament; nor can it be the Interest of the Bank, to make *any King absolute*; seeing they have *no Security* for their Fund, nor for the Money that is lodged in the Bank, *but the Protection of the Laws*: For if they should contribute to make *any King absolute*, they can have no assurance that he would not, (nay they may be confident that he would) *seize on their Fund and their Money by violence*; lest that they who contributed to make him absolute, should afterwards endeavour to reduce him to a Conformity with the Laws of the Land. And certainly there is *more danger of such a Design* from twelve or fourteen *Goldsmiths*, who were used to have *most of the running Cash of the Kingdom*; or from *other Corporations*, who depend wholly on *Prerogative*, and are under no Manner of Restraint. Nor could such a Design ever be attempted by the Bank; for *the whole Court of Directors*, which consists of twenty-six Persons, must be made privy to it; and some of them to be sure *would be against it*; and it could not be kept *secret*, but would soon be *divulged*; and any nine Members of the Corporation may call a *general Court*, who would infallibly turn out those that should incline to favour such a Design: For 'tis not to be supposed, that such a Body of Men should agree *to ruin themselves and their Posterity*, by losing their Estates and their Liberties, when 'tis in their power to preserve them. And seeing the *Triennial Bill* is past, a new Parliament must be chosen, and sit once in three Years; and during the War, there is no danger but they will meet oftner.

There are others who are against the Bank, pretending, *the Fund from which its Revenue arises is prejudicial to the Nation*: but if that were an Objection, it might as well be urged against *the Annuity for Lives, payable out of the same Fund, and settled by the same Act of Parliament*: But as this is not made an Objection against the one, no more ought it to be against the other; for the Bank would be the same, out of whatsoever Fund the 100,000*l. per Ann.* were payable; and if it were *ill for the Kingdom*, the *Goodness of the Fund* would not make it *the better*; nor if the Fund were *a bad one*, would that make the Bank *the worse*.

There are others, who are against the Bank, because they pretend the Concerned have *too good a Bargain*; though if it were really so, the Nation pays but 100,000*l. per Ann.* for 1,200,000, which is no more than their Agreement; and

and 'tis much less than must have been paid for that Money, if it had been to be raised in any other Manner: But if there were any weight in this Objection, it might be proper to be considered eleven Years hence, when their Term expires, in case they should endeavour a longer Continuance. It never was thought to be an Objection against those who have the Fee-Farm Rents, that they have had too good a Pennyworth, though they now sell at 21, 22 and 23 Years Purchase: And though great part of them were paid for by Debentures, and old Debts due from the Crown, which were bought for little or nothing: Nor is it objected, that it was a thin House when the Bill past, though upon the Division there were but 42 Members present.

Some find fault with the Bank, because they have not taken in the whole 1200000*l.* which was subscribed; for they have called in but for 720000*l.* which is more than they have now Occasion for: But however, they have paid into the Exchequer the whole 1200000*l.* before the Time appointed by the Act of Parliament; and the less Money they have taken in to do it with, so much the more they have served the Publick: For the rest is left to circulate in Trade, to be lent on Land, or otherwise to be disposed of for the Nation's Service; and it's better for the Bank, as well as the Publick, to have 480000*l.* in the Subscribers hands, ready to be called for as they want it, than to have had it lie useless by them: And it's very observable, that few of those who make this Objection, either do or would trust the Bank, though the whole 1200000*l.* were actually paid in by Subscribers, as they would pretend to have it. And though they are so careful, lest the Bank should not have Credit; yet at the same time they pretend to fear its Credit will so far prevail, that it will engross all the Money in the Nation. So that, it seems, as if they who would have 480,000*l.* called in, wanted a pretence to find fault with the Bank, for having made Money scarce, by calling in the Remainder of the whole Subscriptions, when they did not want it; unless they would shew by some new-discovered Rules in Arithmetick, that the calling in 480,000*l.* more, would make the Bank have the less Money lodged in it.

'Tis pretended by others, that the Bank is prejudicial to Trade, because there are some under such unhappy Circumstances, that the Bank cannot relieve them in their broken Fortunes, and who have been sinking before the Bank was thought of. Indeed they who have not Credit to borrow Money at Interest, nor to draw by Exchange, and who have neither Tallies, Bills of Exchange, nor good Bills for Debt to discount, Goods to Pawn, or Land, or Houses to Mortgage, must be allowed to be in no very good Condition, and must continue to pay as exorbitant Allowances for Money to supply their Necessities, as they used to do before the Bank was established. What has been observed of Discounting Foreign Bills of Exchange at 3 per Cent. per Annum, In-land Bills, and Notes for Debts at 4½ per Cent. per Ann. lending Money on Pawns at 5 per Cent. per Ann. Exchanging Tallies, and lowering Interest of Money, it's supposed is sufficient to answer this Objection.

'Tis alledged by some, that the Bank will ingross all Manner of Trades.—But this is an Objection like many others which are made against it by those who *do not understand its Constitution*; for, if any Person trades on Account of the Bank in any other thing than *taking Pawns*, or in *Bills of Exchange*, or *Bullion*, or consents that any other should trade, every such Person *so trading or consenting to* such Trade, incurs by the Act of Parliament a Forfeiture of treble the Value of all that is traded for.

The *Goldsmiths* have been guilty of *Engrossing most Commodities* themselves, and they have also been great *Merchants and Traders*. And since the Nation has suffered so much by their monopolizing Goods, and trading with other Mens Stocks, it may seem highly reasonable, that the Bank is restrained from Trade, for Fear of those Mischiefs which the *Goldsmiths* have practised; so the *Goldsmiths* in like Manner should be limited to the selling Plate and Jewels, which was their antient and proper Trade. And if there be an Advantage to be made by the *running Cash* of the Kingdom, it's fitter for the Bank to have it; which consists of 1300 Persons, and who employ it to serve the Nation in general, by lowering the Interest of Money; than that it should be given to a few private Men, who have already made use of it, so much to the Nation's Prejudice.

And whereas they pretend, that the Bank has bought up all the Silver, upon Enquiry it appears, that there hath not been 1200 *l.* worth bought by the Bank, and the greatest Part of that was Pieces of Eight, and the rest *Bars and Piny Silver*, which came from *Spain*; though some particular *Refiners and Goldsmiths* have since that shipped off more than double that Value in Bars of *English Melting*, and have likewise sold much greater Parcels to others which have been exported—And it may be a Matter well worth Enquiry, where those Mines are which have produc'd that Silver?

And though it be made such a Crime for the Bank to be concerned in *the Publick Remittances*, it is no more than was done by a *Goldsmith* before the Bank undertook it: nor is it look'd on as a Fault in *Goldsmiths* to deal by Exchange, seeing some of them do now draw or remit Money almost every Post.

As to the Pretence of the Bank setting a Price upon *Guineas*, and having engrossed the greatest Part of all that are in the Nation: 'tis answered the Bank has always received and paid *Guineas*, at 2 pence or 3 pence a Piece at least, under the Price which the *Goldsmiths* have put upon them; and has been so far from buying up any, that they have only receiv'd such as have been brought them in Payment; and have constantly paid them away every Week, at the same Price they have received them: So that if they make any Benefit by the Advance of the Price of *Guineas*, 'tis chiefly on those which were received at the taking the Subscriptions; which cannot come to any such Quantity as is pretended: And 'tis a Matter wholly owing to some, or all of these Causes:

To the *Goldsmiths and Refiners*, who have raised the Price of them: or, to the Trade which is driven by the *Clippers*, who sell their Clippings for *Guineas*, and with them procure heavy Money: or to the Badness of our Silver Coin, which is diminished every Day.

There are others, who make a mighty Complaint against the Bank, because two Pence *per Day* is allowed on *Bank-Bills*, and the Money which was used to be lodged in their Hands for nothing, and made use of by themselves, is now

paid into the Bank by the Owner,, but they, it's supposed, will not find Fault with receiving two Pence *per Day*, for that Money, for which before they had nothing; and so one may be set against t'other.

'Tis pretended, the allowing two Pence *per Day*, hinders some from purchasing, or lending Money on Mortgages; and makes others, who are Traders, and owe Money, bad Paymasters.

But it may well be supposed, there are none who intend to purchase, or lend Money on Mortgages, who will leave their Money in the Bank at 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* and when they can have a Purchase to their Minds, or a good Security at 5 *per Cent. per Ann.* and there are few who could not leave their Money lying dead, rather than lay it out on the Purchase of an Estate they do not like, or lend it on a bad Security.

And as for its making Men bad Pay-masters; they must consider their Credit or Interest but little, who will delay paying their Debts, for the getting the 2 *d. per Day, per 100 l.* which is allowed on *Bank Bills*; for in their future Dealings they would pay a much dearer Interest.—The Money which is lodged in the Bank, is only the Money which can be spared, and was won't to be left with the *Goldsmiths*; and it's strange, that 3 *per Cent. per Ann.* which is allowed on *Bank Bills*, should do all this Mischief; and that the great Advantages which have been made by the publick Funds, should never be made an Objection.

But the plain Truth of the Matter is, that the *Goldsmiths* are angry at the Bank's allowing 2 *d. per Day per Cent.* because that by this means the Money is drawn out of their Hands the faster, and paid into the Bank for *Bank Bills*.

And if allowing 2 *d. per Day* on *Bank Bills*, be look'd on to be such a Crime, it is very probable those concerned in the Bank will be willing in Time to remove the Objection; seeing it will ease them of the Charge of 36000 *l. per Ann.* which the Interest amounts to, and which they have given the Nation out of their Fund, for that Money, for which the Owners used to have nothing.

Notwithstanding all these Objections, which are made against the Bank, and that the allowing 2 *d. a Day per 100 l.* on *Bank Bills* is pretended to be so prejudicial, yet there are some now, who in Opposition to it, talk of nothing less than settling a new one, with 4 *d. a Day per Cent.* Interest, which is double as much as is now paid by the Bank: nay, others are for setting up a Bank in every City, or in every Market Town: Which shews after all the Cavils against the Bank, that a Bank is good for the Nation in general, and that the greatest Objection against the Bank of *England*, is, that they who find fault with it, are not concerned in it; for many of those who clamour against it, do it only in Hopes of coming in the cheaper.

But the Honour and Justice of the whole Nation (on whose Credit and Authority the Subscribers are establish'd to be the Bank of *England* for 11 Years) is too much concerned, to admit a Supposal, that any such Designs should receive Countenance or Encouragement: For what pass in the last Session of Parliament, and their refusing to admit any other Lives to be added to their *Annuities*, lest it should be thought to lessen the Security on which the Money was contributed; (though they were not intended to take Place till after the Lives in Being were extinct) shews the great Care of the Honourable House of *Commons*, to preserve the publick Credit, and to avoid any the least Occasion which might make it suspected;

suspected ; and gives the whole Nation a sufficient Assurance, that they who are the Preservers of the Peoples Rights and Properties, will never suffer any Thing to be attempted in that August Assembly, that may seem but to weaken the Security, or lessen the Encouragement which they have given the Subscribers to the Bank, and which they themselves have established by so solemn and inviolable a Sanction : And all Insinuations to the contrary (though under never such specious Pretences) are of dangerous Consequence to the Government, tending to raise Doubts and Scruples in the Minds of the People, and to lessen the publick Credit : For if the Parliamentary Securities, on which all Men, both Natives and Foreigners, firmly relying, have hitherto so freely contributed their Fortunes, for carrying on the War, were now made precarious and uncertain, no Body could trust them for the future ; and during the War, the Government cannot possibly subsist without Credit.

And besides, the seeming Injustice which it would be to those who have subscribed, and contributed their Money upon the Encouragement given by the Act, of there being the Bank of *England* for eleven Years, to have another establish'd before those eleven Years are expired, for which this Bank is settled ; it would be so far from being like the having of several Shops to go to, to be better used ; (as is by some pretended) that it would be a Means to hinder either from being serviceable in the supplying the publick or private Mens Occasions : And the Nation must pay the dearer for Money ; for one being in Opposition to the other, there would be a sort of Civil War between them ; and the Bank being a Bank of Credit, neither of them, by their Jealousy of each other, would venture to extend its Credit ; but would bury the Money of the Nation, instead of increasing and quickening its Circulation, as the Bank of *England* does, and will do.

To conclude, the Instances which have been given, (in the foregoing Account) of the Usefulness of the Bank, may, it's supposed, suffice, to convince such as were prejudiced against it ; upon the Misrepresentations which have been so industriously made, by those who appeared the most bare-faced and violent in opposing it. But it may perhaps be objected, that the Bank is so far from being an Advantage to all Trades, that 'tis prejudicial to some : for it seems to be admitted, that the Bank will be injurious to 12 or 14 *Banking Goldsmiths*, and to some Scriveners, Usurers, and Pawn-brokers ; because it will hinder them from exacting such oppressive Extortion, as some of them have done formerly ; and it will quite ruin the whole Trade of *Tally Jobbers*.

Now if the Clamour of a few (whose Trade hath been to make Merchandize of the Nation, and to enrich themselves by the Necessities of others) shall not only prevail against the Benefit of a Community legally establish'd, but even of the Kingdom in general, and the Credit of a Parliament, then the Enemies of the Bank may hope to subvert it : But until the publick Good be postpon'd to private Interest, and a small Number of Oppressors be too hard for the Nobility, Gentry, and Traders of *England* in general ; it will and must be preserved and maintained, because of its great Use to the whole Realm ; and the Benefits which already accrue by it in its Infancy, are a good Earnest of those greater Advantages, which the Nation must receive from its future Progress.

THIS Writing Indented Witnesseth, that whereas in and by one Act of Parliament lately made and passed, Entituled, *An Act for making good the Deficiency of several Funds herein mentioned, and for enlarging the Capital Stock of the Bank of England, and for raising the Publick Credit*: It is amongst other Things enacted, that it shall and might be lawful to and for the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or any three or more of them, to covenant and agree in such manner as they shall think fit, with any Person or Persons, Natives or Foreigners, Bodies Politick or Corporate, with whose Abilities they should be well satisfied, for the immediate advancing or lending of Moneys from time to time, as there should be Occasion, for the Exchange of such Bills (being Part of the Sum not exceeding fifteen hundred thousand Pounds in the said Act mentioned) as shall be refused, or not accepted of or taken in Repayment of such Tallies or Orders as are therein expressed; and that such Person and Persons as should contract and agree to advance and furnish in Money for the Exchanging and Circulating of the said Bills, in such manner as the Commissioners of the Treasury, or High Treasurer, should appoint, immediately upon their paying or advancing any Monies pursuant to their Contracts or Agreements, should have for their Security and Satisfaction the said Bills, or such Security as should be agreed upon between the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or High Treasurer, and such Contractors, and an Interest or Reward not exceeding ten Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, as by the said Act, Relation being thereunto had, may more fully appear.

And whereas in and by one other Act of Parliament lately made and passed, Entituled, *An Act for Granting to his Majesty a further Subsidy of Tunnage and Poundage, upon Merchandise imported for the Term of two Years and three Quarters; and an additional Land-Tax for one Year, for carrying on the War against France*; It is (amongst other things) Enacted and Declared, that it should and might be lawful to and for the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or any three of them now being, or for the High Treasurer, or any three or more of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for the Time being, to cause Bills to be made forth at the Receipt of Exchequer, for any Sum or Sums of Money not exceeding twelve hundred thousand Pounds, by the first mentioned Act. authorized to be issued; in such Proportions nevertheless as that there should not at any one Time be more Bills standing out than to the Value or Amount of two Millions of Principal Money; and that the said Bills should have the like Currency, and carry the like Interest after the Rate of Five Pence *per Cent. per diem*, as the Bills for the said fifteen hundred thousand Pounds; also that the said Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or the High Treasurer for the Time being, should and might contract and agree, in such manner as they should think fit, with the same or any other Person or Persons (with whose Abilities they should be well satisfied) for the advancing or lending such further Sums, as they should think necessary, for the exchanging such Bills of the said Twelve hundred thousand Pounds, thereby authorised to be issued, as should or might be refused or not accepted in Satisfaction of Talleys and Orders of Loan in Course of Repayment as aforesaid; which Persons so contracting, should likewise have and receive an Interest or Reward not exceeding ten Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, for the

the Money they should advance for the Purpose aforesaid, as in and by the first-recited Act is allowed to such as should contract for the fifteen hundred thousand Pounds, as by the said Act, Relation being thereunto had, may more fully appear.

Now to the End, that all and every Person or Persons, Bodies-Politick or Corporate, who have or may have, or be intituled to, any Talleys and Orders, on any Branch of the Revenue, or on any Aid, Tax, or Supply, that is, or shall be appropriated for Repayment and Satisfaction thereof, may not be under any Necessity when such Talleys and Orders come in Course of Payment, to accept or take against their own voluntary Consent or good Liking, the Satisfaction thereof in such Bills as aforesaid, which are issued by Virtue of the said Acts or either of them, and that ready Money may be provided for exchanging the same, and in Pursuance of the Acts of Parliament aforesaid, the several and respective Persons, who have subscribed and written their Names and Surnames to these Presents, for and in Consideration of the Interest and Reward hereafter in these Presents agreed to be paid and allowed, and for the publick Benefit and Advantage of Commerce ; and for other good Causes and Considerations them severally in this Behalf moving, do severally and respectively, and not one for the other, promise, contract, and agree to and with the Right Honourable *Charles Montague*, Esq ; *Sir Stephen Fox*, Knight, *John Smith*, Esq ; *Sir Thomas Littleton*, Baronet, and *Thomas Pelham*, Esq ; his Majesty's Commissioners of the Treasury, and to and with every of them by these Presents, that each and every of the Subscribers hereunto, shall and will pay or cause to be paid, to such Trustees as are herein after-mentioned, the Sum or Sums so by him, her, or them respectively subscribed, at such Times, and in such Proportions, as the said Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or the High Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury, for the Time being shall require the same, by publick Notice to be, from time to time, giving by Writing to be affixed in the Receipt of the Exchequer, to wit, in the Office of the Chamberlain there, and by a Signification thereof to be given from time to time in the *Gazettes* ; which Notice and Signification so to be given, shall, from time to time, allow fourteen Days Time, at least, after the giving thereof for making of each Payment.

Provided also, that it is hereby promised, contracted, and agreed unto, That the said respective Persons whose Names are hereunto put as aforesaid, shall and will advance, and pay in Mill'd-Money or Guineas, unto *Francis Eyles*, Esq ; *Sir Theodore Janssen*, *Mordecai Abbot*, *Gilbert Heathcoat*, *William Sedgwick*, *George Doddington*, Esquires, *Sir James Bateman*, *Sir Henry Furnese*, and *Sir Joseph Herne*, Knights ; Trustees in this Behalf, or any seven or more of them, one full fourth Part of the several and respective Sums of Money, which all and every such Person and Persons respectively have written against his, her, or their Names upon this present Indenture, within fourteen Days after Notice shall be given by the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or High Treasurer, for the Time being ; so as such Notice for Payment of the first fourth Part, upon this new Subscription, be not given before the eight and twentieth Day of *April*, one thousand six hundred and ninety nine, being the Time of the Determination of a former Subscription, pursuant to a Contract made between the Commissioners of the Treasury and several Persons, bearing Date the twenty eighth Day

Day of *April*, one thousand six hundred ninety eight; as by the said Contract, Relation being thereunto had, may more fully appear; which fourth Part shall be kept at the Office appointed for that Purpose near the Exchequer, in the Custody and under the Management of the said Trustees, who are likewise nominated on the Behalf of his Majesty and the said Contractors, and shall be applicable to the Exchanging the said Exchequer Bills, as well those for twelve hundred thousand Pounds, as those for fifteen hundred thousand Pounds, in manner as is hereafter expressed.

And it is hereby further declared, consented to, and agreed upon by the said Contractors, and every of them for himself only, and not the one for the other, that all and every the Person and Persons who have hereunto subscribed, shall and will from time to time, after Payment of the first Part, advance and pay into the Hands of the said Trustees, such further Sums in Mill'd Money or Guineas, as the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or High-Treasurer for the Time being, shall require to be advanced, on such Notice to be given as aforesaid, either in further Part, or in full of their respective Subscription.

Provided, that as any Part of the Money subscribed shall be required and paid for Exchanging the said Bills, the Bills that shall be Exchanged therewithal, as well in respect to the first Payment as aforesaid, as in respect to the after Payments, shall and may immediately be delivered out to such Subscriber, or Contractor, from time to time, according to the Sum or Sums so by them respectively paid, in part or in full of their said Subscriptions respectively, immediately and at the same Time, as such Payments, in part or in full, shall be by each of the said Contractors made.

And it is hereby further declared, consented and agreed unto by the said Contractors, and every of them, for himself only, and not the one for the other, that in Case any such Contractor shall fail in paying to the said Trustees, for the Purposes aforesaid, any Sum or Sums of Money, which he, or they, do respectively hereby undertake to advance by these Presents, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning hereof, that then the Reward or Allowance herein after mentioned shall be forfeited, and go to the Use of the rest of the Contractors, they paying the Part which such Contractor should, or ought to have paid in Pursuance of this Agreement; and in Default of such Payment by the rest of the Contractors, then to the Use of the Person or Persons who shall be injured or aggrieved by such Non-payment, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding: To which Intent and Purpose, it is hereby covenanted and agreed, by and between the Parties to these Presents, that the said Interest or Allowance, as is herein after mentioned, shall be and remain in the Custody of the Trustees, to be delivered to the said Subscribers respectively, upon the last Payment of the Sums by them respectively subscribed, and not before.

And the said Trustees so appointed, shall from time to time duly apply, issue, and pay, or cause to be applied, issued, and paid the Money which shall be so advanced or paid into their Hands, to and for the Satisfaction of such Talleys and Orders as aforesaid, which shall from time to time be in Course of Payment; which such Trustees shall faithfully do and perform, in all Cases where any of the said Bills shall be actually brought into the Exchequer, instead of Money, for Payment of such Talleys and Orders, and that the Owners thereof shall be
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the Money so advanced by the said Contractors, shall be by the said Trustees applied, issued or paid, to or for Satisfaction of Talleys or Orders as aforesaid, they the said Trustees will receive, and take into their Custody, the said Bills of Credit, which would have been applicable to the Repayment of such Talleys and Orders, in Case the Owners thereof would have accepted the same; so that the said Trustees shall not depart with any of the said Money paid in by the said Contractors, without receiving at the same time Bills of Credit, Part of those for any Sum not exceeding fifteen hundred thousand Pounds, or Part of those for any Sum not exceeding twelve hundred thousand Pounds, authorized to be made forth as aforesaid, to the Value of all and every the Sum and Sums of Money, paid in by the said Contractors, which the said Trustees shall so apply, issue or pay, or cause to be issued, applied and paid, to and for the Satisfaction of the said Talleys or Orders.

And that the said Trustees shall from time to time keep, or cause to be kept, fair and just Accompts in writing, of all their Receipts, Payments and Doings, in Execution of the Trust so reposed in them, which shall be liable to the View and Inspection of the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or High Treasurer, for the Time being, and of all and every the said Contractor or Contractors, and of any Person or Persons having Talleys or Orders of Loan on any Funds or Revenue whatsoever: And in Case of the Death or Failure of any of the said Trustees, the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or High Treasurer, for the Time being, shall forthwith name and appoint some other Person or Persons, to be a Trustee or Trustees, instead of the Person or Persons dying or failing as aforesaid.

And the said *Charles Montague*, *Sir Stephen Fox*, *John Smith*, *Sir Thomas Littleton*, and *Thomas Pelham*, do on his Majesty's Behalf, promise and agree to and with the said Contractors, and every of them by these Presents, that they, the said Contractors, and every of them duly complying with their Payments, and performing their Covenants in these Presents contained respectively, shall have and receive a Reward and Allowance, after the Rate of three Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, for the whole Sum so by every Contractor written upon these Presents, from the twenty eighth Day of *April*, one thousand six hundred ninety nine, for so long Time as he, she, or they shall be liable to answer any Part of the Sum or Sums, subscribed by him, her, or them respectively, in manner as is before expressed: And if all the Money subscribed shall be required from the said Contractors in less than a Year's Time; or that there shall not be Occasion for using or imploying the Money by them subscribed, or some Part thereof for so long Time, the said Contractors shall nevertheless be intitled to, and shall have and receive one whole Year's Interest, after the Rate of three Pounds *per Cent. per Annum*, for the Sums by them respectively subscribed; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And the said Commissioners of the Treasury do further promise and agree, to and with the said Contractors, that so soon as the first fourth Part shall be advanced by the said Subscribers, they the said Commissioners of the Treasury, shall deliver, or cause to be delivered into the Hands of the said Trustees, the desirous instead of such Bills, to receive their Payment and Satisfaction of or for such Talleys or Orders, in mill'd Money or Guineas: And in all Cases where
Premium

Premium or Allowance of three Pounds *per Cent.* of the full Value of such Subscriptions, which said Allowance or Premium of three Pounds *per Cent.* shall be paid over to the said Contractors respectively, upon Payment of the last Part of the Money by them respectively subscribed, or other Determination of these Presents, as aforesaid.

And it is hereby further declared, consented, and agreed unto, by and between the said Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the respective Contractors undernamed, that the whole Charge as well of executing the said Trust, as of executing the Powers of such Trustees as aforesaid, shall be borne and defrayed by his Majesty.

Dated at the Treasury-Chamber, the first Day of *February*, in the tenth Year of the Reign of his Majesty *William* the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. *Annoq; Dom.* One thousand six hundred ninety eight.

The Proceedings upon the Debates, relating to the late *Charter* of the City of *London*, as also the Entering up of Judgment against it, Giving an Account of the most remarkable Transactions relating to that Affair.

TH E Liberties, Franchises, &c. of the City of *London*, being adjusted, forfeited and liable to be seized into the King's Hands the last Term, by the Judges of his Majesty's Court of *King's Bench*; his Majesty Ordered his *Attorney General* to stay the entering up of Judgment till further Orders; and upon receiving the *Humble Petition* of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, was pleased, by the Lord Keeper, to require their Submission to divers Regulations of their Charter, relating to his approving of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, Town-Clerk, Aldermen, &c. upon their Elections, to consider of which a Common Council was called; and after divers Debates it was resolved by the Majority of Votes, that it was altogether necessary and expedient for the preventing the fatal Consequences, that might ensue upon Judgment being entered up, (if they refused) to comply with his Majesty's Demands, that so the old *Charter* might be continued without any Alteration; of which their ready Compliance they assured his Majesty, by the Recorder, and Sheriffs; but so it happened that when they came to seal the Instrument drawn up for that Purpose many seemed unsatisfied, and were rather inclinable to the Surrender of the whole, than to have it abridged in Part; the which on the 28th of *September* was debated in Common Council, where divers Speeches were made by the Aldermen and Commons, debating the Matter earnestly. After which Mr. Recorder was desired to deliver his Opinion, who at the Instance of Lord Mayor, did to this Effect, *viz.* That he had made it his Business for some time past, to consider seriously the Matter in Debate, and had therein

therein consulted the Attorney General and divers other learned Council, and that thereupon, it did not appear to him, but that the *Charter* would be much weakned by Restriction, and he could not see how afterward they could plead Prescription; therefore in his Opinion it was necessary, well to consider what was to be done, and that it was convenient to consult Council farther therein, and then proceeded, to relate divers Particulars that had passed in former Debates upon the Occasion of the *Charter*; insomuch although Sir *Dudley North*, and divers other Aldermen, and a great Number of the Commoners were for complying with his Majesty's Demands, saying, that they could not in point of Honour go from their Word and Obligation: It was resolved, that a Committee should be chosen to consider of the Affair, and another Common Council to be assembled on the 2d of *October* 1683. to hear the Reports of those entrusted to debate the Matter: Who were also to have Council allowed them, &c. These things passing, although *Peter Daniel*, Esq; and *Francis Dashwood*, Esq; were sworn Sheriffs at *Guild-Hall*; yet upon their going to *Westminster* to be presented at the Swearing the old Sheriffs to their Accounts, before the Puissne Baron that Ceremony was deferred; yet Mr. Recorder in the Name of the said Sheriffs invited the Barons and Officers of the Court to Dinner with them as is usual.

The 2d of *October* being come, the Court of Aldermen assembled; as likewise did the Commons in Council, to hear the Reports of the Committee, where divers Debates passed *pro & Contra*; and many Speeches were made, some for sealing to the Regulations, others for the Surrender of the intire *Charter*, without any further Consideration; insomuch, that some hot or hasty Words passed, but in the End, after Mr. Recorder had made a long Speech, wherein he declared at large the whole Proceedings from point to point, opening the Matter, reciting some Precedents of the like Nature, in the Reign of former Kings acquiescing in the Opinion of the Committee as to a Surrender, it was put to the Vote, though not without some Difficulty; many alledging, that divers of the Common Council and some of the Aldermen were out of Town and absent; and this Matter was no other than a Surprize, yet so it was ordered that in the End, it being concluded on; the Poll run thus 83 were for sealing to the Regulation required by his Majesty, and 105 against it, after which many Debates happened, insomuch that they broke not up till Eleven of the Clock in the Evening.

Upon Notice of what had been resolved, and the Retraction of what had formerly been agreed to, Mr. Attorney General caused, as we are credibly informed, Judgment to be entered up, so that the *Charter* being actually seized, his Majesty was pleased, by Commission to appoint the present Lord Mayor, to continue as Custos of this City, &c. and that the late Elected Sheriffs by Commission likewise are, or suddenly will be sworn. Mr. *John Connor* likewise to be Recorder in the Room of Sir *George Trebie*, and that divers Aldermen will be appointed in the Room of such, as his Majesty is pleased to displace, whose Nomination will be very suddenly; and on the third Instant in the Evening, the Lord Mayor went to *Whitehall* in his Coach, attended by his Officers, to wait upon his Majesty, to know his further Pleasure, (not being accompanied with any of the Aldermen) where he was received: And after some Conference about the present Juncture of Affairs relating to the City, was dismissed, and according to Or-

der, went again this Morning accompanied by the new Recorder and the two Sheriffs, when being introduced he had the Charge and Care of the City recommended to him, his Lordship promising to do all that in him lay to serve his Majesty therein; after which Mr. Recorder being introduced into the Bed-Chamber was commanded to kneel, which he doing, had therewith the usual Ceremonies, the Honour of Knight-hood conferred on him by his Majesty. After which he with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, returned to their Charge.

F I N I S.



